











A LARGE  
COLLECTION  
OF ANCIENT  
Jewish and Heathen Testimonies  
To the TRUTH of the  
CHRISTIAN RELIGION,  
WITH  
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS.

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V O L. IV.

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Containing the TESTIMONIES of HEATHEN WRITERS  
of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Centuries.

To which is added

The State of GENTILISM under CHRISTIAN EMPEROURS.

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By NATHANIEL LARDNER. *D. D.*

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# NOTES

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the subject.

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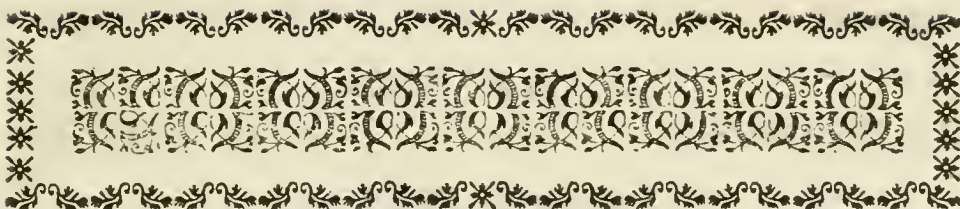
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7. The seventh part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the subject.



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*To be corrected.*

- Page 32. l. 2. from the bottom, r. mention  
 P. 43. l. 12. r. *Misopogon*  
 P. 58. l. 6. after work, put a comma  
 P. 90. l. 8. after remarks strike out the comma  
 P. 95. l. 7. from the bottom, for forsake r. embrace  
 P. 96. l. 7. for thar r. that  
 P. 158. l. 4. r. indignation  
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*In the Notes.*

- P. 32. l. 2. from the bottom, l. triumphatorem  
 P. 101. l. 2. l. γαμίζω  
 P. 471. note (b) r. p. 395. 396.

N. B. I have not been able to procure the volume of Mr. *Bullett*, mentioned by me in an Advertisement, prefixed to the third volume of this work: though I have used my best endeavours to procure it. Inquiries for it have been made, at my desire, in Holland, and at Paris, but without success.

Testimonies



TESTIMONIES

OF

HEATHEN WRITERS

OF THE

Fourth, Fifth and Sixth CENTURIES.






*Testimonies of ancient Heathen Authors to  
the Truth of the Christian Religion.*

C H A P. XLII.

C H A L C I D I U S.

- I. *His Time, Work, and Character* : II. *His Testimonie to the Appearance of an extraordinarie star at the time of our Saviour's nativity, with Remarks.*

I.  HALCIDIUS translated into Latin the former part of the Timæus of Plato, and added a prolix commentarie of his own upon it: in which he shews a great deal of learning, and good skill in the sentiments of the ancient Philosophers. This work is inscribed to *Ofius*, or *Hofius*, supposed to be the Bishop of Corduba in Spain, and a principal member of the Council of Nice in the year 325. but without any intimation of his character, as Bishop, or Ecclesiastick, or Christian.

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And the time and character of this Author are uncertain. By some he has been supposed to be Deacon or Arch-deacon in the

A. D.  
330.

church of Carthage. Others think, he was an Heathen. According to Humphry Hody (*a*) he was a Gentil, well acquainted with Christian writings. Beaufobre (*b*) calls him a Christian Philosopher, and intimate friend of Hosius. And, as he says, he (*c*) joyned Christianity with Platonism. Cave (*d*) is at an absolute uncertainty about his real character. He knows not, whether he was a Gentil, or a Christian. Fabricius, the last editor of Chalcidius, publisheth him as (*e*) a Christian, who wrote near the begining of the fourth centurie. And has (*f*) endeavored to answer objections. Nevertheless Mosheim (*g*) still hesitates.

I shall, after others, take notice of some difficulties. For (*b*) Chalcidius seems to approve of the divinations of Gentilism, and to allow them to be of use for discovering futurities. He (*i*) quotes Moses,

(*a*) Chalcidius, Commentator in Timaeum Platonis, ipse quidem Gentilis, sed in libris Christianorum versatus . . . *Hod. De Bibl. Fextib. Origin. L. 3. P. i. cap. iv. p. 299. Vid. et cap. vii. p. 310.*

(*b*) Chalcidius donc, Philosophe Chrétien, et intime Ami d' Osius, n' admettoit pas seulement l' eternité de matière, mais . . . *Hist. de Manich. Tom. 2. p. 238.*

(*c*) Chalcidius, qui ajoutoit le Christianisme au Platonisme, &c. *Ib. p. 469. Conf. Tom. i. p. 478. 479.*

(*d*) De hac re pridem me monuit Sellarus noster. Et cum in hanc quidem sententiam viros quosdam non indoctos propendere video, locum ei inter scriptores ecclesiasticos non denegavimus. Me certe ἐπέχειν fatcor; neque enim satis constat, philosophus solum Platonius fueritne, an etiam Christianus. &c. *Cav. H. L. p. 199.*

(*e*) Chalcidii Christiani scriptoris, qui

sub quarti seculi initia vixit. *Fabric. p. 225. ad calcem Operum S. Hippolyti. Hamburg. 1716.*

(*f*) *Vid. Fabric. Annot. in Chalcidii Prolog. p. 226. et Bib. Lat. lib. 3. cap. vii. Tom. i. p. 554.*

(*g*) *Vid. De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesiâ. §. xxxi. p. 165. &c. et Institution. Hist. Eccl. Sec. 4. P. i. cap. 1. p. 149. 150.*

(*h*) Quae cuncta observatione, scientiâ, artificiosâ quoque solertiâ colliguntur. Aut enim alitum volatu, aut extis, aut oraculis, homines praemonentur: praedicente aliquo propitio daemone, qui sit eorum omnium, quae deinceps sequuntur, sciens. *Chalcid in Tim. cap. vii. §. 183. p. 346. al. p. 275.*

(*i*) Hebraei sylvam generatam, esse confitentur. Quorum sapientissimus Moyses non humanâ facundiâ, sed divinâ, ut ferunt, inspiratione vegetatus, in eo libro, qui De Geniturâ mundi censetur, ab exordio.



Moses, as a wise man, and *as said* to have divine inspiration, as well as human knowledge. However, that expression *as said, ut ferunt*, Fabricius (*k*) thinks need not to be understood to denote any uncertainty in the author's mind.

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It ought to be observed by us likewise, that he (*l*) has quoted Solomon's Book of Proverbs once or twice, and also the words of Ecclesiasticus. ch. xxix. 25.

I think, it must be allowed, that there is some difficulty in determining this writer's true character. Fabricius (*m*) himself has acknowledged as much, and that he may be compared to another Author mentioned by Photius, whose character was doubtful: his manner of writing not clearly shewing, what was his religion, whether Christianity, or Gentilism.

I dare not be positive. But to me it seems, that he was a polite Platonic Philosopher, who was willing to be upon good terms with Christians, whose religion prevailed at that time. And I place him, with (*n*) Cave, as flourishing about the year 330.

## II.

ordio sic est praefatus, juxta interpretationem septuaginta prudentum. *Ib. cap. xiii. §. 274. p. 380. al. p. 372.*

(*k*) Verba, *ut ferunt*, non dubitantis sunt, sed Hebraeorum sententiam exponentis. *Fabric. not. (d) p. 380.*

(*l*) Tum initii multas esse significaciones, ut *Initium sapientiae timorem Domini esse*, Salomon dixit [Prov. i. 7.] . . . Atque etiam in praeconio sapientiae coelestis auctor: *Initium vitae panis et aqua, et tunica*, inquit, *et domus idonea velandis prudentis*. [Sirach. xxix. 21.] . . . Est tamen unum rerum omnium initium, de quo Salomo in Proverbiis. *Creavit me*, inquit, *Deus progressionis suae semitam*. . . [Prov.

viii. 22. . . . 25.] *Chalcid. cap. xiii. §. 274. p. 380. al. p. 373.*

(*m*) Chalcidius V. C. et gnavissimus veteris philosophiae, dubium reliquit lectoribus suis, utrum Christo nomen dederit, fueritne Hebraeus, an Ethnicam probaverit superstitionem. Possis de eo uti verbis, quae Photius [Cod. 180. p. 211. al. p. 405.] de Joanne Laurentio Philadelphensi Lydo scripta reliquit, . . . Τὴν δὲ θρησκείαν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔστικε δεῖσιθαιμῶν εἶναι· σέβεται μὲν τὰ ἑλλήνων καὶ θειάζει· θειάζει δὲ καὶ ἡμέτερον, μὴ διδὼς τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἐκ τῆς πάντων συμβαλεῖν, πότερον ἔτω νομίζων θειάζει, ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς. *Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. vii. Tom i p. 554.*

(*n*) Claruit forsan circa annum 330.  
certe

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*His Testi-  
mony to  
the ap-  
pearance  
of an ex-  
traordi-  
nary Star.  
Matt. ii.*

II. I now proceed to quote the passage of this commentarie of Chalcidius, for the sake of which I produce him among other authors in this work. “ There (o) is likewise, says he, another more  
“ sacred, and more venerable historie, which relates, that the ap-  
“ pearance of a certain star declared not diseases and deaths, but the  
“ descent of a venerable God, for the salvation of mankind, and the  
“ good of the world. When this star had been seen upon a jour-  
“ ney in the night-time, by some truly wise men of the Chaldeans,  
“ who were well versed in the contemplation of the heavenly bo-  
“ dies, they are said to have made inquirie concerning the late birth  
“ of a God: and when they had found the young majesty, they  
“ paid him the worship and homage, which was worthie of so great  
“ a God. But to none are these things so well known as to your-  
“ self.”

It is manifest, that the Author here refers to the historie in St. Matthew ch. ii. 1. *Now when Jesus was born in Betlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the King, behold, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, ver. 2. Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews. For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him. ver. 9. When they had heard the King [Herod] they departed, and loe the star, which they saw in the East, went before them, till it came, and stood over where the young child was. 10. And when they had seen the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 11. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child, with Ma-  
rie*

certe Hosio aetate par, si modo Hosius Cordubensis erat, quo suadente, Chalcidius Platonis Timaeum Latine interpretatus est, et erudito commentario explicavit. *Cav. H. L. p. 199.*

(o) Est quoque alia sanctior, et venerabilior, historia, quae perhibet, ortu stellae cujusdam, non morbos mortisque denunciatas, sed descensum Dei venerabilis ad humanae conservationis, rerumque

mortalium gratiam. Quam stellam, cum nocturno itinere suspexissent Chaldaeorum profecto sapientes viri, et consideratione rerum coelestium satis exercitati, quacuisse dicuntur recentem ortum Dei: repertaque illâ majestate puerili veneratos esse, et vota, Deo tantum convenientia, nuncupasse, quae tibi multo melius sunt comperta, quam ceteris. *Cap. vii. §. 125. p. 325. al. 219.*

*rie his mother, and they fell down, and worshiped him. And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrhe. Comp. Matt. i. 21... 23.*

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Fabricius (*p*) thinks this paragraph to be a good proof of the writer's Christianity. And from the compliment at the end made by him to the person, to whom the work is inscribed, we may be induced to allow his episcopal character.

Whether this writer was a Christian, or a Heathen, this passage is a valuable testimonie to St. Matthew's Gospel, and to this remarkable historie. And if this Commentarie upon Plato's Timaeus be reckoned the work of a gentil Philosopher, the several quotations of the Old Testament, which we before saw, and now this of the New, afford proof, that the sacred Scriptures were then well known in the world. To me it seems, that the stile of the paragraph, just cited, is the stile of a Gentil, not of a Christian writer. Cave (*q*) seems to have made the same judgement upon it.

(*p*) Hoc loco satis perspicue Christianum se prodit Chalcidius. *Fabric. p. 325.*  
*not. (e).* recens natum praemonstrantis, cujus in historia evangelica fit mentio: de quibus nihilominus, haud satis pro Christiani scriptoris more loquitur. *Cav. H. L. p. 199.*

## C H A P. XLIII.

ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS  
in Egypt.

- I. *His Work, Time, and Character.* II. *Extracts out of his Work, containing many references to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the Christian Doctrine.*

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*His Time  
and Character.*

I. ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS *in Egypt*, was mentioned by me long agoe in the historie of the Manicheans, among those Authors (*a*) who had writ against them. But learned men are not agreed about his character, as was also observed formerly. Some think, he was a Christian. Others suppose him to have been a Heathen. If this last be his character, he comes in properly to be mentioned here among such writers. We must therefore now more distinctly consider that point.

Fabricius (*b*) thinks, he was at first a Heathen, then a Manichean, and afterwards a good Catholic Christian, when he wrote this work. And he placeth him in the fourth centurie.

All

(*a*) See *Credib. P. 2. ch. 63. Vol. vi. p. 40.*

(*b*) *Alexandri Lycopolitae, ex Ethnico Manichaei, atque inde ad Ecclesiam re-*

*ducti, liber . . . Videtur scripsisse seculo quarto. Bib. Gr. lib. v. c. i. Tom. 5 p. 290.*



All which is agreeable to the sentiments of our (c) Cave: who also supposeth him to have been acquainted with some of the first followers and disciples of *Mani* himself. If so, he must have lived not far from the begining of the fourth centurie.

Photius (d) in his work against the Manicheans, calls Alexander Archbishop of Nicopolis.

Tillemont (e) says, “ that by his book he appears to have been a “ Pagan Philosopher. Who observing, that some of his fellow-disciples embraced the opinion of the Manicheans, and thinking it “ to be very absurd, composed that book to confute it by natural and “ philosophical reasons. He speaks with respect of Jesus Christ, and “ prefers the doctrine of the (\*) Churches (those are his terms) to “ that of Mani. But we can perceive from those very places, that “ he was not at all a Christian. Combefis, his editor, thinks him to “ be very ancient, because he had learned the doctrine of the Manicheans from the disciples of the author of the sect. But the “ place, upon which he relies, may denote no more than that Egypt knew Mani by his disciples, without necessarily implying, “ that Alexander himself knew any of them.”

Beaufobre (f) is of the same opinion. He calls Alexander a Pagan

(c) Alexander Lycopolita, natione Aegyptius, Lyco urbe Thebaidos oriundus. . . . Erat quidem primum cultu Gentilis, deinde ad Manichaeos, in Aegyptum recens delatos se contulit. Tandem ejurata haeresi ad Catholicorum castra transiit. Et cum ex eorum grege fuerat, opiniones probe novit, scripsitque librum *πρὸς τὰς Μανιχαίς δόξας* . . . Aetas auctoris etsi certo definiri nequit, antiquissimum tamen esse, et quarti seculi scriptorem, nec forsan ab ipsius Manetis temporibus longe remotum, suspicere fas est. Ait se relationem

hujusce opinionis ἀπὸ γνωρίμων τῶ ἀνδρὶ, ab iis qui cum homine familiariter conversati fuerint accepisse. *Cave Diff. de Script. incertae aetatis p. 2.*

(d) Ὅτι τῆς πέλεως Λύκων Ἀλέξανδρος τὸς ἀρχιερατικὸς ἐγκεχειρισμένος νόμος. *Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi.*

(e) *Mem. Ec. T. 4. Les Manichéens. art. xvi.*

(\*) See p. 18. to be cited by and by at note (r).

(f) *Hist. de Manichéens. Vol. i. p. 236. 237.*

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gan Philosopher. He argues after this manner. "First, he never  
"alleges the Scriptures in his dispute with the Manicheans, which  
"a Christian would not have failed to do, since the Manicheans ad-  
"mitted the authority of the books of the New Testament. 2. He  
"speaks of the souls of Nymphs, which is not the stile of a Chri-  
"stian. 3. He (*g*) speaks of the deluge of Deucalion, and Phoro-  
"naeus, without mentioning that of Noah. 4. He expresth him-  
"self altogether like a Pagan, saying, that (*b*) of all the Gods, the  
"Manicheans honoured only the Sun and the Moon. 5. He ma-  
"nifestly placeth himself in the number of Pagans. For, after hav-  
"ing observed, that the Manicheans endeavored to confirm their er-  
"rour by the historie, or fable of Bacchus, and the attempt of the  
"Giants, he adds: The (*i*) more learned among them, says he,  
"who have some knowledge of the Greek literature, remind us of  
"our own ceremonies, and our own mysteries." These arguments  
Beaufobre thinks decisive. And Mosheim (*k*) has declared his ap-  
probation of them.

I shall presently make large extracts out of this writer. Whereby  
all my readers will be qualified to judge for themselves concerning  
his character.

The time, when he lived, is uncertain. There is nothing in his  
work to shew clearly, that he wrote near the begining of the fourth  
centurie. But it seems to me not improbable, that he wrote soon af-  
ter

(*g*) *P. 17. B. C.*

(*b*) . . . ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ ἡ σελήνῃ, ἔς μόνους θεῶν  
αἰδεῖσθαι φασίν. *Alex. Lycop. contr. Ma-  
nich. p. 7. C.*

But it should be observed, that Alexan-  
der elsewhere owns, that the Manicheans  
did not worship the Sun and Moon, as  
Gods: but only as the way, by which  
they attain to God. Τιμᾶσι δὲ μάλιστα  
Ἡλιον καὶ Σελήνην, ἐχ' ὡς θεοί, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁδόν, δι  
ἧς ἔστιν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. *Ibid. p. 5. D.*

(*i*) Ὅι δὲ ἐν τούτοις χαρίεσται, καὶ Ἑλληνι-  
κῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι λόγων, ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ  
τῶν οἰκείων· ἐκ μὲν τῶν τελετῶν. κ. λ. *Alex.  
p. 6. A.*

(*k*) Hujus philosophandi libellus exstat  
Graece contra Manichaeos . . . De religio-  
ne ejus accurate egit Isaac de Beaufobre.  
. . . *Mosheim. Institut. H. E. p. 235.*

ter the principles of Manicheism had gained some footing in Egypt. He might therefore compose this work about the middle of the fourth centurie, or even before it. I therefore place him at the year of Christ 350.

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II. The work of Alexander begins in this manner: “The (l) *Extraits from his work.* Philosophie of the Christians is called simple. For it’s principal concern is to regulate the manners of men, having first intimated the right doctrine concerning the Deity, as the one efficient cause of all things. It forbears obscure questions and nice arguments about the reason of things. Nor does it labour to describe particularly the grounds and nature of every virtue. But holdeth forth in a general way the precepts of all virtue. By attending to which, as experience shews, the common people are much influenced, and gradually allured to the love and practise of piety.”

“But (m) this simplicity being disliked, some have moved difficult and abstruse questions: and delighting in contention, have formed sects. Such an one was MANICHEE, who was of the countrey of Persia. One *Papus*, and after him *Thomas*, teachers of that doctrine, brought it in among us. He lived, as it is said, in the time of Valerian: and accompanying *Sapor* in his wars, he offended him, and so lost his life. Such (n) is said to have been the origin of this doctrine, which has been brought in among us by his dis-

C 2

“ciples.

(l) Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφία ἀπλὴ καλεῖται. Ἀυτῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἡθικῆς κατασκευὴν τὴν πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆται, ἀνιπτομένη περὶ τῶν ἀκριβεστέρων λόγων περὶ Θεοῦ. ὧν τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς ἐικότως ἂν ἅπαντες ἀποδέξαιτο, ἐνθα τὸ ποιητικὸν αἷτιον τιμιώτατον τίθενται καὶ πρεσβύτατον, καὶ πάντων αἷτιον τῶν ὄντων. παραγγέλματα δὲ παχύτερα ὡς ἐτύγχανεν ἐπισωρεύοντες. ὧν ὁ πολὺς δῆμος ἀκέειν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς πάρας ἐστὶ μαθεῖν, σφόδρα ἐπισιδῶσιν εἰς ἐπιέκειαν καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας χαρακ-

τὴν ἐνιζάνει αὐτῶν τοῖς ἡθεσιν, ἀναζωπυρᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης συνηθείας συνεκλημμένον ἥθος, καὶ κατ’ ὀλίγον εἰς τὴν τῆς καλῆς αὐτῆς ὁρεξίν ὁδηγᾶν. *Alex. Lycop. adv. Manich. p. 3 ap. Combefis. Auclarium Patr. Graec. novissimum. Paris. 1672.*

(m) *Ibid. p. 3. 4.*

(n) Τόια δὲ ὧν τις φήμη τῆς ἐκείνης δόξης, ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων τῶ ἀνδρὸς ἀφίκετο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ἀρχὰς ἐτίθετο, Θεὸν καὶ Ὑλιν. *P. 4. B.*

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350.

"ciples. They hold two principles, God and matter:" and what follows, giving an account of the Manichean notions.

I have transcribed below a large part of the introduction, of which I have made only a loose translation. But Alexander here gives a very honorable character of the genuine Christian Philosophie, as *simple, and intended by plain precepts, without nice disquisitions, and intricate reasonings, to promote virtue among all sorts of men, and even among the lower ranks, and common people*, which indeed are the bulk of mankind. We shall see this character of the Christian Religion repeated again by and by. But let me proceed to take other passages, as they lye in the book itself.

2. For, soon afterwards, in his representation of the Manichean doctrine, he says: "They (*p*) suppose man to be an image of the "divine power, and that Christ is Mind. And that having descended from above, he sent back to God a large part of this power. "At length he was crucified, and by that means afforded knowledge." And what follows.

I do not stay to explain these Manichean absurdities. I only produce this passage to shew, that Alexander was not silent about Christ. We go on.

3. "But (*q*) it would be much better for them to say, that wisdom had been given to men by God, that by the exercise of reason they might be gradually delivered from the love of pleasure, "and

(*p*) Ὑπάρχων γὰρ αὐτὸν θεῖας δυνάμεως ἐκόντα· τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν εἶναι. Νῦν δ' οὐδὲν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ποτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνω τόπου, πλείστον τε τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λευκέναι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τελευταῖον ἀνασαυρωθέντα παραχέσθαι γυνᾶσιν τοιαῦτά τ' ἔσονται· καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν θεῖαν ἐνημερόσθαι, ἐνεσαυρᾶσθαι τῇ Ὑλῃ. *p.* 5. C.

(*q*) Πολύ δὲ κάλλιον ἢν τὴν σοφίαν ὅσων εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ δεδωσθαι, ἢν ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αἰσθητικοῦς εἶναι ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδονῆς, τοῦτο κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν περιήγῃ, τὸ ἐπιμέμερον αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐ-

τῶν ἀνέλκῃ. "Οὕτως γὰρ οὗτοι τε ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι διδάσκουσιν, ζηλωταὶ αὖ ἦσαν τῆς προθέσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου· πολλή τε αὖ ἦν ἐλπίς τῇ, ὅτι ποτε παύσεται τὰ κακὰ, πάντων γενομένων σωζάν. Ὁ δοκεῖ μοι κατανενοικέναι ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Καὶ ἴνα μὴ ἀπειληλαμένοι ᾖσι τὸ ἀγαθὸν γεωργοὶ τε καὶ τέκτονες καὶ οἰκοδομοὶ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν, κοινὸν συνέδριον καθίσαι πάντων ἡμῶν· καὶ διὰ ἀπλῶν καὶ ευκόλων διαλέξεων, καὶ εἰς Θεὸν ἔννοιαν αὐτοῖς ἀπεινοχέειν, καὶ τὸ κελὺ εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐλθεῖν ποιῆσαι. *p.* 13. C. D.



“and other vicious affections. And they who profess to be teachers of virtue, might be examples of it to others. In this way, it might be hoped, that evil might cease, when all were become wise. This seems to me to have been the design of Jesus. And that husbandmen, and carpenters, and masons, and other artificers, might not want this help to goodnesse, he appointed a common council of all together : and by plain and easy discourses, he aimed to bring them both to the knowledge of God, and the love of virtue.”

This appears very honourable to our Saviour. Alexander, I think, must have read the books of the New Testament, the Gospels at least. What he means by the *common council of all together*, may be doubtfull. But it seems to me not unlikely, that he intends the college of Christ's Apostles, among whom were a publican, and several fishermen, and if we take in Paul, a tentmaker.

4. “They (*r*) speak of Christ, though they do not know him. And they call him Mind. And they would appear to speak agreeably to the doctrine of the churches. But if so, why do they reject that which is called the ancient historie?”

It is hence evident, that Alexander had some knowledge of the received doctrine of the churches, or the reputed orthodox Christians. Accordingly, he here seems to blame the Manicheans, for not receiving the scriptures of the Old Testament.

5. Presently afterwards, (*s*) in an obscure manner, he argues against their opinion, that Christ was Mind.

6. Again, a little lower, he argues against their notion, that Christ was crucified, but without suffering. “But (*t*) says he, it would be more  
“reasonable

(*r*) Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἑστὸς γινώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύοντες . . . Νῦν εἶναι φασίν. . . Ἐἰ μὲν τὸ γνωστὸν, καὶ τὸ γινώσκον, καὶ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτῆ λέγοντες ὁμόφωνοι, ἕως τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν περὶ αὐτῆ λέγουσι διατα-

τόμενοι, ἕτω γε ἀλώσονται πᾶς τὴν λεγομένην παλαιὰν ἅπασαν ἱστορίαν ἐκβάλλουσιν : p. 18. D.

(*s*) P. 19. A.

(*t*) Τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν λόγον εἶπεν,

A. D. 350. "reasonable to say, agreeably to the ecclesiastical doctrine, that he  
 "gave himself for the remission of sins. And it is agreeable to the  
 "sentiments of others, and even of the Greek histories, which speak  
 "of some, who gave themselves for the welfare of their countreys.  
 "Of which also the Jewish Historie has an example. For it tells  
 "us, that Abram prepared his son for a sacrifice to God."

7. He seems to refer to the historie of Cain's killing his brother  
 (u) Abel. Gen. ch. iv.

8. He plainly refers to Gen. vi. 1. 2. and says, that (x) the Jewish  
 Historie speaks allegorically, when it says, that angels fell in love  
 with the daughters of men.

9. This I think to be all, which is needfull to be taken from this  
 writer. I am not able to determine with certainty, whether he was  
 a Christian, or a Gentil. But I am rather inclined to think, he was  
 a Gentil. He must have had good knowledge of the Manicheans,  
 and other Christians. And he appears to be not unacquainted with  
 the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. He evidently was a  
 learned and rational man.

His observations concerning the Christian Philosophie, as *plain and  
 simple, and designed to reform the manners of men of all ranks*, deserve  
 particular notice. To me this work of Alexander appears very cu-  
 rious.

ἐπὶ τὸν, εἰς λύσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδεδωκέναι,  
 ἔχεν πείσιν τινὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολλὰς, καὶ τῶν ἰσο-  
 ριῶν τῶν καθ' Ἑλλήνας, ὅτ' αὖ φησὶν, τινὰς  
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας πόλεων ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδεδωκέναι.  
 Καὶ πάρα θεῖον ματὲρ λόγῳ ἔχει καὶ ἡ Ἰουδαίων  
 ἰστορία, τὸν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ παῖδα εἰς θυσίαν τῇ  
 Θεῷ παρασκευάσας. P. 19. C. D.

(u) P. 11. B. C.

(x) Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ περὶ τούτων διατάττονται,  
 ἐν ἀλληγορίαις τὰ τοιαῦτα προφέρονται, τὸ  
 σεμνὸν τὸ λόγῳ ἀποκρύπτουτες τῇ τῷ μύθῳ ἰδέα.  
 Ὅτιον ὅτι αὖ ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰστορία φησὶ, τοὺς ἀγγέλους  
 ταῖς θυγατράσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀφροδίσων συ-  
 νεληλυθέναι μίξιν. p. 20. A.



## C H A P. XLIV.

## P R A X A G O R A S.

"P RAXAGORAS (*a*) of Athens, says Photius, wrote the hi- A. D.  
" storie of Constantin the Great in two Books." 350.

Having made an abridgement of the work (*b*) " containing an account of Constantin's early life, his succeeding to his Father, his wars in Gaul and Germanie, and then his wars with Maxentius, and Lycinius, of both which he gives a bad character, as vicious and tyrannical," he adds: " Praxagoras, (*c*) though he was of the Gentil religion, says, that the Emperour Constantin had surpassed all the preceding Emperours in every virtue, and in every kind of felicity. And so concludes his historie." That must be reckoned honourable to Constantin.

Photius adds: " Praxagoras, as he says, was of the age of two and twenty years, when he wrote that historie. He also wrote two other books of the historie of the Kings of Athens, when he was nineteen years of age. He likewise composed six other books, containing the historie of Alexander, King of the Macedonians, when he was one and thirty years of age. His stile, says Photius,

" is

(*a*) Ανεγράφη Πραξαγόρας τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τῆς κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον ἱστορίας βιβλία κείαν ἑλλήνων, ὅτι πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ καλοκαγαθίᾳ, καὶ παντὶ εὐτυχίᾳ, πάντας τὰς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευκότας ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἀπεκρύψατο. κ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 65. in.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Φησὶν ἔν ὃ Πραξαγόρας, καίτοι τὴν θρησκείαν

A. D. 350. "is clear, and agreeable, but somewhat unequal. He wrote in the  
"Ionic dialect."

Praxagoras (*d*) is supposed to have flourished in the time of Constantius. I place him therefore at the year 350. though the exact time of his writing cannot be known.

(*d*) *Vid. Voff. Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. 17. Tillemont, L'Emp. Constantin. art. 90.*



CHAP.

## C H A P. XLV.

## B E M A R C H I U S.

**I**N the next place I take BEMARCHIUS, who also follows next after *Praxagoras* in Vossius's work of the Greek Historians.

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“Bemarchius (*a*) of Cesarea in Cappadocia, Sophist, says Suidas, “wrote the historie of the Emperour Constantin in ten books. He “also wrote several declamations and orations.”

He also is supposed to have writ in the time of Constantius. And Tillemont (*b*) therefore, beside what is in Vossius, observes, “that “(*c*) Libanius speaks of one Bemarchius, a Pagan Sophist, who was “much in favour with Constantius.” There is nothing of him remaining. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear to wish, that his historie of Constantin was in being. His work was in ten books, and therefore must have been large and copious. And, as may be supposed, it was favourable to Constantine. This may be argued from Libanius. Whose words imply, that Bemarchius had a great respect for Constantius, and was his admirer.

Tillemont observes in the same place, “that Eunapius (*d*) also “wrote the historie of Constantine: but undoubtedly, as he says, it “was in the body of his Universal Historie, which he had made of “the Emperours from the death of Severus.” This also, if extant, I believe would be very curious. And I heartily wish, that *Universal Historie* of Eunapius may be found in some Librarie.

(*a*) Βημάρχιος, Καισαρεύς, ἐκ Καππαδοκίας, σοφιστής. Οὗτος ἔγραψε τὰς Κωνσταντίνου τῆ βασιλείας πράξεις ἐν βίβλοις δέκα, μελέτας τε καὶ λόγους διαφόρους. *Suidas*.

(*b*) *L'Emp. Constantin. art. 90.*

(*c*) Οἰμώττεσι δὴ τοῖς ὧδε πεπραγμένοις ἔρχεται Βημάρχιος σύμμαχος μὲν ἐβδόμῳ, μάλα δὲ τὸν Κωνσταντίνου ἡρκαῶς ἀνὴρ. κ. λ. *Liban. Vit. p. 15. 16.*

(*d*) *Eunap. de Vit. Sophist. cap. 4. p. 40.*

## C H A P. XLVI.

## The Emperour JULIAN.

- I. *His Time, Historie, and Character, and his behaviour toward the Christians.* II. *His Works, particularly, his Work against the Christians.* III. *His Regard to the Jewish People, and his Design to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem.* IV. *Extracts out of his Work against the Christians.* V. *Extracts out of his Orations and Epistles.*

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361.  
*His Time  
and Character.*

I. JULIUS CONSTANTIUS, brother of Constantin the Great, had two wives. *Galla*, by whom he had Gallus, and several other children: and *Basilina*, a Lady of an illustrious family, by whom he had FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS, or JULIAN, who was her only child, she dying soon after his (a) birth.

Julian (b) was born at Constantinople on the sixth day of November,

(a) . . . epotâ gelidâ aquâ quam petiit, medio noctis horrore vitâ facilius est abso-  
lutus, anno aetatis altero et tricesimo: na-  
tus apud Constantinopolim: a pueritiâ us-  
que parentis obitu destitutus Constantii,  
quem post fratris Constantini excessum in-

ter complures alios turba consumpsit Im-  
perii successorum, et Basilinâ matre, jam  
inde a majoribus nobili. *Am. M. l. 25.*  
*cap. iii. fin.*

(b) *Vid. Pagi in Baron. ann. 337. num.*  
*ix. et 363. iv. v.*



ber, in the year of Christ 331. and died the 26. day of June in the year of our Lord 363. in the 32. year of his age, which was not compleat.

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361.

As I have not room to write the historie of Julian at length, I refer to several learned moderns, (c) where more particulars may be found, and my mistakes, if I should make any, may be corrected.

Julian was about six years of age, when Constantin died in 337. Soon after which, in the year 339. when (d) Julian was in the eighth year of his age, several (e) of Constantin's familie were put to death, and among them the father of Julian, and his eldest brother. The infirmities and weak constitution of *Gallus*, another brother of Julian, saved his life, it being thence concluded, that he could not live long. And Julian's tender age was a security to him.

Constantius took care, that they should be educated by Christian masters. When Julian was about 14 or 15 years of age, he and his brother *Gallus* were sent to a palace in Cappadocia, where they lived at ease, but were well guarded: so that, as (f) Julian says, they were shut up as in a prison. Here they spent about six years, till the year 351. when Gallus was made Cesar. At that time Julian was permitted to come to Constantinople. But his fine parts making him to be much taken notice of, he was sent away to Nicomedia, where Libanius then taught rhetorick. But Julian had been particularly charged, not to converse with him, nor learn any thing of him. However, he had here a good deal of liberty, and was acquainted with divers Heathen Philosophers: some of whom came hither on purpose to pay their respects to him. Here Julian, at about

D 2

the

(c) *Pagi, ubi supra, et passim. Basnag. ann. 363. et alibi. Cav. H. L. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 8. Tom. 7. p. 76. &c. Tillemont Hist. Emp. Tom. iv. Vie de l'Emp. Julien par Bletorio. See likewise Tillemont's long article of Julian's Persecution, in the seventh Tome of his Memoirs.*

(d) *Pagi ann. 337. num. ix.*

(e) *Vide Julian. ad Athenienses, p. 270. G. D. Ammian. ut supra. Socrat. l. 3. cap. i. Liban. Or. x. p. 262. G. D.*

(f) *Ad Athenienses. p. 271. B. G.*

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the age of twenty, took a liking to Hellenism. And it is said, that some of these Philosophers did then give him hopes of being Emperour. Constantius had informations concerning him. And Julian, for preventing disagreeable suspicions, as (g) Socrates says, was shaved, and made profession of being a monk. He privately studied philosophie, and publickly read the Scriptures. And he was ordained Reader in the church of Nicomedia.

In 354. Gallus was killed, and Julian was suspected of disaffection. He was sent for therefore to come to Milan, where the Emperour then was, and a guard was set upon him. In this danger Julian's life was saved by the intercession of the Empreſſe *Eusebia*, who also obtained leave for him to travel into Greece. Which was very agreeable to Julian, who wanted nothing more than to compleat his studies at Athens. And the Emperour likewise was willing he should employ his time in matters of literature, rather than politicks. In the year 355. Julian arrived at Athens. Where also *Basil* and *Gregorie Nazianzen* were studying eloquence, and other parts of polite literature. But Julian made no long stay there. For in the same year he was sent for by Constantius to Milan, and (h) on the sixth day of November 355. he was declared Cesar, that he might go into Gaul, and take the command of the armie there. And Britain and Spain were also put under his government. A few days after that Constantius gave him in marriage his sister *Helena*.

Julian left Milan on the first day of December, and before the end of the year came to Vienne in Gaul. In the wars with the Franks and Germans, who had made incursions into the countrey, he was very successfull, and gained a great deal of honour and reputation there, and all over the Empire.

In the year 360. about (i) the month of March or April, in the

29.

(g) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. i. p. 166. A. Conf. Theod. H. E. l. 3. cap. 2. Gregor. Naz. Inveſtiv. i. seu Or. 3. p. 58. D.*

(h) *Pagi ann. 355. num. iv.*

(i) *See Tillemont L'Emp. Conſtance. art. lv. Bletorio Vie de Julien. liv. 2. p. 170.*



29. year of his age, he was against his will declared *Augustus* by the soldiers at Paris. Who in a manner compelled him to accept the title, and to take upon him the government, no longer in the quality of Cesar, but of Emperour.

Julian thereupon sent some of his officers with a letter to Constantius, who was then in the East, preparing for the war with the Persians, giving him an account of what had been done, desiring him to yield to him the title of *Augustus*, and promising all the submission that could be expected from a second and a partner in the Empire. Julian's officers found Constantius at Cesarea in Cappadocia. Who resented the conduct of Julian, and sent him a letter, requiring him to be content with the title of Cesar. That letter was received by Julian at Paris, and was read in the presence of the people, and the soldiers. Julian offered to submit to the proposal of Constantius, if the soldiers approved of it. But with loud acclamations they confirmed to him the title of *Augustus*. Of this likewise Julian sent an account to Constantius. And afterwards several letters passed between them.

Julian came to Vienne, near the end of the year 360. About which time (*k*) he lost his wife *Helena*. He was still at Vienne on the sixth day of January (*l*) in 361. Soon after which, he went forward into Illyricum, and took possession of Sirmium the chief city. Constantius died in Cilicia, the third day of November (*m*) 361. On the (*n*) eleventh day of December following Julian (*o*) made his entrance into Constantinople, with the general acclamations of the people, attended by the Senate, by whom he was proclaimed Emperour.

Here he staid about eight months. And (*p*) having settled matters,

(*k*) *Ammian. l. 21. cap. 2.*

(*l*) *Id. ib. cap. 2.*

(*m*) *Vid. Pagi ann. 361. num. iv. Baf-  
zag. ann. 361. n. iv.*

(*n*) *Pagi 361. num. vi.*

(*o*) *Ammian. l. 22. cap. ii.*

(*p*) *Omnibus igitur, quae res diversae  
poscebant et tempora, perpenſa delibera-  
tione*

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ters, and conferred many favours upon that city, the place of his nativity, he set out for Antioch in Syria, where he arrived in July 362. And having compleated his preparations for the War with the Persians, he set out with his armie from Antioch in the beginning of March 363. In an action with the Persians he received a wound with a dart, on the 26. day of June. And being carried to his tent, he expired there in the night of the 26. day of June 363. in a calm and composed manner, entertaining his friends with philosophical (q) discourses.

Thus died Julian, in the 32. year of his age, having been Cesar about seven years and a half, Augustus, after his proclamation by the soldiers, in Gaul, about three years, and sole Emperour, after the death of Constantius, a year and almost eight months.

From whom that dart came, was always (r) uncertain: whether from the Persians, or from some of Julian's own men. His death was charged upon the Christians by Libanius, because, as he argued, they were the only men who had an interest in it. And no Persian was rewarded for it. Nor did any of them claim any honour upon that account. But there never was any proof brought of that charge. Nor have other Heathen writers joyned with Libanius in it: but rather suppose, that (s) the dart came from the enemies.

There are reported some blasphemous expressions to have been spoken by him at that time, of which Theodoret writes in this manner: "It (t) is said, that when he was wounded, he took a hand-  
" full

tione dispositis, . . cunctorum favore sublimis, Antiochiam ire contendens, reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis multis fultam. Natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam, et colebat. *Amm. l. 22. cap. ix. p. 346.*

(q) *Ammian. l. 25. cap. 3. Liban. Or. Parent. T. 2. p. 323. B. C. D. et apud Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. 7. §. 14. p. 362.*

*Vid. et Sozom. l. 6. cap. 1. et 2. Zof. l. 3. p. 728.*

(r) *Vid. Socrat. l. 3. cap. 21. Sozom. l. 6. cap. 2. Theod. l. 3. cap. 25.*

(s) . . dum se inconsultius praeliis inferit, hostili manu interfectus est. *Eutrop. l. x. cap. 16. Et Conf. Ammian. l. 25. cap. 3.*

(t) Εκείνον δέ γε φασί, δεξιόμενον τὴν πληγὴν,

“full of his blood, and threw it up into the air, saying at the same time: O thou Galilean, thou hast got the better of me.” Sozomen (*u*) tells the same storie a little differently, and then adds: “But some say, he was displeased with the sun, who had sided with the Persians, and deserted him: and that, holding up his hand, and shewing his blood to the sun, he threw it up into the air.” The same is also related by (*x*) Philostorge.

Theodoret says, “that (*y*) a man of good understanding, who taught children at Antioch, was in companie with Libanius the celebrated Sophist, who asked that person, what the carpenter’s son was doing. He replied: The maker of the world, whom you jeeringly call the carpenter’s son, is making a coffin. And in a few days after tidings came of Julian’s death.”

If Libanius was pleased to talk in that rude manner: I think, such an answer might be made without a spirit of prophetic. Some other like things may be found in our ecclesiastical historians, which I forbear to take notice of.

Nevertheless I think it not improper to observe a short storie told by Jerome, in his comment upon the third chapter of the prophet Habakkuk. Who says: “When (*z*) he was yet very young, and “at a grammar-school, when all the cities were polluted with the “blood of victims, on a sudden, in the heat of the persecution, “came news of the death of Julian. Whereupon one of the Hea- “then people said not much amiss: How comes it, says he, that “the

γὴν, ἐνθὺς πλῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα αἵματος, καὶ τῷ το  
ρίσαι εἰς τὸν αἴρα, καὶ φᾶναι Νενίκηκας Γαλι-  
λαίῃς. *Theod. l. 3. c. 25 p. 147.*

(*u*) *Soz l. 6. cap. 2. p. 638. C. D.*

(*x*) *L. 7. cap. 15.*

(*y*) *Theod. l. 3. cap. 23.*

(*z*) Dum adhuc essem puer, et in gram-  
maticae ludo exercerer, omnesque urbes  
victimarum sanguine polluerentur, ac su-  
bito in ipso persecutionis ardore, Juliani

nunciatus est interitus, eleganter unus de  
Ethnicis: Quomodo, inquit, Christiani  
dicunt Deum suum esse patientem, et ἀ-  
νεξίκακον? Nihil iracundius, nihil hoc furo-  
re praesentius: ne modico quidem spacio  
indignationem suam differre potuit. Hoc  
ille ludens dixerit. Ceterum Ecclesia  
Christi cum exultatione cantavit: Divi-  
fissi cum stupore capita potentium. *Hieron.*  
*in Hab. T. 3 p. 1636.*



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“the Christians stile their God patient and long-suffering. For none  
“can be more hastie, and passionate. He was not able to defer his  
“indignation for the shortest space. So said that person in a jesting  
“way. But the Church of Christ sang with exultation: *Thou didst*  
“*strike through the heads of the powerfull with astonishment.*” Habak-  
kuk iii. 14. according to the reading of the Seventy.

It is not needfull, that I should draw the character of Julian at full length. But I shall observe some things. Ammianus Marcellinus was well acquainted with him, and was his great admirer, and was present with him in the Persian expedition. He has twice touched upon the lines of his character: First, entering upon the historie of his conduct in Gaul, after Julian had been declared Cesar, where he says, in the way of Panegyrick, “that (*a*) he might be compared  
“to Titus son of Vespasian for prudence, to Trajan for valour, to  
“Titus Antonin for clemence, and, for strong reasoning, to Mark  
“Antonin, whom he took for his great model of imitation in all his  
“actions.”

Again, after Julian’s death he draws his character more at length, describing (*b*) his person, his temper, and manners. “He (*c*) was extremely temperate, in eating and drinking, and slept little. His chastity is represented (*d*) as exemplarie and inviolate. His skill in every branch of science was very great great for his age.” His ge-  
nius

(*a*) Namque incrementis velocibus ita domi forisque colluxit, ut prudentiâ Vespasiani filius Titus alter aestimaretur, bellorum gloriosis cursibus Trajani simillimus, clemens ut Antoninus, rectae perfectaeque rationis indagine congruens Marco, ad cujus aemulationem actus suos effungebat et mores. &c. &c. *Ammian. l. 16. cap. i. Vid. et cap. v*

(*b*) Mediocris erat staturae, capillis tanquam pexisset mollibus, hirsuta barba in acutum desinente vestitus. . &c. *Id. l. 25. cap. iv. p. 463. 464.*

(*c*) Vir profecto heroicis connumerandus ingeniis. . . Cum enim sint, ut sapientes definiunt, virtutes quatuor praecipuae, temperantia, prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, . . . intento studio coluit omnes ut singulas. Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, &c. *Ammian. l. 25. cap. iv. sub in.*

(*d*) Νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν γυναικα ἐπέθυσε, ἐτέρας δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πρότερον, οὐθ’ ὕστερον ἡψατο. *Liban. Or. Parental. §. 88. p. 313. ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. vii.*

nus for learning is highly applauded by Heathen Authors. Nor is it disowned by (l) Christians. And his remaining works are proofs of it. His great ability, and his facility in writing appear in the several works composed by him in the space of those twenty months, in which he was sole Emperour, and that amidst the hurries of a joyfull accession, and the diligent administration of justice, beside all the ordinarie affairs of so vast an empire, and the preparations for a hazardous war with the Persians. As Libanius says, “ he (m) has “ left behind him works in all kinds of writing, in all of them ex- “ celling all other men, and in his Epistles himself.” His valour likewise is undisputed: though his prudence, especially in the Persian expedition, has been often called in question: Which (n) as has been said, was rashly undertaken, resolutely pursued against many discouragements, and carried on, attended with several instances of mismanagement and bad conduct.

After all, he (o) had his faults, as is acknowledged by his best friends.

(l) Επεὶ δὲ περὶ Ἰουλιανῶ τῆ βασιλείας ἐλ-  
λογίμῳ ἀνδρὶ οὐλίγα διεξελθεῖν πρόκειται.  
*Socr. l. 3. cap. i. in.*

Ἐχων τοίνυν εὐρυτὴν τὴν γλῶτταν ὁ κρᾶτισ-  
τος Ἰουλιανός. *Cyril. contr. Jul. l. i. p. 3. D.*

(m) Ὁ δὲ πολέμῳ τε ὁμῶς καὶ πλάτταν  
λόγους, πάσας μορφὰς καταλέλοιπεν, ἀπάσαις  
μὲν ἀπαιτίας νικᾶν, τὰ δ' αὐτῷ τῇ τῶν ἐπισ-  
τολῶν. *Or. Parent. §. 154. p. 375. ap. Fabric aliter. Or. x. p. 330. C.*

(n) Sed in hoc bello, parum prudenter  
coepto, et gesto, A. 363. telo in praeliis  
percutsus interibat. *Mosheim. Instit. H. E. p. 147.*

(o) Digestis bonis, quae scire potui-  
mus, nunc ad explicanda ejus vitia venie-  
mus, licet dicta sint carptim. *Levioris inge-*

nii. Verum hoc instituto rectissimo tem-  
perabat, emendari se, cum devia-  
ret a fruge bona, permittens. Linguae  
fusioris, et admodum raro silentis:  
praefagiorum sciscitationi nimiae  
deditus: ut aequiparare videretur  
in hac re principem Hadrianum.  
Superstitiosus, magis quam sacrorum  
legitimorum observator, innu-  
meras, sine parcimonia, pecudes  
macans: ut aestimaretur, si  
revertisset de Parthis, boves  
jam defuturos: Marci illius  
similis, in quem id accepimus  
dictum: Ὁι λευκὸι βίτες  
Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι: Ἀν  
σὺ νικήσης, ἀπωλόμεθα. Vul-  
gi plausibus laetus, laudum  
etiam ex minimis rebus  
intemperans appetitor, popu-  
laritatis cupiditate cum  
indignis loqui saepe adfectans.  
*Ammian. l. 25. cap. iv. p. 462. 463.*



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friends. He had a certain levity of mind, was a great talker, and very fond of fame: superstitious, rather than properly religious: so addicted to sacrificing, that it was said, the race of bulls would be destroyed, if he returned victorious from Persia. And (o) such was the multitude of his victims, that his soldiers, who partook of them, were often much disordered by excess in eating and drinking. So Ammianus. It would be tedious to rehearse all the instances of excessive, and even ridiculous superstition, which may be found in Heathen writers. Says Libanius: "He (p) received the rising sun with bloud, and attended him again with bloud at his setting." "And (q) because he could not go abroad so often as he would, he made "a temple of his palace, and placed altars in his garden, which was "purer, than most chapels." "By (r) frequent devotions he engaged the Gods to be his auxiliaries in war, worshipping Mercury, Ceres, Mars, Calliope, Apollo, and Jove: whom he worshipped in his temple upon the hill, and in the city," meaning Antioch. . . And complaining of the Gods, who had deserted him. "Whom, (s) shall we blame, says Libanius? not one, but all. For "none were neglected by him, neither Gods, nor Goddeses. And "is this the return, says he, for all his victims, for all his vows, "for all the incense, and all the bloud offered up to them, by day  
" and

(o) Inter hac expeditionem parans in Persas . . . Hostiarum tamen sanguine plurimo aras crebritate nimia perfundebat, tauros aliquoties immolando centenos, et innumeras varii pecoris greges, avesque candidas terrâ quaesitas et mari: adeo ut in dies pene singulos milites carnis distentione saginâ victitantes incultius, potiusque aviditate corrupti, humeris impositi transeuntium per plateas ex publicis aedibus . . . ad sua diversoria portarentur. &c. &c. *Id. l. 22. cap. xii.*

(p) "Αἵματι μὲν δεχόμενος ἀνίσχοντα τὸν Θεόν· αἵματι δὲ παραπέμπων εἰς δύσιν. *Liban. Or. 8. p. 245. D.*

(q) Ἐπεὶ μὴ τρέχεν εἰς ἱερὸν παρ' ἡμέραν ἔνεστιν, ἱερὸν ποιεῖται τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ τὸν κῆπον καθαρώτερον τῶν παρ' ἐνίοις αἰδύτων. &c. *Ibid.*

(r) *Liban. Legat. ad Julian. p. 170.*

(s) *Liban. Or. 9. in Julian. necem. p. 252. A. B.*

“and by night?” Again, says the same writer: “Wherever (z) there was a temple, whether in the city, or on the hill, or on the tops of the mountains: No place so rough, or so difficult of access, but he ran to it, as if the way had been smooth and pleasant, if it had a temple, or ever had one.”

But though Julian was so devout and religious in his way, when disappointed, he could be displeased, and even angry with his Gods, like (u) other Heathen people, especially the vulgar among them. In (x) the Persian war, having had some advantages, and expecting more, he prepared a grand sacrifice for Mars. But the omens not being favorable, he was exceedingly moved, and called Jupiter to witness, that he would never more offer a sacrifice to Mars.

This excess of superstition, it seems to me, is an argument of want of judgement. Which defect appeared upon divers occasions, and in many actions, not altogether becoming the dignity of an (y) Emperour.

Ammianus Marcellinus, though very favorable to Julian, makes no scruple to blame him upon some occasions.

E 2

After

(z) Δρόμοι τε εἰς τεμένη· τὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀκροῖς ὄρεσι. Καὶ ἐδὲν οὕτω χαλεπὸν, ἐδὲ δύσβατον, ὃ μὴ λείον ἐδόκει, νεῶν ἔχων, ἢ πρότερόν γε ἐχέμενος. Or. 9. p. 255. A.

(u) Tamen longe majora et firmiora de eo [Germanico] judicia in morte ac post mortem exstiterē. Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subverſae Deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abjecti, partus conjugum expofiti. Sueton. Calig. cap. 5.

(x) Abunde ratus poſt haec proſperitates ſimiles adventare, complures hoſtias Marti parabat Ultori. Et ex tauris pulcherrimis decem ad hoc perducis, nondum aris admoti voluntate ſua novem pro-

cubuerē triſtiſſimi. Decimus vero, qui diſtractis vinculis lapſus, aegre reductus eſt, maſtatus ominoſa ſigna monſtravit. Quibus viſis exclamavit, indignatus acriter Julianus, Jovemque teſtatus eſt, nulla Marti jam ſacra faſturum. Nec reſeravit, celeri morte praereptus. Ammian. l. 24. cap. vi. fin.

(y) Et cum die quodam ei cauſſas ibi ſpectanti, veniſſe nuntiatus eſſet ex Asia philoſophus Maximus, exſiluit indecore: et qui eſſet oblitus, effuſo curſu a veſtibus longe progreſſus, exoſculatum ſuſceptumque reverenter ſecum induxit, per oſtentionem intempeſtivam nimius captator inanis gloriae viſus. . . Ammian. l. 22. cap. 7. p. 330.

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After he had been declared Augustus, and when he was in the way to the East, to meet Constantius, he sent a letter, or oration, to the Senate of Rome, in which were many reflexions upon Constantius. “When (*r*) Tertullus, who was then Prefect of the City, read the letter in the Senate, they manifested their generosity and gratitude. For with one voice, and directing themselves as to Julian himself, they cried out aloud: *We beseech you, Sir, shew more respect to him, to whom you are indebted for what you are.*”

Constantin, in the necessity of his affairs, had advanced some men of low rank to high posts in the Republick. With that Julian reproached Constantin in the just mentioned letter, or oration, to the Senate. And yet he himself made *Nevita* a man of mean original, Consul in the year 362. But, says Ammianus, a (*s*) man should not do what he had blamed in others.

He moreover censures some of the executions made at the beginning of his reign, soon after the death of Constantius. He says, “It (*t*) seems to him, that Justice itself wept for the death of Ursulus,  
“su-

(*r*) Jamque altius se extollens, et nunquam credens ad concordiam provocare posse Constantium, orationem acrem et invektivam, probra quaedam in eum explanantem et vitia, scripserat ad Senatum. Quae cum Tertullo administrante adhuc Praefecturam, recitarentur in Curia, eniuit Nobilitatis cum speciosa fiducia benignitas grata. Exclamatum est enim, in unum cunctorum sententia congruente, Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus. *Ammian. l. 21. cap. x.*

(*s*) Tunc et memoriam Constantini, ut novatoris turbatorisque priscarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti, vexavit, eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus adusque fasces auxerat, et trabeas

Consulares: insulse nimirum et leviter: qui cum vitare deberet id quod infestius objurgavit, brevi postea Mamertino in Consulatu junxit Nevitam, nec splendore nec gloria horum similem, quibus Magistratum amplissimum detulerat Constantinus: contra inconsummatum, et subagrestem, et quod minus ferendum, celsa in potestate crudelem. *Ammian. Ibid.*

(*t*) Ursuli vero necem Largitionum Comitum ipsa mihi videtur flesse Justitia, Imperatorem arquens ut ingratum . . . Quo extincto cum maledictis execrationibusque multorum se Julianus sentiret expositum, impurgabile crimen excusari posse existimans, absque conscientia sua hominem affirmabat occisum, praetendens, quod



“superintendent of the treasury, to whom Julian was under many obligations. And when many were offended with the Emperour upon that account, he pretended, that it was done without his knowledge, and was entirely owing to the resentments of the soldiery.” So Ammianus.

I need not enlarge any farther here. These several particulars, now mentioned, may be sufficient to satisfy us, that in the conduct of Julian, there might be many things liable to exception. And, that like other great men, he was upon some occasions guilty of indiscretion, and even of injustice. And if the friends of Constantin were so disposed, they might make reprisals upon the Panegyrists of Julian.

Before we pass on to other things, it may be requisite to take notice of some exceptions, that have been made to Julian's virtue.

The *first* relates to his chastity. Mamertinus, in his Panegyrick, says, “That (*u*) Julian's bed was as pure as that of any Vestal.” Libanius (*x*) likewise ascribes to Julian compleat purity. But no one has so enlarged upon this point, as the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, whose testimonie must be allowed to be as satisfactorie, as that of any man. He (*y*) not only ascribes to Julian inviolate chastity after  
the

quod eum militaris ira delevit, memor quae dixerat, ut ante retulimus, cum Amidam vidisset excisam. *Ammian. l. 22. cap. iii.*

(*u*) . . . lectus, . . . Vestalium toris purior. *Mamert. cap. 13. p. 292.*

(*x*) Ὅτι οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπελάττετο τῆς νυκτὸς τῶν τοιούτων γειτόνων ἀνδρῶν. *Liban. Or. x. p. 292. B.*

Ὁυ σαφροῦς εἶδος μὲν Ἰππολύτης; *Ibid. p. 225. C.*

(*y*) Et primum ita inviolata castitate enituit, ut post amissam conjugem nihil unquam venereum agitare; illud adver-

tens, quod apud Platonem legitur, Sophoclem tragoediarum scriptorem aetate grandaeum interrogatum, ecquid adhuc feminis misceretur, negantem id adjecisse, quod gauderet harum rerum amorem, ut rabiosum effugisse dominum et crudelem. Item ut hoc propositum validius confirmaret, recolebat saepe dictum lyrici Bacchylidis, quem legebat jucunde, id asserentem, quod ut egregius pictor vultum speciosum effingit, ita pudicitia celsius confurgentem vitam exornat. Quam labem in adulto robore juventutis ita caute vitavit, ut ne sus-

picionem

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the death of his wife, but also says, that this virtue was always in high esteem with him. He likewise mentions some considerations, by which Julian supported his resolution, and says, that none of those who were most intimate with him, ever suspected him of liberties contrarie to that branch of temperance in any time of his life.

Nevertheless exceptions have been made to this part of Julian's character, by some of late times, who say : " As (x) to his chastity, " we are not fully convinced, that it deserved those mighty enco- " miums, which Mamertinus, Libanius, and Ammianus Marcelli- " nus have been pleased to bestow upon it. For on one side it is " certain, that by Helena, his only wife, he had but one son, whom " the midwife, bribed by the Empress Eusebia, destroyed as soon " as born. On the other side, Julian himself, in a letter, which " he wrote in 363. that is, three years after the death of Helena, " mentions his children, and the person, who was charged with the " care of their (a) education."

1. To which I answer, That the testimonie of the foremention- ed writers ought to be relied upon. The truth of what they say, ought not to be contested. If Julian's chastity had not been real, and well known, Heathen Historians and Panegyriste might and would have been silent, and have said nothing about it.

2. There is a remarkable instance of his self-government in this respect recorded in the Persian expedition, and which ought to be mentioned to his honour. The city Maogamalcha was taken after a difficult siege. When (b) they came to divide the spoil, the Per-  
sian

picione quidem tenus libidinis ullius vel  
citerioris vitae ministris incusaretur, ut  
saepe contingit. Hoc autem temperan-  
tiae genus crescebat in majus, juvante par-  
cimoniam ciborum et somni, quibus domi  
forisque tenacius utebatur. *Ammian. l.*  
*25. cap. iv. p. 458.*

(x) *Tillemont L'Emp. Julien, art. xxx.*  
*p. 1031. and the Writers of universal an-*  
*cient History. Vol. 16. p. 269. 270.*

(a) Πάλιν ἐπανιόντος ἑκάσθε τῷ τρεφέῳ τῶν  
ἑμαυτῷ παιδίων, ἐτέρων ἤρχον πρὸς σε γραμ-  
μάτων *Ep. 40. p. 417. Spanh.*

(b) Divisa itaque perpenſis meritis et  
labo-



fian women being then renowned for beauty, it was proposed that some of those beautifull captives should be allotted to the Emperour and General. But Julian would not so much as see any of them. Which shews, that he was upon his guard against every thing that should endanger the steadinesse of his resolution.

3. When Julian speaks of *the tutor of his children*, who is not named, the expression must be understood figuratively. For Julian had no children, legitimate or illegitimate. Historians are quite silent about them, excepting that one, which he had by his wife Helena, above mentioned, who was not suffered to live. If Julian had any children, out of lawfull marriage, and therefore illegitimate, can it be supposed, that Christian writers would have been silent about it? By no means. Eumenius, in his Panegyrick recommends (c) to Constantin not only his five children, of whom he was the parent, but his other children likewise, as he calls them, whom he had educated for the Bar, or the Court. In some such figurative sense Julian must be understood. He intends some young persons under his special care.

4. Upon the whole therefore, the accounts of Julian's inviolate chastity ought not to be reckoned unlikely. Ammianus has mentioned divers considerations, by which Julian supported his resolution. . . And he adds, that he was assisted therein by his great and constant

laboribus praeda, ipse, ut erat parvo contentus, mutum puerum oblatum sibi suscepit gesticularium, multa quae callebat nutibus venustissimis explicantem, et tribus aureis nummis partae victoriae praemium jucundum ut existimabat et gratum. Ex virginibus autem quae speciosae sunt captae, ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit, nec videre: Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui haec declinabant,

ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui se invictos a laboribus ubique praestiterunt. *Ammian. l. 24. cap. iv. p. 436.*

(c) Tibique, quod superest, commendo liberos meos. . . Ceterum quod de omnibus liberis dixi, lata est, Imperator, ambitio. Praeter illos enim quinque quos genui, etiam illos quasi meos numero, quos provexi ad tutelam fori, ad officia palatii. *Eumen. Paneg. cap. xxiii. p. 217.*

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constant temperance in food and sleep. Moreover Julian's ardent thirst of fame may have been another preservative of this virtue. When Mamertinus says, that Julian was free from every vice incident to human nature, it is not improbable, that he has a regard to incontinence. His expressions are to this purpose: "To (*d*) some, "says he, your justice, your moderation, your humanity, your freedom from every vice incident to human nature, may appear wonderful, and even incredible. But not to me, who know, that "you aim at immortality: and that in all your designs and actions "you have an eye to the impartial judgement of posterity. He can "do nothing mean and abject, who expects to be in the mouths of "all men in all time."

Secondly, it is objected from (*e*) Chrysostom, "that on festivals to the honour of Venus, or on some other like occasions, Julian walked in procession with lewd women, and others of the worst characters, followed by his horse, and guards." Which is too true, though very strange. Ammianus (*f*) acknowledgeth it, and intimates, that he was ridiculed by some upon that account.

Still, it should be observed, that Chrysostom, and (*g*) other ecclesiastical writers, who mentioned these, and the like things, do not charge him with being guilty of debauch. In the stile and language of

(*d*) Sed sint, sanctissime Imperator, ea quae tu juste, moderate, civiliter facis, aliis fortasse miraculo, mihi esse non possunt: qui te omnibus humanis vitiis absolutum et liberum, sciam solo immortalitatis amore flagrare, dirigere omnes opes et cogitationes tuas ad memoriam posteritatis aeternam, atque his maxime servire iudiciis, qui de rebus gestis tuis sine odio et gratia venturis seculis judicabunt. Non potest quidquam abjectum et humile cogitare, qui scit de se semper loquendum. *Mamert. cap. xxxi. p. 303.*

(*e*) *Vide de S. Babyla. contr. Jud. et Gentil. T. 2. p. 559. 560. Bened.*

(*f*) . . . et culpabatur hinc opportune, cum ostentationis gratia vehens licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipatusque mulierculis lactabatur. *Amm. l. 22. cap. xiv. p. 359.*

(*g*) Τὰς δὲ προπύσεις τε καὶ φιλοτησίας, ὥς δημοσίᾳ ταῖς πόρταις προϋπινέ τε καὶ ἀντιπροϋπινέτο, ὑποκλέπτων τὸ ἀσελγὲς μυσηρίν προχρήματι, πῶς ἔθαυμάζειν ἄξιον; *Gr. Naz. Or. 4. p. 121. C.*

of (*b*) Bleterie: "All this was done in publick, and from a principle of religion. Thus making a monstrous mixture of folly and wisdom, he honoured the debauch as a Pagan, and abstained himself as a Philosopher." Indeed, I am of opinion, that though Julian, in the excess of his zeal for Hellenism, was willing to bear a part in all it's rites and solemnities, yet he scorned all debauch, and was entirely above it.

Once more, *thirdly*, it is said, that (*i*) he practised necromancie, and ript up the bellies of women and children, and searched their entrails for discovering future events.

But I must confess, that I do not think these stories sufficiently attested. They are to be found in Christian writers only, who were his enemies, and therefore their testimonie may be suspected. I might add, that (*k*) Gregorie Nazianzen's accounts are extravagant, and improbable, and incredible. For he affirms, "that the course of the river Orontes was choaked by the heaps of dead bodies thrown into it in the night-time, some of them children, and virgins, sacrificed in the way of divination, beside all the rest, that were hid in pits, and caverns, and other private places, in and near the palace." A man, who talks in that manner, minds not what he says, and cannot be supposed to regard truth in his words. Or, as Bleterie says, more respectfully, "St. (*l*) Gregorie is not to be understood literally."

Theodoret

(*b*) *Vie de L'Emp. Julien.* p. 348.

(*i*) Τί ἄν τις λέγοι τὰς νεκρομαντείας, τὰς τῶν παίδων σφαγῆς; *Chryf. adv. Gent. T. 2.* p. 560. B. *Vid. et Theodoret. H. E. l. 3. cap. 26.*

(*k*) Σιωπήσομαι τὸν Ὀρόντην, καὶ τὰς νυκτερινὰς νεκρὰς, οὓς τῷ βασιλεῖ συνέκρυπτεν οὗτος σεινόμενος; νεκρῶσι, καὶ κτείνων ἀδελῶς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὰ τῶ ἐπεὶ οἰκειότερον· παραδραμῶμαι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τὰ κοῖλα καὶ ἀπωτάτω, ὅσα τε

ἐν λαῖς, καὶ φρέσιν, καὶ διάρυξι, κακῶν γέμοντα θησαυρῶν τε καὶ μυστηρίων· οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνατεμνομένων παίδων τε καὶ παρθένων ἐπὶ ψυχαραγωγίᾳ καὶ μαντείᾳ, καὶ θυσίαις οὐ νενομισμέναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας κινδυνεύόντων. *Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 91.*

(*l*) Ce qu'on ne doit pas sans doute prendre à la lettre. *Vie de Julien.* p. 349.



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Theodoret says, “ that (*m*) when Julian in his march into Persia, “ came to Carrhae, where was a celebrated temple of the Moon, he “ performed sacrifices privatly, unknown to almost every body. And “ having done so, he had the temple closely shut up and sealed, for- “ bidding it to be opened till he returned, and leaving also a guard “ of soldiers to secure it. But upon the news of his death, the tem- “ ple being opened, they found there a woman hanging by the hair “ of her head, her arms stretched out, with her belly dissected.”

But the circumstances of this relation are so improbable, as to lessen the credibility of it. For it is altogether unlikely, that so horrible a sacrifice, if it had been performed, should be left in that shameful posture, and hanging by the hair of the head : or that Julian should leave soldiers to guard it, when he had none to spare. It is much more reasonable to suppose, that some person invented this storie, and others received it, at a time, when Julian’s memorie was infamous, and his enemies were at liberty to say of him what they pleased.

We have briefly gone over the historie of Julian, from his birth to his death. And thereby have been led to take in also his character. But it will be fit, that we should enlarge upon some transactions and events.

The two Consuls in the year 362. were *Claudius Mamertinus* and *Flavius Nevitta*. And on the first day of Januarie Mamertinus pronounced in the Senate at Constantinople a Panegyrick upon the Emperour, by way of thanks for the honour of the Consulship bestowed upon him. Early (*n*) in the morning of that day, when they entered

(*m*) *Theod. Hist. l. 3. cap. 26.*

(*n*) . . . Ego et collega meus, ne quid maximus Imperator propensius humanitatis studio faceret, verebatur. Itaque matutino crepusculo palatium petimus. Adventare nos Principi, forte tum danti operam saluatoribus, nunciatur. Statim a

folio tanquam praeceptus exiit, vultu trepido atque satagente, qualis mens mea esse potuisset, si principi serus occurrerem. Aegre remotis populi qui nos praegrediebatur agminibus, ut quam longissime nobis obviam procederet, laboravit. *Mamertin. Paneg. cap. 28. p. 301.*



entered on their office, the two Consuls went out to wait on the Emperour at his palace, fearing he should be before-hand with them. As soon as Julian knew they were coming, he rose up suddenly, and went out to meet them, with tokens of concern in his countenance, as if he had been wanting in respect, and came forward, and saluted them with the greatest possible regard. And (o) when the Consuls were carried to the Senate in their chairs, he attended them on foot with their friends in the croud. These things are in the Panegyrick itself, where they may have been inserted, after it was pronounced. The same is in Ammianus, who says, that (p) some applauded this humble behaviour of Julian, whilst others disliked it, as mean, affected, and below his dignity. It was customarie for the Emperour to accompany the new Consuls, when they entred on their office: but, as it seems, not on foot, or in the croud.

A few days after, as we also learn from Ammianus (q), when Mamertin exhibited the sports of the Circus, a number of slaves were brought forth, according to custom, to be manumitted by him. And Julian being present, and not minding what he did, or unacquainted with the prerogative of the several magistrates, declared them free himself. And being put in mind, that he therein in-

F 2

trenched

(o) Pene intra ipsas palatinae domus valvas, lecticas Consulares iussit inferri: et cum honori ejus venerationique cedentes, sedile illud dignitatis amplissimae recusaremus, suis prope manibus impositos mixtus agmini togatorum praeire coepit pedes, gradum moderans pene ad lictoris nutum, et viatoris imperium. *Ib. n. xxx. p. 302.*

(p) Allapso itaque Calendarum Januariarum die, cum Mamertini et Nevittae nomina suscepissent Paginae Consulares,

humilior Princeps visus est, in officio pedibus gradiendo cum honoratis: quod laudabant alii, quidam ut affectatum et vile carpebant. *Amm. l. 22. cap. viii. p. 329.*

(q) Dein Mamertino ludos edente Circenses, manumittendis ex more inductis per admissionum Proximum, ipse lege agi dixerat, ut solebat: statimque admonitus, jurisdictionem eo die ad alterum pertinere, ut errato obnoxium decem libris auri semetipso multavit. *Ibid.*

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trenched upon the jurisdiction of the Consuls, he condemned himself in a fine of ten pounds weight of Gold.

Julian appears to have renounced Christianity, and to have embraced Hellenism, about the twentieth year of his age. But it was kept very secret, and was known to a very few only, who were his intimate friends, untill after he was declared Augustus by the soldiers in Gaul. And even after that he was upon the reserve. For, as Ammianus has observed, “when (x) he was at Vienne, in his way “to Constantinople, he still pretended to follow the Christian rite, “from which he had departed a good while before: and privately, “with his friends he practised augurie and divination, and all other “things customarie with the Greeks. And in the month of Janu- “arie [in the year 361.] on the festival called Epiphanie he went to “the church of the Christians.”

But upon his being declared sole Emperour, all reserve was laid aside. As the same historian says: “Though (y) he had long dis- “sembled his respect for the Gods, to which he had been inclined “from his youth, now finding himself at liberty to act as he saw “good, he made exprefs edicts for opening the temples, erecting al- “tars, and performing sacrifices.”

And I think, it appears from (z) Libanius, that the temples had been

(x) Utque omnes, nullo impediēte, ad sui favorem illicret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingeat, a quo jam pridem occulte desiverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinae auguriisque intentus, et ceteris quae Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut haec interim celarentur, sexiarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania distitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. *Ammian. l. 21. cap. ii.*

(y) Et quamquam a rudimentis pueri-

tiae primis inclinatio erat erga numinum cultum paullatimque adulescens desiderio rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quaedam ad id pertinentia quantum fieri poterat occultissime. Ubi vero abolitis quae verebatur, adesse liberum tempus faciendi quae vellet, advertit, sui pectoris patefecit arcana: et planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templa, atque hostias admoveri ad Deorum statuit cultum. *Amm. l. 22. cap. v.*

(z) *Liban. Or. x p. 288. G.*

been opened at Athens, before the death of Constantius. Socrates (a) evidently supposeth, that the temples were opened, and sacrifices performed by Julian's authority in several cities, whilst Constantius was still living.

And in a letter to the philosopher *Maximus*, writ after he had been proclaimed Emperour by the soldiers, but, as I apprehend, before (b) the end of the year 361. and whilst he was in Illyricum, he tells him: "You (c) will be glad to hear what I am going to say: "we worship the Gods publickly. The soldiers with me are become pious. We sacrifice bulls openly, and have given thanks to "the Gods in many hecatombs." However, as just seen, there were no edicts to this purpose, till after Julian was sole Emperour.

And now he gave orders for the return of the Bishops, who had been banished by Constantius, and for restoring their estates, which had been (\*) confiscated. Jerome (††) has taken notice of this indulgence, and mentions the names of several catholic Bishops, who now returned to their Sees. This order, and the edict for opening the temples, according (||) to Socrates, were of the same date, soon after Julian's coming to Constantinople. Ammianus (\*\*) likewise joins

(a) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. i. p. 167. C. D.*

(b) *Bleterie* allows, that this letter was writ in the year 361. whilst Julian was yet in Illyricum: as indeed I think, the letter itself shows. See his *Lettres Choïses de L'Emp. Julien. p. 200. & 205. So likewise Tillemont. L'Emp. Julien. art. x. et note iv. et la persecution par Julien, art. i.*

(c) *Julian. Ep. 38. p. 415.*

(\*) *Socrat l. 3. cap. i. p. 168. C. D.*

(††) Omnes episcopi, qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam principis ad ecclesias redeunt. Tunc triumphatorem suum Athanasium Aegyptus excepit: tunc Hilarium de pro-

elio revertentem, Galliarum ecclesia complexa est. &c. *Hieron. adv. Luciferian. T. 4. P. 2. p. 301. in.*

(||) *Loc. cit.*

(\*\*) Utque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes Christianorum antistites cum plebe discissa in palatium intro-missos monebat, ut civilibus discordiis consopitis quisque nullo vetante religioni suae ferviret intrepidus. Quod agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentiâ non timeret unanimantem postea plebem: nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus. *Ammian. l. 22. cap. 2.*



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joyns these things together. But he supposeth, that the liberty given to the Bishops to return home, was not done with any good intention : But with a view of encreasing divisions and contentions among them. As (§) Sozomen also expressly says. The Donatists had their share in this indulgence. But it seems not to have been pleasing to (a) Augustin, and some other Catholics. At this time, undoubtedly, Julian openly declared, that they might all worship God in their own way, without molestation from him. As Ammianus says in the place just cited : Ut quisque nullo vetante religioni suae serviret intrepidus.

Having given orders for restoring all the Bishops in general, he wrote a letter to (b) Aëtius, a learned Arian writer, inviting him to come to Court. The (c) letter is still extant. “ Julian to the Bishop Aëtius. I have restored all others, who were banished by the Emperour Constantius, upon account of the madnesse of the Galileans. I not only forgive you, but in regard to our friendship and acquaintance, I desire you to come to me. I allow you the use of a public chariot, and a horseman for your journey.”

And it is reasonable to believe, that at this time Hellenism was established by some edict, or edicts. Among Julian’s letters there is one to *Artabius*. Who he was, is not certainly known. Nor is the letter entire. But it may be considered as an edict, published at the commencement of Julian’s sole empire. “ By (d) the Gods, says he, I will not have the Galileans put to death, nor beaten unjustly, nor suffer any evil. But I am by all means for preferring the worshipers of the Gods before them. For by the madnesse of the

“ Ga-

(§) Λέγεται δὲ μὴ φοβοῦ τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα προσάξει· ἀλλ’ ὥστε ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐρίδος ἐμφυλίου μάχης πολεμεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν δικαίων διαμαρτεῖν θεσμῶν. Soz. l. 5. cap. v. p. 601. A. Conf. Theod. l. 3. cap. iv.

(a) Denique tunc reddidit basilicas hac-

reticis, quando templa daemoniis. Aug. ep. 105. num. 9. al. ep. 166. Tom. 2. Conf. Optat. l. 2. cap. 16.

(b) See Credib. vol. vii. p. 291.

(c) Ep. 31. p. 404.

(d) Ep. 7. p. 376.



"Galileans all things were brought to the brink of ruin, and now we are all safe by the goodnesse of the Gods. Therefore we ought to honour the Gods, and those pious men and cities, that worship them."

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That edict sufficiently indicates, what treatment the Christians were to expect under his reign. Socrates says, "that (e) he ordered, that none should have any militarie offices at court, who would not renounce Christianity, and offer sacrifices to images. Nor would he give the government of provinces to Christians, because, as he said, their law forbids the use of the sword for the punishment of such as deserved death. Many he gained by flatteries and presents. Others resigned their offices, being willing to part with the honours of this world, rather than deny Christ. Among whom were *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who afterwards were Emperours." Sozomen (f) not only confirms this account, but likewise says, "Julian not only deprived the Christians of magistracie, and all honours and dignities, but likewise of equal rights of citizenship." Which may have been true in some instances. But I do not suppose, that there were any edicts, depriving all Christians, who would not sacrifice to the Gods, of the privileges of citizens in the places, where they lived.

However, Libanius says: "He (g) beheld with pleasure, and favored those cities, which had preserved the temples of the Gods. But other cities, in which they had been all or most of them destroyed, he looked upon as abominable. And though he allowed them the privileges of subjects, it was not without some indignation

(e) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. 13.*

(f) ... παραιτημένους θύειν, ἰσοπολιτείας ἐφθόνηι, καὶ συλλόγων καὶ ἀγορῶν μετέχων. Καὶ τὸ δικάζων, ἢ ἄρχων, ἢ ἀξιωματῶν κοινωνεῖν, οὐ μετέδιδε. *Soz. l. 5. cap. 18. p. 623. B.*

(g) Ὅς γε καὶ τῶν πόλεων, αἷς μὲν ἦν ἱερὰ μένοντα, καὶ προσορῶν ἦδετο, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἐν

παθεῖν ἀξίας ἐνόμιζε. Τὰς δὲ ἀνεσπαυίας, ἢ τὰ πλείω, μιᾶς τε ἐνόμιζε, καὶ τῶν ἀφελῶν μετεδίδου μὲν ὡς ὑπηκόοις, οὐ μὴν ἀνευ τοῦ δυσχεραίνειν. *Orat. Parent. in Julian. ap. Fabr. T. 7. §. 61. p. 288. Vid. et §. 59. et 60.*

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"tion and ill-will." And Ammianus acknowledgeth, "that (*b*) "sometimes, when he was hearing causes, he would very unseasonably inquire into the religion of the parties. But he affirms, "that Julian never passed an unjust or partial sentence upon account "of religion, or any other account whatever."

I need not enlarge upon this subject. Some (*i*) of those who suffered in this reign, and have been called Martyrs, may not deserve that title. Socrates says, "that (*k*) Julian avoided the excessive cruelty of Diocletian's persecution. Nevertheless he did not forbear to "persecute, for I call that persecution, says he, when men who live "peaceably are molested. He molested the Christians in this manner. "He forbid, that they should partake of human literature: least, as "he said, when they have whet their tongue, they should be more "ready in answering the Greek disputants." Sozomen says, he " (*l*) would not allow the children of the Christians to be instructed "in the Greek Poets, or Orators, nor to frequent the schools of such "as explained those writers." To the like purpose (*m*) Theodoret. Augustin says, that (*n*) Julian forbid the Christians both to teach and learn polite literature. Gregorie Nazianzen (*o*) has not failed to take notice of this restraint, and to ridicule Julian for it.

Ammianus (*p*) has twice mentioned it, and always with dislike,

as

(*b*) Et quamquam in disceptando aliquoties erat intempestivus, quid quisque jugantium coleret, tempore alieno interrogans: tamen nulla ejus definitio litis a vero dissonans reperitur: nec argui unquam potuit, ob religionem, vel quodcunque aliud ab aequitatis recto tramite deviasse. *Amm. l. 22. cap. x. in.*

(*i*) Vide *Basag. ann. 362. num. xi.*

(*k*) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. xii.*

(*l*) *Soz. l. 5. cap. 18.*

(*m*) *Theod. l. 3. cap. viii.*

(*n*) An ipse non est Ecclesiam persecutus, qui Christianos liberales literas docere

ac discere vetuit? *De Civit. Dei. l. 18. cap. 52.*

(*o*) *Greg. Or. 3. p. 51.*

(*p*) Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores. *Ammian. l. 22. cap. x.*

Namque et jura condidit non molesta . . . praeter pauca. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum. *Id. l. 25. cap. iv. p. 463.*

as a great hardship. Julian's edict is still extant (*q*). If it had not been long, I should have alleged it here. But I shall remember it hereafter. Orosius says, that (*r*) when Julian published his edict, forbidding the Christian Professors of Rhetorick, to teach the liberal arts, they all in general chose rather to resign their chairs, than deny the faith. And Jerome, in his Chronicle, assures us, that (*s*) when Julian published his law, that no Christian should teach the liberal arts; *Proaeresius*, the Athenian Sophist, shut up his school, though the Emperour had granted him a special licence to teach. Augustin (*t*) records the like steadiness of *Victorinus*, who had long taught rhetorick with great applause at Rome. But *Ecebolius* a Christian Sophist at Constantinople, who (*u*) had been Julian's master in rhetorick, was overcome by the temptations of the times, and (*x*) openly professed Hellenism. However, when Julian was dead, he recovered himself, and with great humiliations entreated to be reconciled to the Church.

It was his fanſie to call the Christians *Galileans*. It is taken notice of by divers ecclesiastical writers (*y*) who have made good remarks

(*q*) *Ep. 42. p. 422.*

(*r*) Aperto tamen praecepto edicto, ne quis Christianus docendorum liberalium studiorum professor esset. Sed tamen, sicut a majoribus compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum praecepti conditiones amplexati, officium quam fidem deferere maluerunt. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 30.*

(*s*) Proaeresius, Sophista Atheniensis, lege lata, ne Christiani liberalium artium doctores essent, et sibi specialiter Julianus concederet, ut Christianos doceret, scholam sponte deseruit. *Chr. p. 185.*

(*t*) . . . et illud addidit, [Simplicianus] quod Imperatoris Juliani tempo-

ribus lege data prohibiti sunt Christiani docere literaturam, et oratoriam: quam legem ille amplexus loquacem scholam deferere maluit, quam verbum tuum, quo linguas infantum facis desertas. *Aug. Confess. l. 8. cap. v. num. 10. And see the Credib. Vol. ix. p. 57. 58.*

(*u*) *Socr. l. 3. cap. i. p. 165. A. B.*

(*x*) ὁ ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰουλιανῷ γοργῶς ἑλλην ἐφάνητο. κ. λ. *Socr. l. 3. cap. 13. p. 184. D.*

(*y*) *Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 81. A. B. Theod. l. 3. cap. 21. Chrys. Or. 2. de S. Bab. T. i. p. 783. A. et alibi. Socrat. l. 3. cap. xii. p. 183. D.*



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marks upon it. And some of them say, that he ordered by edicts, that they should be so called. In this appellation there was no reason, nor argument. But it might answer Julian's purpose, to make the Christians appear contemptible in the esteem of weak people.

That was no late thought of Julian. We find him using this stile, at the begining of his sole empire, before he left Constantinople. He there offered sacrifices to the Genius of that city. After which, as Socrates says, *Maris*, the Arian Bishop of Chalcedon, was brought to him, who was an old man, and had lost his sight. He (z) reproached Julian, calling him impious, apostate, and atheist. Who returning reproach for reproach, called Maris blind. Nor, says he, is your Galilean God able to cure you. For he was wont to call Christ the Galilean, and the Christians Galileans. Maris replied: I thank God, who has made me blind, that I might not see the face of a man, who has so fallen into impiety, as you have done. To which Julian made no farther answer. Sozomen, who tells the same storie, adds: "For (a) he thought, he should better advance the cause of Hellenism, by shewing himself, beyond expectation, mild and patient, toward the Christians." And I also think, that the Christians would have acted more agreeably to the doctrine of the gospel, and more for it's honour, if they had avoided abusive and indecent reproaches of an Emperour (\*).

It cannot be denied, that Julian was a persecutor. Ammianus thought

(z) Πολλὰ τὸν βασιλέα προσελθὼν περιύβρισε, τὸν ἀσεβῆ καλῶν, τὸν ἀποστάτην, καὶ ἄθεον. Ὁ δὲ λόγοις τὰς ὕβρεις ἡμύνετο, τυφλὸν καλέσας. Καὶ ἐκ αὐτοῦ, φησιν, ὁ Γαλιλαῖος σε θεὸς θεραπύσει σε Γαλιλαῖον γὰρ εἰσὶν ὁ Γαλιανὸς καλεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ τὰς Χριστιανὰς Γαλιλαίους. *Socrat. l. 3. c. xli. p. 183. D.*

(a) Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδὲν ἀποκρινόμενος παρίδραμεν. ὥς το γὰρ ταύτη μάλλον ἐλλήνισμόν κρατεῖναι, ἀνεξίκακον καὶ πρᾶον ἀδολοκίτως

τῷ πλήθει τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστενύει. *Soz. l. 5. cap. 4. p. 599. D.*

(\*) I am not singular in that judgement. Sueur, Hist. de l'Eglise et de l'Empire, at the year 362. T. 3. p. 235. thus delivers the last part of that discourse. Maris repondit vigoreusement, ou plutôt insolemment. Je rends grâces à mon Dieu, de ce qu'il m'a ôté la vue, afin qu'elle ne fût souillée de voir un si méchant homme que toy.



thought his prohibiting the Christians to have a liberal education, a rigorous proceeding. Eutropius also, another Heathen, and contemporarie, says, that (b) Julian bore hard upon the Christians, though without putting them to death. Socrates, as we have already seen, says he avoided the excessive cruelty of Diocletian's persecution. And other Christian writers say, that he (c) envied Christians the honour of martyrdom. Jerome, in (d) his Chronicle, gives this character of Julian's persecution, that it was mild and enticing; rather than compelling men to sacrifice. But he acknowledgeth, that many were drawn aside. Orosius (e) speaks to the like purpose. Gregorie Nazianzen, near the end of his second invective against Julian, remarking upon his *Misopogen*, or Satyr against the people of Antioch, expresseth himself after this manner. "You (f) boast mightily of your never eating to excess, as a wonderful thing: but say not, how you have oppressed the Christians, an innocent and a numerous body of men. Not considering, that whether some particular person is troubled with crudities, or not, it is a thing of little consequence to the publick. Whereas by the persecution, which you have raised, the whole Roman Empire has been disturbed."

No ancient Christian writer, perhaps, has drawn Julian's character to greater advantage, than *Prudentius*, "who (g) ascribes to him great

(b) Nimius religionis Christianae infectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abstinuerit. *Eutrop. l. x. cap. 16.*

(c) Vide *Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 72. &c.*

(d) Juliano ad idolorum cultum converso, blanda persecutio fuit, illiciens magis, quam impellens ad sacrificandum: in qua multi ex nostris voluntate propria corruerunt. *Chr. p. 185.*

(e) . . . Christianam religionem arte potius quam potestate infectatus est, ut negaretur fides Christi, et idolorum cultus susciperetur, honoribus potius provocans, quam tormentis cogere studuit. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 30.*

(f) *Gregor. Or. 4. p. 133. 134.*

(g) Principibus tamen et cunctis non defuit unus,  
Me puero, ut memini, ductor fortissimus armis.

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great fortitude. And not only says, that he was a fine speaker, and writer, but also, that he made good laws, and was a good Emperour. But he was an enemy to the true religion. He was faithful to the interests of the State. But was unfaithful to God, and worshiped innumerable deities, which he shews largely."

And I would take this opportunity, to refer curious, and inquisitive readers to (b) several learned moderns, who have made remarks upon Julian's writings, and upon his conduct, as an Emperour, and are not unfavourable in their judgements concerning him.

And it has been observed, "that (i) there was such a mixture "of good and bad qualities in this Prince, that it is easie to praise "and blame him at the same time, without deviating from the "truth." (\* \*)

*His Works*

II. It cannot be necessarie, that I should take notice of all Julian's works. But there is one which cannot be omitted. For at length, in his great zeal, in the midst of his preparations for the Persian war,

Conditor et legum, celeberrimus ore manuque,  
Consultor patriae, sed non consultor habendae  
Religionis, amans ter centum millia divum.  
Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus orbi.

*Prudent. Apoth. ver. 450. &c.*

(b). *Vide Petri Cunaei Praef. in Juliani Caesares. Lecumclavii Apologia pro Zosimo. p. 629. &c. Gundling. Praef. in Balduin. de Legib. Constantini M. sub. in. See likewise Ez. Spanheim's French version of Julian's Caesars: and Montaigne's Essays. B. 2. ch. 19.*

(i) *Fleury's Ecc. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 361. English edition.*

(\* \*) It may not be improper to insert here a part of Julian's character, as given by Cave, in his Introduction, p. xlvii. "A Prince truly of great virtues, pru-

"dent, considerative, impartial, strictly  
"just, chaste, and temperate, patient of  
"hardships, unwearied in his labours, va-  
"lorous in his attempts, even to rashness  
"and precipitancy. . . . In short, to give  
"him his due, had not his memory been  
"stained with an apostacy from the best  
"religion that ever was, and so bitter  
"and incurable a spleen against the Chri-  
"stians, he might have passed for one of  
"the best Princes that ever managed the  
"Roman Empire."

war, and when he was almost ready to set out upon that expedition, he was at the pains to compose an argument against the Christian Religion. Jerome (*k*) says, it consisted of seven books. And (*l*) in another place he has quoted the seventh book of that work. But Cyril of Alexandria, in the preface to his confutation of it, mentions (*m*) only three books, writ by Julian against the holy Gospels, and the venerable religion of the Christians. Cyril, who dedicates this defense of our Religion in ten books, to Theodosius the Younger, did not write, as is supposed, before the year 432. Whether any part of Julian's work was lost between the time of Jerome and Cyril: or whether it was differently divided, I cannot say. But that Cyril mentions three books only, because he intended to answer a part only of the work, I cannot believe. When he says, that Julian had writ three books against the Christian Religion, I suppose, he intends the whole of the work, which he had before him.

Philip Sidetes, who flourished about the year 418. published a confutation of Julian's work, as we learn from (*n*) Socrates. But it was never much valued, and has been long since lost. We therefore can have no information from him.

Jerome seems to say, that Julian's work was composed in the Persian expedition, *in expeditione Parthica*. But I do not think it needfull to suppose, as some have done, that he intended to say, it was writ after Julian was set out from Antioch, in his march toward Persia. I think, we may relye upon Libanius for the time of this work: who, as cited by Socrates, says: "In (*o*) the winter sea-  
" son,

(*k*) Julianus Augustus septem libros in expeditione Parthica, adversus Christum vomuit: et juxta fabulas poetarum, suo se ense laceravit. Hieron. ep. 83. T. 4. p. 655.

(*l*) In Osee. cap. xi. T. 3. p. 1311. fin.

(*m*) Καὶ δὴ τρία συγγέγραφε βιβλία κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων, καὶ κατὰ τῆς εὐαγγελίας τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας. Cyril. contr. Julian. l. i. p. 3. D.

(*n*) L. 7. cap. 27.

(*o*) Τῷ χειμῶνος, φησὶ, τὰς νύκτας ἐκτένοντος, ἐπιθέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς βίβλοις, οἱ τὸν.



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“son, during the long nights, the Emperour set himself to confute  
 “those books, which make the man of Palestine a God, and the  
 “Son of God : and in a long and unanswerable argument he shew-  
 “ed, how trifling and absurd those things are, which are admired  
 “by them. In which work he excelled the Tyrian old man. Let  
 “the Tyrian forgive me, that I say, he was exceeded by his son.”  
 But, says Socrates, I am of opinion, that if Porphyrie had been an  
 Emperour, he would have preferred his work above Julian’s. Cave (*p*)  
 likewise speaks very slightly of this performance. Indeed, I appre-  
 hend, there could not be much in it that was new, and had not  
 been said before. But Julian’s work might be more sprightly for  
 the manner, and might have some satyrical strokes against the fol-  
 lowers of Jesus, peculiar to himself. And I am apt to think, that  
 he oftener quoted the writers of the New Testament by name, and  
 more distinctly, than any of his predecessors in this argument. And  
 therefore he will afford us good evidence of their genuinnesse and  
 antiquity. Some have imagined, that (*q*) in this design Julian was  
 assisted by *Libanius*, and other Philosophers, who accompanied him.  
 But I believe, that he needed not their assistance, and that he was  
 better qualified to write upon this argument, than any of those So-  
 phists, or Philosophers. According to our account then, this work  
 was composed by Julian near the end of the year 362. or in the be-  
 gining of the year 363.

Libanius calls it a long work. Indeed, I believe it was prolix.  
 Cyril transcribes many passages from it at length. Afterwards he a-  
 bridges, and plainly omits some tedious quotations from the Scrip-  
 tures, especially from the Old Testament. And at (*r*) the beginning  
 he

τὸν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἄνθρωπον Θεὸν καὶ Θεὸν παῖ-  
 δα ποιεῖσι. κ. λ. *Socrat. l. 3. cap. 23. p.*  
*196. D.*

(*p*) *H. L. T. i. p. 345. in Libanio.*

(*q*) On peut juger, que ce Rheteur, et  
 les philosophes qui accompagnoient Juli-

en, eurent part aux livres contre la reli-  
 gion Chrétienne, que ce Prince composoit  
 pendant les longues nuits de l’hiver. *Ble-*  
*terie Vie de Julien. p. 383.*

(*r*) *Contr. Julian. l. 2. p. 38. C. D.*



he complains, that Julian's work was very immethodical, and had many repetitions, saying the same thing again and again.

In Cyril's Confutation are many large fragments of Julian's work, in which he argues against the Old and the New Testament, against Moses and the Jews, as well as against Jesus and his Apostles, and followers. Cyril promiseth to (s) cite Julian in his own words. But he declares, that (t) he omits some of his blasphemous reflexions upon our Saviour. However he has taken a good many things, that are free and offensive. And in Julian and Libanius we may see, what was the language of those times.

Cyril's answer to Julian, as before said, was not writ before (u) the year 432. Theodoret (x) had read it, and says, he admired it. Du Pin (z) considers it as one of the principal of Cyril's works. He says, it is clear, and learned, and more solid than the work of Julian: though it is far from being so elegant and agreeable.

III. I intend to give a particular account of that work. After which I shall make extracts out of some of Julian's Epistles and Edicts. But before I proceed to those things, it is needfull that I consider what is said of Julian's regard for the Jews, of which, as yet, I have taken no notice.

We are informed by some (r) or all our Ecclesiastical Historians, who write of Julian, that he sent for some of the chief men of the Jewish nation, and inquired of them, why they did not now sacrifice, as the law of Moses directed. They told him, that they  
were

(s) . . . ἐκτιθέμενοι δὲ τὰς σίχας ἐπὶ λέξι-  
σας αὐτῆς. *Ib.* l. 2. p. 38. C.

(t) *Ibid.* D.

(u) Tillem. *Cyril d' Alex.* art. 157.  
*Tom.* 14. p. 671.

(x) Καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐθαυμάσαμεν. *Theod.*  
ep. 83. p. 960. B.

(z) S. Cyril d' Alex. *Tom.* 3. Part ii.  
p. 48. *Amst.*

(r) *Socr. H. E.* l. 3. cap. xx. *Sozom.* l.  
5. cap. xxii. *Theod.* l. 3. cap. xx.

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were not to sacrifice at any place, except Jerusalem: and the temple being destroyed, they were obliged to forbear that part of worship. He thereupon promised to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. And we still have a (t) letter of Julian, inscribed to “the Community of the Jews.” In which he boasts of his having abolished some taxes, which had been laid upon them, and calls (u) their venerable Patriarch, *Julus*, his brother. He also entreats their prayers for him, “that (x) when he shall be returned victorious from the Persian War, he may rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, which for a long time they had earnestly desired to see inhabited, and that he might come and dwell there himself, and together with them offer up prayers to the supreme Deity.”

This letter, however extraordinarie, must be reckoned genuine. For Sozomen expressly says, “that (y) Julian wrote to the Patriarchs and Rulers of the Jews, and to their whole nation, desiring them to pray for him, and for the prosperity of his reign.” That is an exact description of the letter we have, which is inscribed to *the Community of the Jews*.

It was writ in the year 362. as (z) Bleterie supposeth: in the begining of that year say (a) Tillemont, and (b) the Bishop of Gloucester.

And we are informed by many ancient writers, that Julian did actually give orders for rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, and that the attempt was defeated by divine interposition. It is mentioned by  
three

(t) *Ἰουλιανὸς Ἰουδαίῳ τῷ Κοινοῦ. Ep. 25. p. 396.*

(u) . . . τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰουλὸν τὸν ἀιδεσιμώτατον πατριάρχην παρήνεσα. *p. 397.*

(x) . . . ἵνα καὶ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν πόλεμον διορθώσμενος, τὴν ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐπιθυμημένην παρ' ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν οἰκούμενην πόλιν ἁγίαν Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐμοῖς καμάτοις ἀνοικοδομήσας οἰκήσω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δόξω δάσω μεθ' ὑμῶν τῷ κρέττονι. *p. 398.*

(y) Καὶ πατριάρχαις, καὶ ἀρχιερεῶς αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ πλήθει ἑγγραφάν, ἔυχασθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. *Soz. l. 5. cap. xxii. in.*

(z) *Lettres choisies de Julien. p. 236.*

(a) *Persecution par Julien. art. 35. M. E. Tom. vii.*

(b) *See His Julian. p. 65.*

three contemporarie writers, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, and *Ambrose*, Bishop of Milan, all Christians, and also by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a learned Heathen, and afterwards, by (c) *Rufinus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, and *Philostorge*, as well as by later writers. Let us begin with the contemporaries.

“ Julian, says (d) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, having sent for the Jews, “ and assured them, that he had discovered from their own books, “ that now the time was come, when they were to return to their “ own countrey, when their temple was to be rebuilt, and they “ were to live again according to the laws of their ancestors. They “ were easily persuaded to believe what was so desirable to them. “ And immediatly great numbers of them, with the utmost alacrity “ set about the work. And (e) it is said by those who are their good “ friends, that their women not only resigned all their valuable ornaments, with great readinesse, but also joyned in the work, carrying earth in their bosoms, and in their richest garments, not “ thinking any thing too much to promote so pious a design. But “ being interrupted by a hurricane, and an earthquake, they ran to “ a church not far off, either to pray, or for shelter. And (f) there “ are who say, that the church would not admit them: and that “ though they found the doors open, they were presently shut again, “ and bolted by an invisable power. . . . However it is said by all, “ and universally believed, that as they were using their utmost efforts to get into the church, a flame issued out from it, which entirely destroyed and consumed some of them, and scorched and maimed others in their members: so that they were living monuments of the justice and vengeance of God upon sinners. . . . “ And moreover, as he goes on, there was a (g) light in the heaven,

ex-

(c) *Ruf. H. E. l. i. cap. 37. et 38.*

(d) *Gr. Naz. Or. iv p. 111 . . . 113.*

(e) Φασὶ γέ τοι τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων θαυμάζονται . . . κ. λ. p. 111. B.

(f) Εἰσὶ μὲν οἱ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἐδὲ τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτὴς προσεδέξατο. *Ib. D.*

(g) . . . ἔση ὥς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τὸν σαῦρον περιγράφον. . . . P. 112. B.



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“exhibiting a cross with a circle round it. . . And (b) when there  
“were such signs in earth, and in heaven, were there not also some in  
“the air? Was not that also sanctified with the signs of our Lord’s  
“passion? Let them who were spectators of this wonderful event,  
“and partakers in it, now shew their garments, which were then  
“marked with the prints of the cross. For at that time, as any one  
“spoke of it, or heard it related, whether he was one of our own  
“people, or a stranger, each one presently observed the wonder ei-  
“ther upon himself, or upon his neighbour: discerning manifestly  
“a radiant mark upon his body, or in his garments, surpassing the  
“finest embroidery, or painting. Which so affected the minds of  
“those who saw them, that almost all, as with one consent, were  
“induced to acknowledge the God of the Christians, and endeavo-  
“red to appease him by prayers and praises. And they came to our  
“priests, humbly entreating the favour of baptism.”

So writes Nazianzen, in his invective against Julian, writ soon after that Emperour’s death. It is not yet time for me to make remarks. But, surely, no attentive reader can forbear to make some observations upon so strange a relation: in which a contemporarie, representing a matter of so great importance, more than once refers to hear-says, and common reports, instead of appealing to his own sight and knowledge.

*Chrysostom* has several times spoken of this thing, and deserves to be taken notice of, as well as any.

“And (i) in our time the Emperour, who exceeded all men in impiety, gave them leave to build their temple, and assisted them in it.  
“And they began the work, but could not proceed at all. For a  
“fire,

(b) *P.* 113.

(i) Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁ πῶτα εἰς ἀσέβειαν νικήσας βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν τότε, καὶ συνέπραξε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἔφαιτο, καὶ ἔδεν μικρὸν προσελθεῖν ἐδουήθησαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τῶν θεμελίων ἐκπηδῆσαν πάν-

τας αὐτὸς ἀπῆλασεν. Ὅτι δὲ ἡβελήθησαν, καὶ τὰς δειγμὰς εἶναι ἕως τῶν νῦν θεμέλια γυμνωθέντα· ἵνα εἰδῆς, ὅτι ἐπεχείρησαν διασκάπτειν, ἐκδορμῆσαι δὲ ἢ ἔχυσαν, τῆς ἀποφύσεως ταύτης ἀντιπραττέσης αὐτοῖς. *Cont. Jud. et Gent.* T. i. p. 580. E.



“fire, rising up from the foundation, drave them all away. And  
 “that they had a mind to it, appears from the foundations, which still  
 “lye open : whereby it may be discerned, that they began to dig, but  
 “were not able to build, they having met with an obstruction.”

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In another place, the same great orator, and fine writer, having largely related the conversation of Julian with the Jews, and his proposal to them, that they should sacrifice, he goes on. “Nevertheless (k) still blinded against all means of conviction, they  
 “entreated him to joyn with them in rebuilding the temple. And  
 “he furnished them with money, and appointed officers of great  
 “distinction to superintend the work, and sent for artificers from all  
 “parts. He attempted every thing, he omitted nothing, that could  
 “be done : hoping, that if he could bring them to sacrifice, he should  
 “also persuade them to the worship of images : hoping likewise, in  
 “his great perversnesse, to confute the declaration of Christ, that  
 “the temple should not be rebuilt. But he who taketh the wise in  
 “their own craftinesse, soon shewed by the effects, that the decrees  
 “of God are more powerfull than all things, and that his word  
 “is firmly established. For as soon as they began their impious  
 “attempt, and were removing the foundations, and had dug away  
 “a good deal of earth, and were ready to set about the building:  
 “fire bursting from the foundations burnt many of them, and cast  
 “away many stones from the place, and interrupted the vain at-  
 “tempt. And not only they who were employed in the work,  
 “but many Jews likewise, when they saw what had happened,  
 “were confounded, and ashamed. And the Emperour Julian  
 “having been informed of these things, though he was to distrac-  
 “tion intent upon the design, fearing, least he should bring down  
 “the fire upon his own head, desisted, being overcome, together  
 “with the whole nation. And now, if you should go to Jerusalem,  
 “you may see the foundations open. And if you inquire the reason,  
 “you will hear no other, than that just mentioned. And we are

H 2

“witnesses

(k) *Adv. Judæos, Or. v. T. i. p. 646. 647.*

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“witnesses of it. For it happened in our time, not long agoe. And  
 “observe the splendour of this victorie. For it happened not in the  
 “time of pious Emperours: least some should say, they were the  
 “Christians, who obstructed the work. It happened, when we  
 “were in affliction, when all were in fear for their lives, when our  
 “liberty was gone, when Hellenism flourished: and the faithfull  
 “were some of them shut up in their houses, fearing to stir abroad,  
 “others were retired into deserts, and fled from cities. Then these  
 “things happened, that the most impudent might have no pretence  
 “to deny them.”

Again, having observed the declaration made to Julian by the  
 Jews, that they could not now offer sacrifices, the temple being in  
 ruins, “he (l) ordered money to be allowed them out of the public  
 “treasurie, and every thing else necessarie to carry on the building,  
 “and then bid them go, and repair the temple, and offer sacrifices  
 “according to their ancient custom. And they who were blind from  
 “the womb, and even to old age, went away, and set about the  
 “work, under the Emperour’s favour. But (m) as soon as they be-  
 “gan to remove the earth, fire issuing from the foundations, con-  
 “sumed them all. When these things were related to the Empe-  
 “rour, he dared not to proceed any farther, being restrained by fear.  
 “Nevertheless he did not forsake the worship of demons, to whom  
 “he was subject.”

Once more, where he says, that after the Christian Religion had  
 been established, there were not so frequent miracles, as at the be-  
 gining, “yet (n) in our time, says he, in the reign of Julian, who  
 “surpassed all men in impiety, there were many miracles. And  
 “when the Jews attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, fire  
 “issuing out from the foundations of the temple restrained them.”

This

(l) *De S. Babyla. contr. Julian. et Gen-  
 til. Tom. 2. p. 547. C. D.*

(m) Καὶ ὡς εὐτόν τε ἡμῶν τὸν χῶρον ἤρ-  
 ξαντο κεῖν, καὶ πῦρ τῶν θεμελίων ἐκπησῆεν

ἀθροῖον ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς καταπόλωσαν. *Ib. p.  
 574. C.*

(n) *In Matt. hom. 4. Tom. 7. p. 47. A.*

This may suffice for shewing the testimonie of Chrysostom in this point.

*Ambrose*, Bishop of Milan, in a letter to the Emperour Theodosius, supposed to have been writ in the year 388. says: "Have (o) "you not heard, Sir, that when Julian gave command to rebuild "the temple at Jerusalem, the work-men were destroyed by fire "sent from God."

There still remains one contemporarie writer to be quoted, who is *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a Heathen, and a good historian, and well acquainted with the Emperour.

"Julian (q) says he, who had been already thrice Consul, taking "for his colleague Sallust, Prefect of the Gauls, entered for the fourth "time on that high office. And although he was not without a solicitous concern for futurity, considering the various events, which "this year was likely to produce, he carried on his preparations for "the war with the utmost diligence. And still enlarging his views, "and being desirous to perpetuate the memorie of his reign by some "great works, he resolved to rebuild at a vast expense the magnifi-  
"cent

(o) Non audisti, Imperator, quia cum jussisset Julianus reparari templum Hierosolymis, divino, qui faciebant repurgium, igne flagrarunt? *Ambr. Ep. 40. Cl. i. T. 2. p. 949.*

(q) Julianus vero, jam ter Consul, adscito in collegium trabeae Sallustio Praefecto per Gallias, quator ipse amplissimum iniverat magistratum: et videbatur novum adjunctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Diocletianum et Aristobulum nullus meminerat gestum. Et licet accidentium varietatem sollicita mente praeci- piens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio perurgeret: diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiique sui memoriam magnitudine operum gesti-

ens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymas templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano, posteaque Tito, aegre est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat inmodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dedit Antiocheni, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro Praefectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammiarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum. Hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum. *Ammian. Marcel. l. 23. cap. i.*



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“cent temple at Jerusalem: which after a long and obstinate siege,  
“begun by Vespasian, and carried on by Titus, had been with great  
“difficulty taken and destroyed. The conduct of this affair was com-  
“mitted by him to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had been  
“Lieutenant in Britain, with orders to forward it as much as possi-  
“ble. When therefore Alypius had set himself to the work with  
“the greatest resolution, and was also assisted by the Governour of  
“the province, frightfull balls of fire broke out near the foundati-  
“ons. And those eruptions being repeated, they rendered the place  
“inaccessible to the workmen, who were scorched and burnt several  
“times, before they left off. But the element continuing to repell  
“them, the enterprize was laid aside.”

So writes Ammianus. According to whom therefore this attempt was made in the begining of the year 363. when Julian was setting out from Antioch on his Persian expedition.

So likewise says (r) *Socrates*, whom I shall allege next. “Hav-  
“ing mentioned Julian’s conference with the Jews, who told him,  
“that they could sacrifice no where but at Jerusalem, he says, Julian  
“(s) immediatly gave orders for rebuilding Solomon’s temple. And  
“then he went away against the Persians. But the Jews, who had  
“long been desirous to see their temple rebuilt, set about the work  
“with great diligence. . . . And, as the Emperour had directed, that  
“the expense should be bore out of the public treasurie, materials  
“were soon provided: timber, stones, burnt-brick, clay, lime, and  
“all other things needfull for a building. At that time Cyril, Bi-  
“shop of Jerusalem, mindfull of the prophecie of Daniel, and of  
“what Christ had said in the Gospels, predicted (t) before many  
“people, that the time was now come, that one stone would not be  
“left

(r) *L. 3. cap. 20.*

(s) . . . κεύθει τάχος κτίζεσθαι τὸν Σο-  
λομώνος ναόν. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἤλαυνε.  
*Ib. p. 192. D.*

(t) Πολλοὶς τε πρόειπον, ὡς ἄρα εἶν ἥκει  
ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε λίθοι ἐπὶ λίθου ἐκ οὗ μένοι εἰς  
τὸν ναόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῷ σωτήρι λόγιον πληρω-  
θήσεται. *p. 193. B.*



“left upon another in that temple, and our Saviour’s word would  
 “be \* \* fulfilled. So said that Bishop. And in the night there  
 “was an earthquake, which tore up the stones of the old founda-  
 “tions, and dispersed them, with the adjacent edifices. And by  
 “that accident the Jews were much terrified. And the fame of it  
 “brought many to the place from distant parts. When therefore  
 “many were gathered together, another prodigie happened. For  
 “there came down from heaven a fire, which consumed all the  
 “workmens tools. And you might see mallets, irons for polishing  
 “stones, saws, axes, spades, and all such instruments, which are  
 “made use of in building, consumed by the flames. The fire prey-  
 “ed upon these things for a whole day together. The Jews there-  
 “upon being terrified, acknowledged, though unwillingly, Christ  
 “to be God. However, they obeyed not his will, but still remain-  
 “ed prepossessed in favour of Judaism. Nor did the third miracle,  
 “which afterwards happened, induce them to the belief of the  
 “truth.

\* \* It is very absurd for any Christi-  
 ans to talk in that manner. Christ’s words  
 had been fulfilled almost 300 years before  
 that time. Mat. xxiv. 34. *Verily, I say*  
*unto you, this generation shall not pass, till*  
*all these things be fulfilled.* And so it came  
 to pass, as we know from *Josephus*, and  
 others. There is, in my opinion, a much  
 better sense in *Rufinus*. “Cyril was then  
 “Bishop of Jerusalem. And when the  
 “Jews were about to lay the foundations  
 “of a new temple, he, considering the  
 “prophecies of Daniel, and the words  
 “of our Lord recorded in the Gospels,  
 “confidently asserted, that it could not  
 “be, that the Jews should be able to lay  
 “there one stone upon another.” His  
 words are these: *Cyrellus post maximum*  
*confessorem Hierosolymis episcopus habebatur.*

*Apertis igitur fundamentis, calce-*  
*caementoque adhibitis, nihil omnino de-*  
*erat, quin die postera veteribus deturba-*  
*tis, nova jacerent fundamenta: cum ta-*  
*men episcopus, diligenti consideratione*  
*habita, vel ex illis quae in Danielis pro-*  
*phetia de temporibus legerat, vel quae in*  
*Evangeliis Dominus praedixerat, persiste-*  
*ret, nullo genere fieri posse, ut ibi a Ju-*  
*daeis lapis super lapidem poneretur. Ru-*  
*fin. l. i. cap. 37.* So writes *Rufinus*. And,  
 perhaps, the sense, which we have in *Soc-*  
*rates’s* *Historie*, is owing to his misinter-  
 pretation of *Rufinus*, and not rightly un-  
 derstanding him. For, I suppose, that  
*Socrates* here borrowed from *Rufinus*.  
 However, undoubtedly, the learned read-  
 er will consult the Annotations of *Valesi-*  
*us* upon *Socrates*.

A. D. 361. "truth. For in the night following radiant marks of the cross were  
 "impressed on their garments. When they saw them the next day,  
 "they endeavored to rub and wash them out, but in vain. To so  
 "great a degree were they blinded."

The same storie is told at length by (u) Sozomen, (x) Theodoret, (y) Philostorge, and other Christian writers: though with somewhat different circumstances. Theodoret in particular tells us, it (z) was said, that upon this occasion the Jews had shovels, mallets, and baskets made of silver.

Some Jewish writers also have been alleged, as bearing testimony to this event. I shall also allege them (a) here, as cited by Wagenfeil, to whom divers learned men have referred.

That

(u) Soz. l. 5 cap. xxii.

(x) Theod. l. 3. cap. xx.

(y) Philost. l. 7. §. ix. p. 566.

(z) *Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ σκαπάνας καὶ ὄλκας ἀργύρεα καὶ ἄλυσας καὶ κοφίνους κατασκευάσαντες. Ut supra. p. 142. C.*

(a) Equidem aut valde fallor, aut, non sine peculiari curâ numinis factum est, ut ipsi adeo Judæi suis monumentis historiam inseruerint, quamquam non bonâ omnes fide. R. David Gansius enim animadvertisse videtur, quantopere isthæc suæ genti incommodent: ideo veritatem malitiosissime adulteravit. Nam etsi negare non audet, Deo sic disponente, Judæos in rellaurando templo fuisse impeditos, tamen genuinam rationem modumque, quibus id factum est, nequiter dissimulat, et solam Juliani mortem Judæos aedificantes sufflamine strinxisse, ex suo ingenio confinxit. Ejus verba sunt... *Julianus Caesar praecepit, ut restitueretur templum sanctissimum magno cum decore et pulchri-*

*tudine, huicque rei ipse sumtus suppeditavit. Verum coelitus impedimentum injectum est, ne perficiatur fabrica. Nam Caesar in bello Persico periit. . . .* Atenim non opus est, ut operose probem, verum certumque esse, Judæos ante cessasse ab opere, quam Julianus postremam expeditionem adversus Persas, quæ ei exitium attulit, suscepisset. Sufficit coram huc adducere R. Geddalium, qui . . . candide narrationem instituit, et sine fucis . . . *In diebus R. Channan, et sociorum ejus, anno circiter orbis conditi 4349. memorant libri annalium, magnum in orbe universo fuisse terræ motum, collapsumque esse templum, quod struxerunt Judæi Hierosolymis, praecepto Juliani Apostatae, impensis maximis. Postridie ejus diei (quo mota fuit terra) de coelo ignis multus cecidit, ita ut omnia ferraamenta illius aedificii liquecerent, et amburerentur Judæi multi, atque adeo innumerabiles.* Wagenfeilii Carmin. Lipmanni. Confutatio. p. 231. 232.

That is the historie of this affair, which is generally credited. And indeed it seems hard to deny, or dispute the truth of a relation, attested by several contemporaries, beside many others, who lived not very long after them. Accordingly, the truth of this historie is maintained by (b) Fabricius, (c) Witfius, (d) the learned and laborious Dr. Warburton, now Bishop of Gloucester, and others, men of the highest reputation in the Republick of Letters.

Basnage (e) made some objections to the truth of this historie, which have been considered by (f) divers learned men, and particularly, and largely by (g) the Bishop of Gloucester in the work before referred to. I also have had many thoughts upon this subject, which I desire now to propose, with due deference to the judgement of others. I shall not transcribe Basnage. But I have been led to argue in this manner.

1. Julian's own writings may dispose us to think, that he never attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. He designed it. But it is not so clear, that he attempted it, or actually set about it, or gave orders for it. In his Letter to the Community of the Jews, before taken notice of, he desires their prayers for the prosperity of his reign, "and the rather, forasmuch as, if (b) he succeeded in his war  
" with

(b) *Bib. Gr. T. vii. p. 76. &c. Lux Evangelii. cap. vi. p. 120. &c.*

(c) *Miscellanea Sacra. Tom. 2. p. 374. &c.*

(d) *Julian. &c.* It is a handsome octavo of 320. pages, beside an Introduction. The late Mr. Mosheim, who had seen the first edition of that work, seems to have thought, his Lordship had overdone it. His words are : Nuper ex instituto, sed interdum ingeniosius, quam necesse erat, pro veritate miraculi disputavit

Guil. Warburton. Julian. or a Discourse. &c. Lond. 1750. in 8. *Mosheim. Instit. H. E. p. 148.*

(e) *Hist. des Juifs. l. 6. ch. iv. Tom. 4. p. 1257. &c.*

(f) *Vid. Fabric. Lux Evangelii. p. 130. in notis.*

(g) *See His Lordship's Julian. B. 2. ch. iv. p. 174. &c. the second edition. in 1751.*

(h) *Julian. Ep. p. 397. D. See the words cited above at p. 48. note (x).*

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“with the Persians, he would rebuild their holy city of Jerusalem.” But he did not succeed in the war. And he never returned from Persia. Therefore he never set about rebuilding Jerusalem, or the temple there. Nor did he, at the time of writing that letter, intend to set about it, unless he first succeeded in the war with the Persians. He seems to have supposed it to be a work which he should not be able to undertake, till after the Persian war was over, and had a good issue.

In the fragment of some oration, or epistle, having taken notice, how often the Jewish temple had been destroyed, and was not yet restored, he adds: “I (g) say not this by way of reproach. For I “also have designed, [or have had a design] to raise that temple, “which has been so long in ruins, to the honour of the God, who “is there worshiped.” Therefore, when that letter was writ, this design was laid aside: or, he did not think that to be a proper time and season to set about it. The present circumstances of his affairs did not admit of such an undertaking: nor allow him to give orders about it.

When that letter, or oration, was writ, is not clear. Dr. Warburton thinks it was writ in the spring of the year 363. His words are these [at p. 73.] “Where Julian speaking of the customary honours paid to the Gods, says: *Which not three years, nor three thousand have established, but all past ages among all nations upon earth.* By the three years he evidently alludes to his restoration “of idolatry: which at any time sooner than the Persian expedition, “was not entitled to so high a date. For he was first saluted Augustus in the spring of the year 360. and the Persian expedition “was in the spring 363. At this time therefore he had well digested his defeat at Jerusalem.”

That

(g) Εγὼ δὲ ἔπον ἐκ ἐνεδίξων ἐκείνοισ· ὅς ἦθην αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τῷ κληθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
γε τοσέτοις ὕστερον χρόνις ἀεσῆσθαι δυνά· Θεῷ. T. 2. p. 295. D.



That is an ingenious conjecture, but not decisive. It is not clear, that Julian here refers to his own restoration of the Heathen rites. The phrase, *three years*, needs not to refer to any determinate period. It may denote no more than this: *which not a few years, nor several thousand years have established, but all past ages.* Secondly, it cannot refer, or allude to Julian's restoration of idolatrie. For that had not been done *three years*, nor two years, by a great deal. In the spring of the year 363. it was not more than three years, since he had been declared Augustus by the soldiers in Gaul: not yet quite a year and half, since his being sole Augustus: and not more than two years, since he had at all made an open profession of Hellenism: allowing him to have begun to make it, when he was in *Illyricum*, before the death of Constantius. Julian in this place, as I think, useth a definite for an indefinite number, by *three* meaning a few only. So in his work against the Christians, he says, the law of Moses was designed to be everlasting. *And this he says, he (b) will demonstrate not from ten only, but from ten thousand passages of Moses himself.* Which answers to the place under consideration, and may shew, that by *three years*, no certain space of time was intended. Consequently, this argument of his Lordship for the date of this epistle must fall to the ground. And there can be no reason to believe, that this letter was writ in the beginning of the year 363. or that Julian here refers to any extraordinarie defeat, which had been given to his design of rebuilding the temple. And whenever that letter was writ, it affords reason to believe, that Julian had not yet given any orders for rebuilding the Temple.

Once more, I argue from some things said by Julian in his work against the Christians: where he observes, that the Jews might offer sacrifices at other places beside Jerusalem. We know, that work was not composed long before he set out upon the Persian expedition. If that was his mind then, it seems, that he was grown more

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in-

(b) Τὸτο ὅτι ψευδῶς λέγουσιν, ἀποδείξω μυρίας πασχόμενος μαρτυρίας. *Cyril. Contr.*  
σαφὲς ἐκ μὲν τῆς Μαστίως ἔδεναι μόνας, ἀλλὰ *Jul. lib. 9. p. 319. D.*

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indifferent about rebuilding the Jewish temple, than he had formerly been.

The words, to which I refer, stand thus: "But (i) this person, " says Cyril, I know not how, sometimes approves of the Jewish " customs: at other times he blames them, as separate from all o- " ther men: and as having most unreasonably given over sacrificing, " though Elias, as he says, sacrificed in Carmel, and not in the ho- " ly city, Jerusalem." It appears to me very unlikely, that Julian should be disposed to gratify the Jews at a vast, and then unreason- able, and inconvenient expense, in what he reckoned an unreason- able fan-  
sie.

If Julian's work against the Christians, as Libanius says, was com- posed in the winter-season during the long nights, that is, near the end of the year 362. and the begining of 363. it is not at all likely, that he should in the begining of the same year 363. issue out or- ders for rebuilding the Jewish temple at Jerusalem.

In that oration, or epistle, to which we have referred several times, at p. 295. are these expressions. *What will the Jews say to their own temple, which has been thrice demolished, and is not raised again to this day?* Τι περὶ τῆ νεῶ φήσεται, τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς, τρίτον ἀνατραπέν-  
τος, ἐγειρομένης δὲ ἐδὲ νῦν; Some learned men have supposed, that (k) here is a reference to the defeat of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, and that Julian himself here acknowledgeth it. But the Bi- shop of Gloucester, p. 74 in the notes, has candidly, and judici- ously shewn, that to be a mistake. For, 1. *Defeating an attempt to rebuild cannot in any known figure of speech, be called the overthrow of*

(i) ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι παθὼν, ἀποδέχεται  
τὰ Ἰουδαίων, καταφέρει δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς, ὡς  
τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπηρτημένους, ἀλογώτα-  
τα δὲ τὸ θύειν ὀκνῶντας, καίτοι, φησὶν, Ἡλίας  
τεθυκάτος ἐν τῷ Καρμὴλῳ, καὶ ἐκ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ  
πόλει, σηνὶ δὴ τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ. Cyril. Contr.  
Jul. l. 9 p. 324. C.

(k) So Bleterie, *Vie de Julien*. l. v. p.  
398. and Dr. Chapman in his *Eusebius, a-  
gainst the Moral Philosopher*. Tom. i. p.  
408. 409.

of a building. 2. And is not raised again to this day, cannot be said of a building, that had been destroyed but two months before. And by the three subversions here spoken of, his Lordship supposes may be meant that by the Assyrians, and that by the Romans: and by the *third* may be meant the profanation of the temple by Antiochus.

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If I should allow my-self to represent this a little differently, it would be after this manner. The case was this. The temple was then in ruins, and had been so for a long time. It had been demolished more than once. Julian did not think himself obliged to say how often. And it was to his purpose to augment, rather than diminish the number of it's subversions. Indeed, it had been demolished but *twice*, that is, by the Assyrians, and then by the Romans. The Emperour says *thrice*, not being carefull to be exact.

Or, if it be needfull to understand Julian literally, we may suppose, that he refers to the subversion of Jerusalem, and the Jewish people in the time of Adrian, spoken of by Eusebius in (\*) his Historie, and in his (\*\*) Chronicle, and by other writers (||) elsewhere. This Julian might compute for the *third*.

2. That Julian should give orders for building the temple, and allot money for it out of the public treasure, when he was setting out for Persia, is very unlikely. It is not easily credible, that he should at that time do any thing that might at all impede the expedition against the Persians, upon which he had been so long intent. We may reasonably suppose, that when he wrote his letter to the Community of the Jews, and told them, *he would build their temple, if he returned victorious*; he was then sensible, he could not attempt it

(\*) Euf. H. E. l. 4. cap. vi.

(||) Vid. Vales. in Euseb. H. E. and see

(\*\*) Bellum Judaicum quod in Palaestina gerebatur, finem accipit, rebus Judaeorum penitus oppressis: ex quo tempore etiam introcundi eis Jerosolymam licentia ablata. &c. Chron. p. 167.

here in this Work, Vol. i. p. 180. 185, 186.



A. D. 361. it sooner: and that he should want all the resources of money and treasure, for that one design. Which seems actually to have been the case. And when Marcellinus speaks of Julian's attempt, he appears to have been very sensible, that the Emperour's hands were full, and that there was at that time no room for any other expensive undertaking, beside the Persian War.

3. Great weight is laid upon the testimonie of Ammianus Marcellinus, who was a Heathen, and an impartial historian.

But then, it has been said by some, that he had his account from the Christians, and took it up without examination. To which I would add, that he was credulous, as appears from many things (*l*) in his Historie. He might therefore without scruple record a miraculous interposition, which had been reported to him. Indeed, he appears very ready to receive the reports of extraordinarie things. Some things are mentioned by him (\*\*\*) which we cannot but wonder to see related by a man of gravity, and with plain marks of assent.

4. The historie of this event, as related by Christian writers, is loaded with miracles, or pretended miracles, which appear to be incredible. For it is not easie to believe, that by Divine interposition crosses were formed in the air, and impressed with a *fine embroidery, or painting,*

(*l*) Nocte tamen, quae declarationis Augustae praecefferat diem, junctioribus proximis retulerat Imperator, per quietem aliquem visum, ut formari Genius publicus solet, haec objurgando dixisse . . . *Ammian. l. 20. cap. v. fin.*

. . . vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii publici, quam cum ad Augustum surgeret culmen conspexit in Gallia. *Id. l. 25. cap. 2. p. 451.*

(\*\*\*) Ne sit hoc mirum, homines profutura discernere et nocentia, quorum

mentes cognatas coelestibus arbitramur, animalia ratione carentia salutem suam interdum alto tueri silentio solent: ut exemplum est hoc perquam notum. Linquentes Orientem anseres ob calorem, plagamque petentes occiduum, cum montem penetrare cœperint l'aurum aquilis abundantem, timentes fortissimas volucres, rostra lapillis ocludunt, ne eis eliciat vel necessitas extrema clangorem: iisdemque collibus agiliore volatu transcurfus projiciunt calculos, atque ita securius pergunt. *Amm. l. 18. cap. iii. p. 209.*



painting, upon mens bodies, or garments. Not now to mention any other of the strange things, most of them silly and trifling, inserted in the accounts of this affair, and which the reader doubtless well remembers. But all God's works have a dignity becoming himself.

Mr. *Mosheim* having largely considered the storie of the crosse appearing to Constantin in the air, or in a dream, with a direction from Christ, that he should make use of that sign in his wars, and assuring him of victorie thereby, concludes, that it is not a thing worthie of Christ: and says, that *(m)* *it could be nothing more than the natural dream of a General and an Emperour, who fell asleep, as he was thinking of the impending war, and the best method of overcoming his enemies. Let us take heed, says he, least by too slistly defending the narratives of the ancient Christians concerning the miracles of their time, we should offend against the majesty of God himself, and against our most holy religion, which teacheth us, not to overcome our enemies, but ourselves.* A sage observation! Which may be justly applied upon divers occasions, and upon this in particular, as I apprehend.

5. There was at that time no occasion for such miraculous interpositions. Undoubtedly, the Jewish Temple was not to be rebuilt.

*(m)* Quid, quaeso, dicit? Num Constantinum exhortatur, ut credat, atque sanctitati studeat? Num superstitionem et impietatem fugere et oppugnare, rem publicam juste ac sapienter administrare, num paenitentiam admissorum facinorum agere, atque civium salutem rebus omnibus anteponere jubet? Nihil vero horum. Quid igitur? Monstrat rationem victoriae obtinendae, docetque Constantinum, quali signomilitari uti debeat in praeliis. Haec-cine oratio servatore generis humani, qui peccata hominum morte sua expiavit?

Haec-cine oratio illo digna est, qui pacis auctor mortalibus est, et suos hostibus ignoscere vult? Quid multa? Naturale hoc somnium est militis et Imperatoris, quam de impendente bello, et optima hostes superandi ratione cogitantem somnus invaserat. Caveamus, ne veterum Christianorum narrationibus de aetatis suae miraculis acrius defendendis in ipsam majestatem Dei, et sanctissimam religionem, quae non hostes, sed nos ipsos debellare docet, injurii simus. *Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. ante Const. M. p. 984. 985.*

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built. It is not to be thought, that Divine Providence would permit it to be done at that time. But there was no need of such miracles to hinder it. Julian did not live long. Supposing the Jews to have begun in his reign to erect the temple at Jerusalem: the Christian Emperours, who succeeded him, would take care, that they should not proceed. The rebuilding the temple was not a work of a few weeks, or months, no, nor years. Supposing, they had set about the work at the beginning of the year 363. they could not have done a great deal, before Julian died, and then their work would be effectually obstructed.

6. Once more. There are several Christian writers, who have said nothing about this affair, who were very likely to mention it, if any thing of this kind had been done. I shall instance in three: *Jerome, Prudentius, and Orosius.*

*Jerome* was a contemporarie. He was a young man, when Julian died. A great part of his time he lived at Bethlehem, and he had travelled over the land of Israel, or Palestine. But never takes notice of this uncommon event. Dan. xi. 34. *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help.* In his comment upon that verse, “he (n) mentions several, to whom that prophetic had been applied. Some, he says, understood thereby the Emperour Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to offer sacrifices in their temple.” It is allowed by all, that Julian favored the Jews, and pretended to love them, though he bore them no good will, and that he likewise talked of rebuilding their temple, and sacrificing there. But *Jerome* says nothing here (though there was so fit an occasion) nor elsewhere, of his attempting it, and then being defeated by such miraculous interpositions, as those related by  
some

(n) Alii vero de Juliano Imperatore: quod quando oppressi fuerint a Caio Cæsare. et a captivitatis angustiis multa perpassi, ille cnsurget, Judæos amare se simulans, et in templo eorum immolatu-

rum se promittens: in quo parvam spem auxilii habebunt, et applicabuntur illis Gentilium plurimi, non in veritate, sed in mendacio. In Dan. cap. xi. Tom. 3. p. 1130.

some above quoted. He has often spoken of the overthrow of the temple by Vespasian and Titus, which he calls the (o) last. He (p) has often mentioned Julian, as an adversarie to the Christians, and has quoted his work against them. He has likewise often appealed to Josephus, his historie of the Jewish (q) War. But says nothing of any attempt to rebuild Jerusalem, and the temple there in his own time. It is inconceivable, that he should omit it, though he insists, as he does more than once, on the ruinous condition, in which the Temple had been, to that time, ever since the days of Titus and Adrian.

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*Prudentius* was another contemporarie of Julian. For he was born in the year 348. And did not write, till a good while after the death of that Emperour. He (r) has gone over the historie of Julian's

(o) Quae Hebraei in ultima everfione Templi, quae sub Vefpafiano et Tito accidit, interpretantur. . . . In *Dan. cap. xi. ver. 33. Tom. 3. p. 1130.*

(p) *Vid. Prol. in libr. de Scriptoribus Ecclefiafticis. Tom. 4. p. 98. et alibi.*

(q) . . . ad tempus Romanae victoriae univerfa referimus, quae Josephus Judaicae fcriptor historiae feptem explicat voluminibus, quibus impofuit titulum captivitatis Judaicae. . . . Et fuperfluum eft ea fermone differere, quae oculis pateant, quam omnia defiderabilia eorum verfa fint in ruinas: et templum in toto orbe celebratum, in fterquilinum urbis novae, quae a conditore appellatur Aelia, et in habitaculum tranfivit noctuarum. *Hieron. in If. cap. lxiv. 10. . . 12. T. 3. p. 476.*

Ad extremum fub Vefpafiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque fubverfum eft. Deinde civitatis ufque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos manfere reliquiae. Poft everfionem Templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos urbis et templi ruinae permanent. *Ad Dardan. Tom. 2 p. 610.*

Scribit plenius Josephus feptem Voluminibus Vefpafiani et Titi narrans triumphos. Aelii quoque Adriani contra Judaeos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jerufalem, murosque fubvertit, ut de urbis reliquiis et favillis fui nominis Aeliam conderet civitatem. *Id. in Joel cap. i. Tom. 3. p. 1340.*

(r) Me puero, ut memini, ductor fortiffimus armis.

. . . . .  
Perfidus ille Deo. . . . . *Apoth. ver. 450. &c.*

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lian's reign. He (*s*) has also insisted upon the ruin of Solomon's Temple, the (*t*) long captivity of the Jewish people ever since the time of Titus. And with him he mentions Pompey, who first brought the Jewish people into subjection to the Romans. But he says nothing of any attempt made in his time by Julian to rebuild Jerusalem, or the Temple there. If he had known of it, and had been acquainted with credible accounts of miraculous interpositions to defeat it: I do not see, how he could omit to mention it.

*Orosius* was an historian, who lived not far below the beginning of the fifth centurie. He (*u*) has an article for Julian. But does not say, that he attempted to build the Temple at Jerusalem, and was wonderfully defeated. He was greatly offended with Julian, and seems to aim to hint at all his incivilities to the Christians, of (*x*) which the attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem has been generally reckoned one. But yet says nothing of it<sup>\* \*</sup>. If Julian had attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, and had been defeated by a miraculous interposition; it was an event, much to his purpose, and altogether suited to the great design of his *Historie*, and could not have been omitted by him.

To me the silence of these three writers appears very remarkable. I do not know, how others may be affected by it. But I acknowledge,

(*s*) *Destructone jacent Salomonica saxa metallo,  
Aedificata manu? Jacet illud nobile templum.  
Cur jacet . . . ?* *Ib. ver. 512. &c.*

(*t*) *Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis  
Pompeianae acies: quibus extirpata per omnes  
Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.  
Ex illis vagus huc illuc fluitantibus errat  
Judaeus. . . .* *Ibid. ver. 538. &c.*

(*u*) *Oros. l. 7. cap. 30.*

(*x*) *Καὶ κατ' ἄλλον δὲ πρόσωπον ὁ βασιλεὺς  
τοὺς Χριστιανούς βλάπτειν σπουδάζων . . . κ. λ.  
Socrat. l. 3. cap. xx. in. p. 192. C. D.*

<sup>\* \*</sup> *Dr. Warburton, in his Julian, p.*

118. mentions *Orosius* among other ancient writers, who have bore testimonie to this attempt. If that be right, I have overlooked the place.



ledge, that I was much struck with it, when I first observed it in my inquiries into this transaction.

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And I must now add farther, that I do not recollect, that Cyril of Alexandria, in his books against Julian, or in any other of his works elsewhere, has at all spoken of an attempt of that Emperour to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, and that he was miraculously defeated.

What Zonaras says, in the 12. centurie may likewise deserve notice. “He (y) gave leave to the Jews to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. And they having begun to build with great labour, and at much expense, when they endeavoured to dig up the earth, in order to lay the foundation; it is said, that flames of fire burst out, and consumed the workmen, so that they were obliged to desist from the building.”

Let not any be offended, that I hesitate about this point. I think, we ought not too easily to receive accounts of miraculous interpositions, which are not becoming the Divine Being. There are many things said of Julian, which all wise and good men do not believe.

*Julian*, and his elder brother *Gallus*, as is said, while they were young, undertook to build a church over the sepulchre of a martyr, named *Mamas*, who had suffered at Caesarea in Cappadocia. They divided the work between them. And both carried on their parts severally with great diligence. That part of the building, which was the care of *Gallus*, advanced prosperously. But some invisible power obstructed *Julian's* attempt. There was no fixing the foundations, the earth throwing up the stones again. Or if any part of the building was raised up to some height, it was presently shattered,

K 2

ed,

(y) Ὅτις καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνεγερῆσαι οὐρυμότων ἀθρόον ἀναδιδόμενοι, καταζέχεν  
ναὸν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέτρεψε. Κακένων σπυδῇ  
πολλῇ καὶ μεγάλαις δαπάναις τῆς ἐκκοδομῆς  
ἀρξάμενον, καὶ ἐρύττεν τὴν γῆν, εἰς καταβολὴν  
τῶν θεμελίων ἐπιχερόντων, πῦρ λέγεται τῶν  
οὐρυμότων ἀθρόον ἀναδιδόμενοι, καταζέχεν  
τὰς σκάπτους, ὥς ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτὰς τῆς  
ἐκκοδομῆς ἀποχέσθαι. Zonar. Tom. 3. 21.  
22.

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Again, it is said, that when Julian was sacrificing, a cross with- in a circle was found impressed upon the entrails of the victim. This also is related by (c) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and (d) *Sozomen*.

Both these accounts are scornfully rejected as *Monkish fables*, by the truly learned, and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Gloucester (e): though, as he owns, *Church History informs us of them*. And very unfortunately, those observations are in the conclusion of a volume, composed with great labour and zeal, in which divers other accounts are received: which are not more probable in their own nature, nor supported by better authority.

The truth of historie is not at all affected by rejecting improbable relations. Nor is the cause of Christianity at all hurt by our refusing to assent to some things, which Christian writers have said of Julian. That he pretended favour for the Jews, and sometimes talked of rebuilding their city, and their temple, is allowed. But that he actually attempted it, and ordered money for the work out of the public treasure, when he was setting out upon the Persian expedition, and that his attempt was frustrated by many miraculous interpositions, is not so certain. Though these things should be contested, or denied, it can be of no bad consequence. Other histories, which are void of the like improbabilities, are not affected by it. And the Evangelical Historie remains firm and inviolate, having in it all possible marks of truth and credibility. At the begin-  
ing

(z) *Gr. Naz. Or.* 3. p. 59. . . 61.

(a) *Soz. l. 5. cap. ii. p. 594. A.*

(b) *Theod. l. iii. cap. ii.*

(c) *Gr. Naz. Or.* 3 p. 70. . . 77.

(d) *Sozom. l. 5. cap. ii. p. 592. B. C.*

(e) See his Lordship's *Julian*. p. 319.  
320.

ing of his Discourse on the attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, his Lordship says, *that (f) the evidence of the miracles recorded in Church-History, doth not stand on the same foot of credit with the miracles recorded in Gospel-History.*

As for the testimonie of the two Jewish writers, upon which some insist, I have above put it down from *Wagenfeil's Tela Ignea Satanae*. But I do not think, the testimonie of writers, in the fifteenth, or sixteenth centurie, to be of much value. They appear to have borrowed from Christian writers. Therefore one of them calls the Emperour Julian, *the Apostate*. However, though they relied chiefly upon Christian Authors, they may have in part altered, and perverted the Christian accounts, to abate the reproach, which this storie, as told by them, casts upon the Jewish people.

Nevertheless, that it may not be said, I affect to slight what others reckon material, I shall now be a little more particular in my remarks upon those two Jewish testimonies.

Rabbi *David Gans*, in the sixteenth centurie, says: "The (g) Emperour Julian ordered, that the most holy temple should be rebuilt with great beauty and magnificence, at his own expense: but by interposition from heaven an impediment was thrown in the way, so that the building could not be finished. For the Emperour died in the Persian war."

This is very agreeable to what I have said. And may be thought to confirm my argument. But indeed, I am not disposed to set much value upon so late a testimonie.

Rabbi *Gadaliab*, in the fifteenth centurie, says: "In (b) the days of R. Channan, and his brethren, about the year of the world 4349. our Annals tell us, that there was a great earthquake over all the world: by which the temple, which the Jews had raised  
" at

(f) *Julian* p. 1.

(b) *Ap Wagenf.* p. 232. The words

(g) *Apud Wagenfeil.* p. 231. The words are cited above at p. 56.  
are cited above at p. 56.

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“ at Jerusalem, with vast expense, at the command of the Empe-  
 “ rour Julian the Apostate, was thrown down. The next day after  
 “ the earthquake, a dreadfull fire fell from heaven, by which all  
 “ the iron-work of the building, [or, *perhaps all the iron-tools em-*  
 “ *ployed about the work*] were melted, and many, yea innumerable  
 “ Jews were consumed.”

Upon this account it appears to me very obvious to observe. *First*, this testimonie is too late to be of any considerable value. *Secondly*, the author had his account from Christian writers. Therefore he calls Julian *the Apostate*. *Thirdly*, in some things, and as I suppose, at will, and of his own invention, he differs from ancient Christian writers. *Fourthly*, the account is confused, and in some respects, manifestly false. He seems to say, that the temple *had been built* at a great expense, and that after it had been built, it fell down, occasioned by an earthquake. Here he differs from Christians, who speak only of an *attempt* to raise the temple. And it is a falshood. For, it certainly was not rebuilt, or raised up in Julian's time. He also speaks of an earthquake *over all the world*. Which is his own invention, without any ground. Upon the whole, this account appears to me confused, and absurd, as well as very late, and therefore of no authority. But, as I said before, let others judge. However, I am of opinion, that if the Christian testimonies fail, we are not to expect any thing relating to this event of much importance from the Jews.

Finally, to put an end to these critical observations. Julian's favourable regards for the Jewish people, and his intention, (or desire at least) to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, and the temple there, are manifest, and fully attested by contemporarie witnesses, and by his own writings. It is as manifest, that his design to rebuild Jerusalem and the Jewish Temple, was never accomplished, but was frustrated, and defeated. Whether it was owing to miraculous interpositions, or to his expensive preparations for the Persian war, and other circumstances of his affairs, and to his death and defeat  
 in



in that war : the overruling Providence of God ought to be acknowledged in the event. And the argument for the truth of the Christian Religion, taken from the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people by Vespasian and Titus, and their continued dispersion, remains in all its force. It is an argument, which I never intended to weaken. It is, I think, a demonstrative argument for the truth of the Christian Religion : and, as I have often hinted in this work, deserving the attentive regard, and serious consideration of all mankind.

IV. I have now writ the historie of Julian so far as I can suppose to be needfull. I therefore proceed to a more particular account of his work against the Christians, and to make extracts out of (a) it.

*Extracts  
from his  
Books a-  
gainst the  
Christians*

1. Cyril's answer to it consists of ten books. The first of which is an introduction of his own. In the second book he begins to make quotations from Julian's work. And from the many passages quoted from it by Cyril in his several books, it may be concluded, that Julian's performance was intended to be a laboured confutation both of Judaism and Christianity.

2. Julian's preface, or introduction to his work, as we learn from Cyril, was in these words : " I (b) think it right for me to shew to " all men the reasons, by which I have been convinced, that the religion of the Galileans is a human contrivance, badly put together, " having in it nothing divine. But abusing the childish, irrational " part

(a) For the time of writing that work, and of Cyril's answer to it, see above, p. 45.

(b) Καλῶς ἔχειν υἱὸν φαίνεται τὰς αἰτίας ἐκθέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅς ᾧ ἐπέσθην, ὅτι τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἡ σκευαρία πλάσμα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώ-

πων, ὑπὸ κακουργίας συντεθέν· ἔχουσα μὲν ἰδὲν θεῶν, ἀποχρησαμένη δὲ τῷ φιλομύθῳ, καὶ παιδαριάζει, καὶ ἀνοήτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μερίῳ, τὴν τερατολογίαν εἰς πίσιν ἡγαγεῖ ἀληθείας. Cyril. contr. Julian. l. 2. p. 39. edit. Spanhem.

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“ part of the soul, which delights in fable, they have introduced  
“ a heap of wonderful works, to give it the appearance of truth.”

3. Afterwards, and near the beginning of the work : “ It (c) will  
“ be worth the while, he says, to compare together the things said  
“ of the Deity by the Greeks and the Hebrews. And then we  
“ shall inquire of those, who are neither Greeks, nor Jews, but of  
“ the sect of the Galileans, why they have preferred their notions  
“ to ours : and then, why they have not stood to them neither, but  
“ forsaking them also, they have taken to a way peculiar to them-  
“ selves : holding nothing good and valuable taught by us Greeks, or  
“ by the Hebrews, the disciples of Moses : but collecting what is  
“ bad in both, they have taken atheism from the Jewish absurdity,  
“ and a wicked dissolute life from our carelessness and indifference.  
“ And this they call a most excellent religion.”

4. “ That (d) Moses says, God was the God of Israel only, and  
“ of Judea, and that they were his chosen people, I shall demon-  
“ strate presently : and that not only he, but the Prophets after him,  
“ and Jesus the Nazarean, say the same : yea, and Paul also, who  
“ exceeded all the jugglers and impostors that ever were.” For  
this, he presently after alledgeth, Exod. iv. 22. 23. v. 3. vii. 1.

5. Soon afterwards, Julian proceeds in this manner. “ But (e)  
“ that God from the beginning took care of the Jews only, and that  
“ (f) they were his chosen lot, appears not only from Moses, and  
“ Jesus, but from Paul also : though this may be justly thought  
“ strange in Paul. But upon every occasion, like a polypus upon  
“ the rocks, he changeth his notions of God : at one time affirming,  
“ that

(c) *Ibid.* l. 2. p. 42. 43.

ὑπερβαλλόμενον Πῦλον. *Contr.* Jul. l. 3.

(d) Πλὴν ὅτι τῇ Ἰσραὴλ αὐτῷ μόνῳ Θεῷ, καὶ  
τῇς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τὰς ἐκλεκτὰς φησὶν εἶναι, αὐ-  
τίς τε, καὶ ὅι μετ' ἐκείνου προφήται, καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ  
Ναζαραῖος, ἐπιδέξω. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα  
πανταχῇ τοὺς πάποτε γόητας καὶ ἀπατητῶνας

p. 100. A.

(e) *Lib.* 3. p. 106. B. . . D.

(f) . . . καὶ κληῖρος αὐτοῦ γέγονεν οὗτος  
ἐξάρτετος. B.

“ that the Jews only are God’s heritage : at another time, to persuade  
 “ the Greeks, and gain them over to his side, saying : *Is he the God*  
 “ *of the Jews only. Yes, of the Gentils also.* It is reasonable therefore  
 “ to ask Paul, If he was not the God of the Jews only, but al-  
 “ so of the Gentils : why (*g*) did he, for the most part at least, send  
 “ to the Jews the prophetic Spirit, and Moses, and the anointing,  
 “ and the Prophets, and the law, and miracles, and prodigies of fa-  
 “ bles ? And you hear them saying : *Man did eat angels food.* At  
 “ (*h*) length he sent Jesus also to them, not a prophet, not the a-  
 “ nointing, not a master, not a preacher of the late mercie of God  
 “ to us. However, he overlooked us for myriads, or if you please,  
 “ for thousands of years, and left us in such ignorance, as to wor-  
 “ ship idols, as you say, from east to west, and from north to south,  
 “ excepting only a small nation about two thousand years agoe,  
 “ planted in a part of Palestine. But if he be the God of all, and  
 “ the Creator of all, why did he neglect us ?”

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 Rom. iii.  
 29.  
 Rom. ix.  
 4. 5.  
 Psal.  
 lxxviii.  
 25.  
 John vi.  
 31.

Here is a quotation of Rom. iii. 29. and Ps. lxxviii. 25. and a reference to Rom. ix. 4. 5.

And notwithstanding Julian’s cavils, it is the doctrine of the Old and the New Testament, that God is the creator of the whole world, and directs and overrules all things in heaven and on earth, with unerring wisdom, and uncontrollable power. Nor did he at any time neglect any part of mankind. He taught all by the light of nature, and the visible works of his hand, and the various methods of his Providence, tempering mercie and judgement. Acts xiv. 16. 17. Rom. i. 18. . . . 21. But for wise reasons, and great ends and purposes, he chose the Jewish people, the seed of Abraham, to be a peculiar

(*g*) . . . τὸ χάριν εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μὲν, πρὸς  
 λὺ τὸ παρορητικὸν ἐπέμψεν πνεῦμα, καὶ τὴν Μω-  
 σέα, καὶ τὸ χρίσμα, καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας, καὶ τὸν  
 νόμον, καὶ τὰ παράδοξα, καὶ τὰ θυσιαστικά τῶν  
 μύθων ? C.

(*h*) Ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκείνοις ἔπεμ-  
 ψεν, ὃν προφῆτην, ὃν χρίσμα, ὃν διδασκαλον,  
 ὃν κήρυκα τῆς μελλούσης ὁφείποτε γινέσθαι  
 καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὸ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία. Ib. C.

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peculiar people, and made some special manifestations of himself among them, thereby setting them up for a light amidst the nations. At length, in the fulness of time, at the most proper season, and according to his most gracious promise, he sent Jesus the Messiah.

The light of reason is common to all. A particular revelation is a special favour, which God may vouchsafe where, and when, and to whom he pleaseth. Whenever he has made a revelation, he has given evident proofs of it's divine original. But unthinking and careless, proud and perverse men, have not diligently improved the one, nor thankfully accepted the other.

6. Julian objects against the Mosaic account of the creation of the world, the fall of man, and the confusion of languages. He finds fault also with the decalogue of Moses. Which (*i*) as he says, contained no precepts, that are not equally regarded by all nations, excepting these two: *Thou shalt worship no other gods*, and *Remember the Sabbath-day*. He (*k*) prefers Lycurgus and Solon to Moses. "*He* (*l*) reflects upon David and Sampson, Cyril says, as not very remarkable for valour, and exceeded by many Greeks and Egyptians. And all their power was confined within the narrow limits of Judea." He says, the (*m*) Jews never had any General equal to Alexander, or Cesar. The (*n*) wise Solomon is not to be compared with some eminent men among the Greeks: such as Phocylides, Theognis, Isocrates. Moreover, as he adds, Solomon is said to have been overcome by women, and therefore does not deserve to be reckoned a wise man.

7. These things I mention but slightly, and quite pass over some other objections to the books of Moses, and the Old Testament: supposing

(*i*) Ποῖον ἔθνος ἐστὶ, πρὸς τὰν θεῶν, ἕξω τῷ, οὐ προσκυνήσεις θεοῖς ἑτέροις, καὶ τῷ, Μνήσθητι τῶν σαββάτων, ὃ μὴ τὰς ἄλλας οἴεται χρῆναι φυλάττειν ἐντολὰς; L. v. p. 152. C.

(*k*) L. v. p. 168. B.

(*l*) L. v. p. 176. C.

(*m*) L. 7. p. 218. B. C.

(*n*) Ὁ σοφάτατος Σαλομών παρόμοιός ἐστι τῷ παρ' Ἑλληνσι Φωκυλίδῃ, ἢ Θεόγνιδι, ἢ Ἰσοκράτει; πῶθεν; κ. λ. L. 7. p. 224. C. D.



posing it to be rather incumbent upon me to enlarge upon those objections, which more immediatly relate to Christianity, and the books of the New Testament.

8. Julian cavils at several prophecies of the Old Testament, which were applied to Jesus by his followers. To this purpose, I shall allege a passage here, though it be somewhat prolix. "Since (o) "therefore they differ from the Jews of the present time, and say, "that they are the true Israelites, and that they highly respect Mo- "ses and the other Prophets after him; let us see, wherein they a- "gree with them. And we shall begin with Moses, who, as they "say, foretold the future nativity of Jesus. Moses, then, not once, "nor twice, nor thrice, but often taught the worship of one God "only. Others he calls angels, or lords. But he never teacheth "any other second God, neither like, nor unlike, as you do. If "you have one word in Moses, favoring such expressions, you should "produce it. What he says, is: "*For the Lord thy God will raise* *Deut. xviii. 15.* "*up unto thee a Prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like* "*unto me. Unto him shall ye hearken.* This cannot be spoke con- "cerning the son of Marie. But, if we grant you that; he would "be like unto Moses, not unto God: meaning a prophet, like him- "self, and from men, not from God. That text also: *the sceptre* *Gen. xlix. 10.* "*shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet:* "is not said of him, but of David's kingdom, which appears to have "ended in King Zedekiah. . . . But that none of these things belong "to Jesus, is manifest. For neither is he of Judah. And how "should he be so, when, according to you, he was not born of Jo- "seph, but of the Holy Ghost? When you reckon up the genealo- "gie of Joseph, you carry it up to Judah. But you have not been "able to contrive this dexterously. For Matthew and Luke have *Matt. i. Luke iii.* "been shewn to differ with one another about the genealogie."

Upon this passage some remarks may be proper.

L 2

1.) Julian

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1.) Julian here, and elsewhere, insinuates, that the doctrine of Christians concerning the Deity, was different from that of Moses. But I apprehend, that the Divine Unity is as clearly taught in the New, as in the Old Testament. *When one of the Scribes came to Jesus, and asked him, Which is the first commandment of all: Jesus answered him: The first of all the commandments is: Hear, o Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord, and what follows.* Mark xii. 28. 29. 30. To another, who came to our Lord, with a like question, and called him, good master, *Jesus said: Why callest thou me good? None is good, save one, that is, God.* Luke xviii. 18. 19. Again: *And this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.* John xvii. 3. See Matt. iv. 10. And says St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 5. *There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.* The doctrine therefore of more Gods than one, or of inferior deities, if it was held by any Christians in Julian's time, is not the doctrine of the New Testament.

2.) Julian insinuates, that Christians did not consider Jesus as a Prophet, like unto Moses. But, however, some Christians in Julian's time might express themselves; it is certain, that the Apostles did esteem Jesus a Prophet like unto Moses. As appears from Acts iii. 22. vii. 37. though he was greater than Moses, and was *counted worthie of more glorie, than Moses.* Hebr. iii. 23.

3.) Julian insinuates, that Jesus, *son of Marie*, could not be of the tribe of Judah, or descended from Judah, because he is said by the Evangelists, not to have been born of Joseph, but of the Holy Ghost. Matt. ch. i. But those things are not inconsistent. Jesus was the son of Joseph, as he was born of Marie, who was espoused to him. But he was not conceived in the ordinarie way, but by the immediate agence and interposition of God. Therefore he is said to have been *conceived of the Holy Ghost.* Matth. i. 18. 20. and on that account was also called the *Son of God.* Luke i. 35.

Matt. i.  
Luke iii.  
21...38.

4.) Julian acknowledgeth the genuinnesse of the two genealogies in St. Matthew, and St. Luke. And though he says, they differ; they

they have been reconciled, by learned Christians, both ancient and modern. A. D. 361.

Jerome, in particular, has taken notice (*p*) of Julian's objections to the two genealogies : and has made answers to them, too long to be transcribed in this place.

9. It will not be improper for me to allege here a passage of Jerome in his commentarie upon Hof. xi. 1. *When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt.* He (*q*) there informs us, that Julian in his work against the Christians found fault with St. Matthew, for applying that to Christ ch. ii. 15. which belonged to Israel. And he says, that the Evangelists did it, with a design to impose upon ignorant Gentils. Which charge Jerome there considers; and confutes. *Matt. ii.*  
15.

10. And upon Matt. ix. 9. where it is said, that our Lord called Matthew, and *he followed him* : Jerome observes, that (*r*) both Porphyrie and Julian had reflected upon the Apostles, as ready to follow any man without sufficient reason. Which may induce us to think, that Julian sometimes borrowed from Porphyrie. This has been already taken notice of by us in the chapter of (*s*) Porphyrie. Jerome here says very well, as we also observed formerly, that before the disciples became stated followers of Jesus, they had seen many miracles done by him. *Matt. ix.*  
9.

11. "Jesus

(*p*) *Jacob autem genuit Joseph, virum Mariae.* &c. Matt. i. 16.] Hoc loco objecit nobis Julianus Augustus dissonantiam Evangelistarum. Cur Evangelista Matthaeus Joseph dixerit filium Jacob : et Lucas eum filium appellavit Heli : non intelligens consuetudinem scripturarum. &c. *Hieron. in Matt. T. 4. P. i. p. 7.*

(*q*) Hunc locum in septimo volumine Julianus Augustus, quod adversum nos, id est, Christianos evomuit, calumniatur, et dicit, quod de Israel scriptum est, Matthaeus Evangelista ad Christum tran-

stulit : ut simplicitati eorum, qui de Gentibus crediderant, illuderet. *In Osee. cap. xi. Tom. 3. p. 1311.*

(*r*) Arguit in hoc loco Porphyrius et Julianus Augustus, vel imperitiam historici mentientis, vel stultitiam eorum, qui statim sequuti sunt Salvatorem, quasi irrationabiliter quemlibet vocantem hominem sint sequuti, quem tantae virtutes, tantaeque signa praecefferint, quae apostolos, antequam crederent, vidisse non dubinm est. *Hieron. in Matt. T. 4. p. 30.*

(*s*) See Vol. 3. p. 166.



- A. D. 361. II. "Jesus, says (t) Julian, as quoted by Cyril, whom you celebrate, was one of Cesar's subjects. If you dispute it, I will prove it by and by. But it may be as well done now. For yourselves allow, that he was enrolled with his father and mother in the time of Cyrenius. But after he was born, what good did he do to his relations? For *they would not*, as it is said, *believe on him*. And yet, that stiff-necked and hard-hearted people believed Moses. But Jesus, who rebuked the winds, and walked on the seas, and cast out demons, and, as you will have it, made the heaven and the earth, (though none of his disciples presumed to say this of him, except John only, nor he clearly and distinctly: however, let it be allowed, that he said so:) could not order his designs so as to save his friends and relations."
- John vii. 5.  
Mat xiv. 25.  
Mark vi. 48.  
John i.

Upon this, it may be observed. 1.) Julian does not contest the account of our Saviour's nativity, which is in St. Luke's Gospel, but confirms it. 2.) I believe, St. John's doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ, is not different from that of the other Evangelists. 3.) Julian acknowledgeth, that many great and wonderfull works are ascribed to Jesus by the historians of his life, the Evangelists. Nor does he deny the truth of them. 4.) He confirms the truth of what is said of some of our Lord's relations, or *brethren*, that *they did not believe in him*, at least not rightly, or for a while, though they might do so afterwards, and, probably, did (u) so. However, if they never did believe in him, it need not be reckoned at all dishonorable to Jesus. For he made no offers of special advantages to his own kindred, or familie. They were to be saved in no other way than other men, by *bearing the word of God, and doing it*, or by *doing the will of his Father, who is in heaven*. See Matt. xii. 50. Mark iii. 35. and Luke viii. 21.

If

(t) Ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν κηρυττόμενος Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν τῶν Κεῖσαρος ὑπακόων. κ. λ. Ap. Cyril. contr. Julian. l. 6. p. 213.

(u) See the Supplement to the Credibility. &c. Vol. 3. p. 71. . . 75.



If among them were sensual, and worldly men, they might as well reject his spiritual doctrine, as any others. A. D. 361.

12. "But (x) Jesus having persuaded a few among you, and those  
" the worst of men, has now been celebrated about three hundred  
" years : having done nothing in his life-time worthie of remem-  
" brance : unless any one thinks it a mighty matter to heal lame  
" and blind people, and exorcise demoniacs in the villages of Beth-  
" saida and Bethanie."

1.) This is plainly acknowledging the truth of the evangelical hi-  
storie : though he does not refer to the whole of it, nor specify all  
the great works that Jesus did, nor all the places, in which they  
were performed. 2.) He acknowledgeth, that for three hundred  
years, or more, Jesus had been celebrated. Which regard for  
him was founded upon the works done by him in his life-time.  
Which works had been recorded by his disciples, eye-witnesses  
of those works. And the tradition had been handed down  
from the begining, to the time, in which Julian lived. 3.)  
Why should not *healing lame and blind men, and such as were  
afflicted with other distempers, generally ascribed to demons*, be reckon-  
ed great works ? All judicious and impartial men must esteem them  
great works, when performed on the sudden, and compleatly, as all  
our Lord's works of healing were : greater works, than founding  
cities, erecting an extensive monarchie, or subduing whole nations  
by slaughter, and the common methods of conquest : though such  
things have been often thought *more worthie to be remembred*, and re-  
corded by historians. 4.) If there were but a few only persuaded  
by Jesus, during his abode on this earth, it was not for want of suf-  
ficient evidence. There was enough, it seems, to persuade some  
bad

(x) Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀναπέσας τὸ χάριτόν τῶν  
παρ' ὑμῖν ὀλίγης πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐνιαυ-  
τοῖς ἀναμάσσεται, ἐργαζάμενος παρ' ὃν ἔζη χο-  
ρευν ἔργον ἰδέν ἀκούης ἄξιον· εἰ μὴ τις οἶεται τὰς  
κυλλὰς καὶ τὰς τυφλὰς ἰάσασθαι, καὶ δαιμονώ-  
τας ἐφορκίζειν ἐν Βηθθαϊδᾷ καὶ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ταῖς  
κώμαις τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων εἶναι. Cyr. contr.  
Jul. l. 6. p. 191.

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*bad men*, called in the Gospels *publicans and sinners*: the *worst men*, as you say. But there were also some serious, and pious men, thoughtful and inquisitive, as *Nathanael*, *Nicodemus*, and others, who were persuaded, and fully satisfied, though for a while they had been averse, and prejudiced. And there were worse men, than those, whom you call *the worst*, even Scribes and Pharisees, proud, covetous, ambitious men, whom no rational evidence, however clear and strong, could persuade to receive religious principles, contrarie to their present worldly interests.

13. “ But (y) you are so unhappy, as not to adhere to the things “ delivered to you by the Apostles. But they have been altered by “ you for the worse, and carried on to yet greater impiety. For nei- “ ther Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, have dared to “ call Jesus God. But honest John, understanding that a great “ multitude of men in the cities of Greece and Italie, were seized “ with this distemper: and hearing likewise, as I suppose, that the “ tombs of Peter and Paul were respected, and frequented, though as “ yet, privately only, however, having heard of it, he then first “ presumed to advance that doctrine.”

In answer to this I must, 1.) say again, as I have already said several times, that the doctrine of St. John, concerning our Saviour's person, is not different from that of the other Apostles and Evangelists, but the same. 2.) Julian here acknowledgeth many things extremely prejudicial to his cause, and more so, than he was aware of. For he here acknowledgeth the genuinneſſe and authority of most of the books of the New Testament: the writings of Paul, the Gospels

(y) "Οὕτω δὲ ἐς ἐδυσυχεῖς, ὥς ἐδὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμῖν παραδιδόμενοις ἐκ-  
μενῆκατε, καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ δυσσε-  
βέστερον, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἐξεργάσθη.  
Τὸν γὰρ Ἰησοῦν οὕτε Παῦλος ἐτίλμυσεν εἰπεῖν  
Θεόν, οὕτε Ματθαῖος, οὕτε Λουκᾶς, οὕτε Μάρ-

κος· ἀλλ' ὁ χρηστὸς Ἰωάννης, αἰσθόμενος ἥδη  
πολὺ πλῆθος ἑαλωκὸς ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλλη-  
νίδων καὶ Ἰταλιωτίδων πόλεων ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς  
νόσου. κ. λ. *Contr. Jul. l. x. p. 327. A.*  
*B.*

Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John : and that these books contain the doctrine of Christ's Apostles, the persons, who accompanied him, and were the witnesses of his preaching, works, death, resurrection, and taught in his name afterwards. 3.) He acknowledgeth the early, and wonderfull progresse of the gospel. For he supposeth, that there were in *many cities of Greece and Italie*, multitudes of believers in Jesus, before John wrote his Gospel : which, as he computes, was published soon after the death of Peter and Paul. 4.) Therefore the antiquity of the first three Gospels is here evidently acknowledged. They were writ and published before the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, that is, about the time, now supposed by all Christians in general. 5.) And in what he says of the time of John's writing his Gospel, he speaks not disagreeably to the general opinion of Christians at that time, and since. For it has been generally supposed, and indeed is manifest, that he did not write till after the other three Evangelists, because he appears to have seen and read their Gospels, and to have designed to make some additions to them, in the way of a supplement. I think it highly probable, that though he did not write till after the other Evangelists, his Gospel was published before the destruction of Jerusalem, about the year of Christ 68. As was at large argued (z) formerly.

14. " They (a) say, they agree with Isaiah, who prophesieth:  
 " *Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son.* ch. vii. 14. *Matt. i.*  
 " Let this be said of God, though it is not. For she was not a vir- *18. . 25.*  
 " gin, who was married, and cohabited with her husband, before  
 " she brought forth. However, grant, that this also is said of him :  
 " does he say, that God should be born of a virgin ? But you are  
 " continually calling Marie, mother of God." Θεοτόκον δὲ ὑμεῖς ἔ-  
 πάνεσθε Μαρτίαν καλῶντες.

We

(z) See the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. Vol. i. p. 391. &c.

(a) Contr. Julian. l. 8. p. 262. D.

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We are not to be surprised, that the adversaries to Christianity did contest, or deny the virginity of Marie. They who withstood the evidences of our Saviour's divine mission, recorded in the Gospels, might also dispute his miraculous conception, and birth. But for the truth of it I have already said enough in the remarks upon (b) Celsus.

In another place (c) also Julian argues again upon that title given to Marie, *mother of God*, and upon that expression, *God of God*. But I have no reason to say any thing in defense of either, as they are not scripture phrases.

15. "But (d) you miserable people, says Julian, at the same time that ye refuse to worship the shield that fell down from Jupiter, and is preserved by us, which was sent down to us by the great Jupiter, or our Father Mars, as a certain pledge of the perpetual government of our City: you worship the wood of the cross, and make signs of it upon your foreheads, and fix it upon your doors. Shall we for this most hate the understanding, or most pity the simple and ignorant among you, who (e) are so very unhappy, as to leave the Immortal Gods, and go over to a dead Jew?"

By a *dead Jew* it is likely, that Julian means still dead. But though Jesus died, and was buried, he rose again, and ascended to heaven. And of this there are other evidences, than the Heathen people had of the shield's coming down from heaven. Nor was it certain, it seems, whether it came from Jupiter or from Mars. Here is an instance of Julian's credulity and superstition.

As for the extraordinarie respect shewn by some Christians to the  
wood

(b) See Vol. 2. p. 287. . . 289.

μέγας Ζεύς, ἦτοι πατὴρ Ἀρης. . . κ. λ. Lib.

(c) Contr. Julian. l. 8. p. 276. E.

6. p. 194. C.

(d) Ἔτα, ὡς δυσυχῶς ἄνθρωποι, σωζομένοι  
τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν ὄπλῳ Διοπετῆς, ὁ κατέπεμψεν ὁ

(e) . . ὥς τὸς αἰωνίους ἀφέντες Θεούς, ἐπὶ  
τῶν ἱερῶν μεταβῆναι νεκρόν. Ib. D.



wood, or the *sign* of the crosse, I have no reason to defend it. The New Testament gives no encouragement to it, that I know of. A. D. 361.

Julian blames Christians for having destroyed temples, and altars. And then goes on. “ You (*f*) have killed not only our people, who persisted in the ancient religion, but likewise hereticks, equally deceived with yourselves: but who did not mourn the dead man exactly in the same manner that you do. But these are your own inventions. For Jesus has no where directed you to do such things: nor yet Paul. The reason is, that they never expected, you would arrive at such power. They were contented with deceiving maid-servants, and slaves, and by them some men and women, such as Cornelius and Sergius. If there were then any other men of eminence brought over to you: I mean in the times of Tiberius, and Claudius, when these things happened, let me pass for a liar in every thing I say.”

This is another very important passage. 1.) Julian acknowledgeth, that persecution and cruelty were the inventions of later Christians: that neither Jesus, nor Paul, nor any other of the first preachers of the gospel, had taught men to kill others for being of a different religion, or for differing about lesser matters among themselves. 2.) But he is mistaken about the reason of this. For Jesus foresaw the vast success and speedy propagation of his doctrine. [Matt. viii. 11. xvi. 18. xxviii. 19. and many other places] though it would be opposed, and his Apostles would be ill treated by many. [Matt. x. 16. . . 26. xxiii. 34. xxiv. 9. John xx. 18. 19.] But the reason is, that his doctrine is a doctrine of universal virtue and goodness, and he *came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.* Luke ix. 56. And the Apostles knew this very well, when they began to preach publicly in his name, after his ascension, and after the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them. So that the followers of Jesus Christ, who killed men for dissenting from them in

M 2

things

(*f*) *Contr. Julian, l. 6. p. 206. A. B.*

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*Acts xvi.  
Philem.  
Acts x...  
xiii.*

*Acts of  
the Apo-  
stles.*

things of religion, acted not only without orders from Christ, or his Apostles, but contrarie to the commandment delivered by them. 3.) Julian does strongly confirm the evangelical historie. For he owns, that the beginings of Christianity were in the times of the Emperours Tiberius and Claudius. He speaks of the conversions of *maid-servants and slaves*: probably meaning, the *maid possessed with a spirit of divination*, Acts xvi. 16. and *Onesimus*, servant to Philemon. He likewise speaks of the conversion of *other men and women*, particularly, the conversion of *Cornelius*, and *Sergius Paulus*, mentioned Acts x. and xiii. 4.) Julian is very cautious here, when he limits his exceptions to the times of those two Emperours, the later of whom died in the year of Christ 54. Moreover, he is to be understood to speak of Heathen people only. But it should be observed, that for some considerable time after the ascension of Jesus, the Apostles confined their preaching to native Jews and Profelytes. And among them were converted some Priests and Pharisees, as well as meaner people, and also the Chamberlain and Treasurer of *Candace*, Queen of the Ethiopians: a very eminent, and probably, a very understanding, and inquisitive man. Acts viii. 26. . . . 40. Whom I suppose to have been a Jewish Profelyte. And, undoubtedly, Julian also considered him as a man of the Jewish religion. Otherwise he would have named him. It is therefore to be reckoned very considerable successe, if by the end of the reign of Claudius, or, if you please, somewhat later, were converted from among the Gentils, *Cornelius*, and his familie, and many of his friends: and *Sergius Paulus*, Proconsul of Cyprus. If they are not now renowned in profane historie for any great exploits, it may nevertheless be inferred from their station and character, that they were able to judge of things done before their eyes, and of the truth of principles proposed to them, and of facts related to them to have been done a few days or years before, in a countrey, not far distant from the places of their own residence. 5.) This passage does wonderfully confirm the genuinenesse of the book of the Acts of

of the Apostles, and the truth of the historie contained in it. Julian challengeth the Christians, after he had excepted the two above-mentioned, to produce the names of any more eminent men converted [from the Gentils] to Christianity in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. Which is a proof, that Julian did not, and could not contest the truth of the historie in the Acts of the Apostles: and likewise, that he was well satisfied, the Christians had no other authentic historie of things done at that time. He knew, they relied upon the accounts given in that book, and that they did not pretend to have any other authentic accounts of them. 6.) Once more, since the accounts given in the New Testament, and particularly, in the Acts of the Apostles, of the conversions of *slaves, and maid-servants, and of Cornelius, and Sergius Paulus*, are allowed to be true: it is reasonable to believe also, that the grounds and reasons of their conversion to the Christian faith, are truly and faithfully related: and consequently, that they were not deceived, or imposed upon: but were convinced, and persuaded upon sufficient and undeniable evidence, such as ought to sway, and satisfy wise and good men.

17. “But (g) why do you not observe a pure diet, as well as the Jews? but eat all things like herbs of the field, believing Peter, because he said: *What God has cleansed, that call not thou common.* Acts x. 15. “What does that mean, unless that God formerly declared them . . . 23, “to be impure, but now has made them clean? For Moses speaking “of four-footed beasts says: *Whatsoever divideth the hoof, and cheweth the cud, is clean: but whatever does not do so, that is unclean.* “[Lev. xi. 4. Deut. xiv. 6.] If then, since the vision of Peter, the “swine has chewed the cud, let us believe him. For that would “be truly wonderfull, if since Peter’s vision, it has got that faculty. “But if he feigned that vision, or, to use your phrase, the revelation at the tanner’s; why should you believe him in a thing of “that nature?”

This



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This is really trifling. But it serves to shew, that the book of the Acts was generally received by Christians. It also shews, what was Julian's manner of reasoning. He wanted to form an objection here. But knew not how.

18. "We are also expressly assured by Cyril, that (*b*) Julian "quoted the Epistle of the Apostles, which they wrote to the converted from among the Gentils, who had lately embraced Christianity. *It has seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to impose upon you no other burden, than these necessary things...*"

Acts xv.  
23...29.

Gal. ii.

19. Cyril, toward the end of his work, where he abridgeth, has these words: "And (*l*) moreover this daring Gentleman reviles "the chief of the Apostles, Peter. And says, he was a hypocrite, "and was reproved by Paul, for living sometimes after the manner "of the Greeks, and at other times after the manner of the Jews." Referring to what is writ in the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians.

We might wish, that Cyril had here transcribed Julian more distinctly. However, this is an old objection, which had been made before by Porphyrie, and has been also carefully considered by (*m*) us. And therefore I do not now enlarge any farther upon this point.

Rom. x.  
4.

20. "But (*n*) omitting many other things, says Julian, by "which I might shew the law of Moses to be perpetual: do you "shew me some place, where that is said, which is affirmed by "Paul with so much assurance: *that Christ is the end of the law.*"

21. "But (*o*) now I must again return to them. Why then are "you not circumcised? To which they answer. Paul says, it is "the

(*b*) Διαμέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν γεγράσαν . . . τοῖς ἐκ ἐθνῶν κεκλημένοις. L. 9. p. 324. E.

(*l*) Κατασκώπτει δὲ πρὸς τέτοις τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔκκριτον Πέτρον ὁ γεννάδας, καὶ ὑποκρι-

τὴν εἶναι φησὶ, καὶ ἐπιλέγεσθαι διὰ τὰ πάντα λα. κ. λ. Ibid. p. 325. C. D.

(*m*) See Vol. 3. p. 177. . . 183.

(*n*) L. 9. p. 320. A.

(*o*) L. x. p. 351. A.



"the circumcision of the heart, which was required, not *that* of the *flesh*." A. D. 361.  
Rom. ii. 28. 29.

22. "To (p) which he adds, says Cyril, that Christ also has said, that the law ought to be kept, saying at one time, *I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it.* And again: *Whoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.*" Matt. v. 17. Ver. 19.

23. "We (q) cannot, say they, keep the feast of unleavened bread, or the passover, *because Christ has been once sacrificed for us.*" 1 Cor. v. 7.

24. "Since (r) you have forsaken us, why do you not adhere to the Jews..? And why do you not sacrifice? The Jews indeed are hindred, because they have now no temple, nor altar. But (s) you who have a new sacrifice, have no need of Jerusalem. But it is superfluous for me now to enlarge upon this, having before (t) spoken of this matter: when I undertook to shew, that the Jews agree with the Greeks, except that they think that there is but one God only. That is peculiar to them, and in that they differ from us. But as to other things, they are in a manner all common to us both: temples, shrines, altars, purifications, certain ritual observances. In all which things there is little or no difference between them and us."

1.) Here seems to be a reference to the ordinance of the Lord's-Supper, in that phrase, *a new sacrifice.* 2.) In this passage is a general, and just description of Christianity. It is a plain, simple worship, without sacrifices of animals, without external purifications, and other ritual observances. It is a character of the Christian religion, which is very honorable to it. It is truly rational, and philosophical.

(p) *Ibid.* C.

(q) L. 10 p. 354. A.

(r) L. 9. p. 305. 306.

(s) ὅτι μὲν δὲ οἱ τὴν καινὴν θυσίαν ἔχοντες,

οὐδὲν δεόμενοι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀντί τινος οὐ θέσθε; p. 306. A.

(t) *Ibid.* l. 7. p. 238.

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losophical, consisting in the practise of virtue, and the spiritual sacrifices of prayer, and praise, and other good works. 3.) Here is a popular argument against the Christians, taken from their singularity, and their difference from all other people. It was, indeed, a popular prejudice, and had been of great force in former times. But there were men, who withstood it, and professed the just sentiments of religion, whilst the greatest numbers rejected them, and were much incensed against men upon that account. But in Julian's time the force of it was much abated: though he was willing to set it up again.

25. "And (*u*) that not only they of this time, but that some of those, who at the begining received the word from Paul, were such, is apparent from what Paul himself says, writing to them. For I presume he was not so void of shame, as to send them such reproaches in his letter to them, if he had not known them to be just. These are the things, which he writes of his disciples, and to themselves. *Be not deceived. Neither idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And you are not ignorant, brethren, that such were you also. But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, in the name of Jesus Christ. You (*x*) see, he says, they were such: but they had been sanctified, and washed, having been cleansed and scoured with water, which penetrates even to the soul. And baptism, which cannot heal the leprosie, nor the gout, nor the dysenterie, nor any other distemper of the body, takes away adulteries, extortions, and all other sins of the soul."*

So writes Julian, and with great assurance. Nevertheless it is not very easie to say, upon what this argument is founded. Perhaps, it is built upon some extravagant assertions of Christians of that time concern-

(*u*) L. 7. p. 245.

(*x*) Ὁφεί, ὅτι καὶ τέτοις γενέσθαι ἔστι τοιοῦτος

. . . St. Paul's words are, *such were some*

*of you: καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε.*

concerning the value and efficacy of baptism. For I see no ground for it in the New Testament. Jesus, and his forerunner, preached, that men should *repent, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance*. After his resurrection, when his Apostles were to go abroad in the world, he told them, *that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations*. Luke xxiv. 47. And, says St. Peter, Acts ii. 38. *Repent, and be baptised in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins*. See also ch. iii. 26. and likewise ch. xx. 21. and xxvi. 20. and elsewhere: And St. Peter says, 1 ep. iii. 21. *that putting away the filth of the flesh does not save, but the answer of a good conscience toward God*.

In the text quoted by Julian from the first epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul speaks of a real change made in those converts. It is not certain, that baptism is there at all referred to. If it is, it is not the only, nor the principal thing. They had been, some of them, such sinners, as are there mentioned: but they were now changed, and reformed. And, if they were not, neither baptism, nor the profession of Christianity, nor any external privileges, would be of advantage to them. For he there says to them, and with great seriousness, and earnestness: *Know ye not, that unrighteous men shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived*, and what there follows.

If men were turned from error and vice by the preaching of the gospel, it was the greatest honour to it that could be. The great design of Christ's coming, was *to save men from their sins*: Matt. i. 21. from the practice of them, and from the miserie, to which they had been exposed by them. When that end is obtained, his joy, and the joy of the faithful preachers of the gospel are fulfilled.

26. There is another like passage of Julian in his *Cæsars*, which may not be quite omitted. And it may be as well taken now, as hereafter. In his satyr upon *Constantin*, he brings in his son *Constantius*, in the presence of his father, proclaiming to all in this manner: "Whosoever (y) is a ravisher, a murderer, guilty of fa-

(y) *Julian. Cæsares. p. 336. edit. Spanhem.*



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“ criledge, or any other abomination, let him come boldly. For  
“ when I have washed him with this water, I will immediatly make  
“ him clean and innocent. And if he commits the same crimes a-  
“ gain, I will make him, after he has thumped his breast, and beat  
“ his head, as clean as before.”

Upon this I need not say any thing my-self, after all that has  
been said just now. I may answer it in the words of Dr. Bentley,  
whose remarks, upon it, in the borrowed name of *Phileleutherus*  
*Lippsensis*, are to this purpose. “ A (z) ridiculous and stale banter,  
“ used by Celsus, and others, before Julian, upon the Christian doc-  
“ trines of baptism, and repentance, and remission of sins. Baptism  
“ is rallied, as *mere washing* : and repentance, as *thumping the breast*,  
“ and other outward grimace. The inward grace, and the intrinsic  
“ change of mind, are left out of the character. And whom are  
“ we to believe ? these Pagans, or our own-selves ? Are we to fetch  
“ our notions of the sacraments from scraps of Julian, and Celsus ?  
“ or from the Scripture, the pure fountain, and from what we read,  
“ know, and profess ? And yet the banter came more decently out  
“ of Celsus, an Epicurean’s mouth, than out of Julian’s, the most  
“ bigoted creature in the world. He to laugh at expiation by bap-  
“ tism, whose whole life, after his apostasie, was a continued course  
“ of καθαρμῶν, washings, purgations, expiations, with the most ab-  
“ surd ceremonies ! addicted to the whole train of superstitions,  
“ omens, presages, prodigies, spectres, dreams, visions, auguries,  
“ oracles, magic, theurgic, Psychomantic : whose whole Court in  
“ a manner consisted of haruspices, and sacrificuli, and philoso-  
“ phers, as silly as they ? who was always poring in the entrails of  
“ cattle, to find futurities there : who, if he had returned victor out  
“ of Persia, (as his very Pagan friends jested on him) would have ex-  
“ tinguished the whole species of bulls and cows, by the number of  
“ his sacrifices ? I have drawn this character of him from his own  
“ writings,

(z) See Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking §. xliii.



“ writings, and the Heathens his contemporaries : that I might not  
 “ bring suspected testimonies from Christian authors.” So that learn-  
 ed man.

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 Rom. iii.  
 29.

27. “ That (a) evil had it’s rise from John. But who can suffi-  
 “ ciently expresse his indignation against all your following inventions,  
 “ in adding many more dead men to him who died so long ago ? so  
 “ that you have filled all places with sepulchres, and monuments :  
 “ though it has been no where commanded you to wallow in sepul-  
 “ chres, and worship there. But you are arrived at such pervers-  
 “ nesse, as to think, that in this matter you need not regard the  
 “ words of Jesus of Nazareth. Hear therefore what he says of mo-  
 “ numents : *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites. For ye*  
 “ *are like unto whited sepulchres. The sepulchre appears beautiful out-*  
 “ *ward : but within it is full of dead mens bones, and all uncleanness.*  
 “ If then Jesus has said, that sepulchres are full of uncleanness, why  
 “ do you pray to God over them ?”

Matt.  
 xxiii. 17.

To this, says Cyril, he adds : “ That (b) when a certain disciple  
 “ said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father, he answered :  
 “ Follow thou me, and let the dead bury their dead.”

Matt.  
 viii. 21.  
 22.  
 Luke ix.  
 59. 60.

Julian might be justly offended at that superstitious custom of the  
 Christians, which he here censures, and which we do not justify.  
 However, he here cites our Lord’s words from our Gospels, in a  
 manner that puts their genuinenesse out of question. And he bears  
 witnesse, that our Lord, Jesus of Nazareth, taught and said the  
 things there recorded.

28. Having quoted from Moses those words of Deut. vi. 13.  
*Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, he  
 goes on : “ How (c) then is Jesus said in the Gospels to command :

N 2

“ Go

(a) Lib. x. p. 335. B. C.

(b) P. 335. D.

(c) Πᾶς ὃς ἰησοῦς ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις πα-

ραδεδόται προσάπτων Πορευθέντες μαθητεύ-  
 σατε, κ. λ. L. 9. p. 291. A.

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Matt.  
xxviii.  
19.

“Go, teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost?”

To which, I think, I may say, though Christians have formed different interpretations of this text; it cannot be reasonably supposed, that our Lord would command his Apostles to begin with teaching any mysterious doctrine to their converts. Nor does any thing of that kind appear in the book of the Acts, where we have the historie of their preaching, in many places, in obedience to their Lord and master, to all sorts of men, Jews, Samaritans, and Gentils.

The design of the words is this: “That they should teach men “to receive and profess the doctrine, which Jesus had taught with “authority from God the Father, and confirmed by miracles done by “the finger, the power, or the spirit of God.” Accordingly, we are assured, in the book of the Acts, that men were baptised *in the name of Jesus Christ*, or *into his name*. Acts ii. 38. viii. 16. xix. 5. Which imports the same, as being baptised into the belief, that *Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*: or that he taught by divine authority, and that there had been full assurance given to men of this, by his many miracles, and by his resurrection from the dead.

29. “Why (d) do you meddle with Greek learning, since the “reading of your own Scriptures is sufficient for you? And indeed, “it might be of more importance to restrain men from reading the “Greek authors, than from eating things *sacrificed to idols*. For by “that, as Paul also says, *he that eats is not hurt*. But the conscience “of the brother, who sees it, is offended, according to you.”

1 Cor.  
viii. 7...  
10.

More there follows, which I forbear to transcribe. And there seems to be somewhat wanting, lost out of the text. However, he there insinuates, that whenever a man of good sense gains but a smattering of Greek learning, he forsakes what Julian is pleased to call *impiety*. But if he had really thought so, I suppose, he would have filled the Christians with Greek learning, instead of doing all he could to prevent their having a taste of it.

My

(d) L. 7. p. 229.

My readers cannot but observe, that this is taken from Julian's work against the Christians. Which shews, how intent he was upon doing all in his power, to make the Christians ignorant, and unlearned. It was a strange design. And could proceed from nothing but malice and envie.

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30. We will now take a summarie view of what we have seen in Julian's Work against the Christians.

*The Sum  
of his ar-  
guments.*

He argues against the Jews, as well as against them. But we have supposed it expedient to take more especial notice of what he writes relating to Jesus Christ, and his followers. And he has bore a valuable testimonie to the historie, and to the books of the New Testament, as all must acknowledge, who have read the extracts just made from his work. He allows, that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, at the time of the taxing made in Judea by Cyrenius: That the Christian Religion had it's rise, and began to be propagated in the times of the Emperours Tiberius and Claudius. He bears witness to the genuineness, and authenticity of the four Gospels, of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and the Acts of the Apostles. And he so quotes them, as to intimate, that these were the only historical books, received by Christians, as of authority, and the only authentic memoirs of Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, and the doctrine preached by them. He allows their early date, and even argues for it. He also quotes, or plainly refers to the Acts of the Apostles, to St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. He does not deny the miracles of Jesus Christ, but allows him to have *healed the blind, and the lame, and demoniacs, and to have rebuked the winds, and walked upon the waves of the sea.* He endeavours indeed to diminish these works: but in vain. The consequence is undeniable. Such works are good proofs of a divine mission. He endeavours also to lessen the number of the early believers in Jesus, and yet he acknowledgeth, that there were *multitudes of such men in Greece and Italie*, before St. John wrote his Gospel. He likewise affects to diminish the quality of the early believers: and

yet



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yet acknowledgeth, that beside *men servants, and maid-servants, Cornelius* a Roman Centurion at Cesarea, and *Sergius Paulus*, Proconsul of Cyprus, were converted to the faith of Jesus, before the end of the reign of Claudius. And he often speaks with great indignation of *Peter and Paul*, those two great Apostles of Jesus, and successful preachers of his gospel. So that, upon the whole, he has undesignedly bore witness to the truth of many things recorded in the books of the New Testament. He aimed to overthrow the Christian Religion, but has confirmed it. His arguments against it are perfectly harmless, and insufficient to unsettle the weakest Christian. He justly excepts to some things introduced into the Christian profession, by the late professors of it, in his own time, or sooner. But has not made one objection of moment against the Christian Religion, as contained in the genuine and authentic books of the New Testament.

*Extracts  
out of his  
Epistles.*

V. I now intend to make some extracts out of Julian's Orations and Epistles. This is fit to be done, because divers of them relate to Christianity, and the affairs of Christians in Julian's time.

1. I have already transcribed that which is the seventh Epistle in the order of Spanheim's edition (*a*) containing a kind of establishment of Hellenism. I now proceed.

2. And the first to be now taken, is the law or edict, prohibiting Christians to teach rhetorick, and other parts of polite literature. I need not transcribe the whole. But I shall take a large part of it.

"He (*b*) says, Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, Lyfias, were guided by the Gods, and esteemed themselves consecrated, some to Mercurie, others to the Muses. It is absurd therefore for such as explain their works, to neglect the Gods, whom they worshiped. But though I think that to be absurd, I do not desire, that they should change their sentiments for  
" the

(*a*) See before, p. 38.

(*b*) Ep. 42. p. 422. 423. 424.



“ the sake of instructing youth. I give them their choice : either not  
 “ to teach what they do not approve of : or, if they will teach, that  
 “ they first inform and persuade their scholars, that neither Homer,  
 “ nor Hesiod, nor any one of those whom they have explained, and  
 “ had condemned for impiety, and ignorance, and error concerning  
 “ the Gods, is such. For otherwise, since they are maintained by  
 “ teaching their works, they must not deny, that they are lovers of fil-  
 “ thie lucre, and can do any thing for a small profit. There were many  
 “ things to hinder their frequenting the temples : and they might be  
 “ afraid to profess the right sentiments concerning the Gods. But  
 “ now, since by the favour of the Gods we have obtained liberty, it  
 “ appears to me absurd for any man to teach what they do not think  
 “ to be right. But if they think, there is any wisdom in the au-  
 “ thors works, of which they are interpreters, let them first learn to  
 “ imitate their piety toward the Gods. But if they judge, that those  
 “ authors are in an error about the Gods ; let them go to the church-  
 “ es of the Galileans, and there explain Matthew and Luke. . . . I  
 “ desire, to use your own terms, that your ears and your tongue  
 “ might be regenerated, as to those things which I esteem, and which  
 “ I wish, that I and all that love me, may always partake of. Let  
 “ (c) this be a common law to professors and masters. But if any  
 “ youth should have a mind to go to school, to learn these things,  
 “ they are not prohibited. For it would not be at all reasonable to  
 “ restrain children, who know not what course to take, from the  
 “ right way : as it would also be to compell them to forsake the old  
 “ religion. It might indeed be just to treat them as out of their  
 “ senses, in order to cure them. But let all be forborn, who labor  
 “ under this distemper. For I suppose, that ignorant people are ra-  
 “ ther to be taught, than punished.”

By what was transcribed formerly (d) we saw, that Christians un-  
 derstood themselves to be prohibited by Julian to learn, as well as to  
 teach

(c) Τοῖς μὲν καθηγεμόσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἔτασι κοινὸς κῆται νόμος. P. 423. D.

(d) See p. 40. 41.

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teach the Greek literature. Some have doubted, whether that be the intention of the law, just now recited. And therefore they have supposed, there was another. The question is of no great importance. But even this law deprives young persons of the privilege of learning, unless they went to the schools of Greek masters. So that there was no necessity of another law for that purpose.

I must add, that I think it may be concluded from expressions in this letter, that whatever forbearance, or liberty, Julian allowed Christians, it was done very grudgingly, and unwillingly.

3. The next letter is to *Hecebolus*. And I shall take it now. “As (e) for my-self, says Julian, I have determined to act with so much clemence and moderation toward all the Galileans: that none of them should any where suffer any violence, nor be compelled to the temples, nor be violently forced to any thing against their inclinations. But they of the Arian church, waxing wanton with riches, have insulted the followers of Valentinus, and have presumed to do such things at Edeffa, as are never to be suffered in a well constituted city. Therefore, since they are so commanded by their most wonderfull law, that they may the more easily go to the kingdom of heaven, and that we may give them some assistance in their design, we have ordered all the money of the church of Edeffa to be taken away, and given to the soldiers, and that their estates be united to our demesnes: that being poor, they may become wise, and may not fail of the kingdom of heaven, which they aim at.”

Doubtless Julian refers to divers texts of the Gospels: perhaps, to Matt. v. 3. Luke vi. 20. Matt. xix. 21. or some other parallel places. But few will allow him to be a good interpreter of Scripture, or that he deduces right conclusions from it.

*Hecebolus*, to whom this letter was sent, is supposed to have been the chief magistrate at Edeffa.

4. The

(e) *Ep.* 43. p. 424.

4. The Heathen people of Alexandria murdered *George*, the Arian Bishop of that city in a tumultuous manner. The letter, which Julian sent to the Alexandrians upon that occasion, is still (*f*) extant. And it was inserted by (*g*) Socrates in his Ecclesiastical Historie. But being long, I forbear to transcribe it.

Sozomen also has taken particular notice of that transaction, and of Julian's letter. His remarks are to this purpose. "Julian (*b*) wrote a letter to the Alexandrians, in which he seems to be very angry with them. But he reproved them by a letter only, remitting the punishment due to them, out of regard to their God Serapis, their protector, and the great Alexander their founder, and from other considerations." That is sufficient to represent the substance and design of this letter.

5. George had a good librarie. And Julian wrote to *Ecditius*, Governour of Egypt, to procure it entire for him. "Some, (*i*) says he, delight in horses, others in birds, others in wild-beasts. From my childhood I have been always in love with books. . . . Wherefore you must do for me this private piece of kindness, to get together all George's books. He had a large number of books, many philosophical, and rhetorical, and also many concerning the doctrine of the impious Galileans. Which (*k*) I could wish to have utterly destroyed. But least books of value should be destroyed with them, let these also be carefully sought for. George had a secretarie. Let him help you. If he serves you faithfully, let him be rewarded with freedom. If he endeavours to conceal any of his master's books, he may be put to the torture. I am not unacquainted with George's books. For when I was in Cappadocia,

"I bor-

(*f*) *Ep. x. p. 378. edit. Spanhem.*

(*g*) *Socrat. l. 3. cap. 3.*

(*b*) *Sozom. l. 5. cap. 7. p. 604.*

(*i*) *Ep. ix. p. 377.*

(*k*) . . . ὃ βυλόμεν μὲν ἡραρίσθαι πάντα τῶν δὲ μὴ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὰ χρησιμώτερα, ζητῆσθαι καὶ κἄν μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντα. *p. 378. B.*

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“ I borrowed some of them, though not all, in order to have them  
“ transcribed, and then returned them to him.”

But it was a mean thing in Julian, to wish, that all Christian writings might be destroyed. It was below a Philosopher, as one would think, to entertain such a thought.

6. We have another letter of Julian to the like purpose, sent to *Porphyrie*, Treasurer of Egypt. “ George (*l*) has left a large library, consisting of books of various sorts, philosophie, and historie, “ as also of the Galileans, in great number. You are to procure the “ whole library for me, and send it to Antioch. You are to make “ the most diligent inquiries after the books. Otherwise you may “ expect to be severely punished. If you suspect any persons to have “ concealed any of them, you are to examine them upon oath : if “ they are slaves, they may be put to the torture. If you cannot “ persuade them by fair means, you must use force, to make them “ bring all to you.”

7. I now take a letter to the Alexandrians, concerning Athanasius. “ It (*m*) was certainly very fit, that a man, who had been banished “ by repeated edicts of several Emperours, should wait at least for “ one Imperial edict, before he returned home : and not audaciously “ insult the laws, as if they were all extinct. Forasmuch as “ even now we have not granted to the Galileans banished by the “ blessed Constantius, a return to their churches, but to their countries. But I hear, that the audacious Athanasius, behaving with “ his usual insolence, has seized on the episcopal throne, as they call “ it : and that this is not a little grievous to the pious people of Alexandria. Wherefore we command him to depart from the city on “ the day he receives our letter. If he stays in the city, we warn “ him of a severer punishment.”

Athanasius had been once banished by Constantine, twice by Constantius. To which Julian here refers. Nor did he make use of the liberty

(*l*) *Ep. xxxvi. p. 411.*

(*m*) *Ep. xxvi. p. 398.*



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liberty to return, granted by Julian, till after the death of George : when, as it seems, he was disagreeable to the Heathen people of Alexandria, whom Julian calls *pious*. Julian here says, that he had not given leave to the banished Bishops to return to their *sees*, or *churches*, but only to their *countreys*. I should have thought, that his edict had included a return to both. And this explication seems to be evasive, and perhaps, now first thought of from particular enmity to Athanasius.

8. The Catholic Christians at Alexandria wrote to Julian, as in the name of the city, requesting him to revoke his order against Athanasius, by a new edict : which he answered in the following letter to the Alexandrians. “ He (*n*) says, the distempered part of “ them had taken upon themselves the name of the city. By the “ Gods, ye men of Alexandria, I am ashamed, that any Alexandrian should acknowledge himself to be a Galilean. He tells them, “ that *Alexander, the Ptolomees*, and other princes, their founders “ and patrons, were worshipers of the Gods : and had not raised “ their city and constitution to it’s grandeur by the words of Jesus, “ nor by the doctrine of the hatefull Galileans. . . . None of those “ Gods do you worship : but Jesus, whom neither you, nor your fathers have seen, him you think to be God the Word. Him you “ prefer to the great Sun, who has so long enlightened, and blessed “ the world. You may do well to hearken to me, who till I was “ twenty years of age, went in the same way : but now for twelve years “ I have been a worshiper of the Gods. If you hearken to my admonitions, it will be for your benefit. However, if you will still follow the instruction and superstition of knavish men ; agree among “ yourselves, and no longer desire Athanasius. There are disciples “ enough of his, to please *your itching ears*, who want such impious “ discourses. I wish, this wickedness were confined to Athanasius, “ and his impious school. But you have among you a multitude

*John i.**2 Tim. iv.*  
3.

O 2

“ of

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“ of such people. . . . And you may take notice, that whereas before  
“ I banished Athanasius out of Alexandria, I now banish him out of  
“ all Egypt.”

9. In a letter to *Ecditius*, Prefect of Egypt, he says : “ Though  
“ (o) you write to me about no other matters, you should however  
“ have writ to me about that enemy of the Gods, Athanasius : e-  
“ specially, when you know, what I have rightly determined. I  
“ swear by the great Serapis, if Athanasius does not depart from the  
“ city, or rather from all Egypt, before the first day of December  
“ next ; the cohort under you shall be fined a hundred pounds gold.  
“ You know, how backward I am to condemn, and that I am still  
“ more backward to forgive those, who have been once condemned.  
“ *And in his own hand.* [καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ χειρὶ.] It concerns me ex-  
“ tremely, that all the Gods are despised. I desire not to hear so  
“ much of any service of yours, as that you have expelled the wick-  
“ ed Athanasius, out of Egypt, who, under my government, has  
“ been so audacious, as to persuade Greek women, wives of illustri-  
“ ous men, to receive baptism.”

10. Surely this, and the other letters, relating to Athanasius, shew,  
that Julian did not practise that indulgence and moderation toward  
the Christians, which he sometimes boasted of. For no fault is al-  
leged against Athanasius, except that he was *an enemy of the Gods*,  
and made converts to Christianity from among the Gentils.

11. However, there is another letter of Julian, which seems to be  
writ with better temper. It is inscribed to the people of Byzantium,  
or Constantinople. But *Bleterie* (p) suspects the inscription to be  
false, and that it was not sent to the people of Byzantium, but of  
some other place, whose name had some resemblance, and has been  
mistaken by the transcriber.

“ We

(o) *Ep. vi. p. 376.*

(p) *Lettres choisies de l'Emp. Julien. p. 371. &c.*

“ We (*q*) have restored to you all your Senators, and Patricians, “ whether they are Galileans, or otherwise exempted from that “ charge.” However, perhaps, that was not a privilege, but rather a burdensome office. The terms of the letter seem to lead to that sense. And Bleterie may be again consulted.

12. We have a letter of Julian (*r*) to *Arfacius, High-Priest of Galatia*. Which is also inserted by Sozomen (*s*) at length in his Ecclesiastical Historie. I take a good part of it.

“ If (*t*) Hellenism does not prosper according to our wish, it is the “ fault of those who profess it. . . . Why do we not look to that, “ which has been the principal cause of the augmentation of impie- “ ty, humanity to strangers, care in burying the dead, and that sanc- “ tity of life, of which they make such a show. All which things “ I will have to be really practised by our people. It is not suffi- “ ent, that you are unblamable yourself. All the priests in Gala- “ tia ought to be so likewise. I will therefore, that you persuade, “ and even compell all the priests in Galatia to live soberly. Other- “ wise, do you depose them from the priestly office, unless they and “ their wives, and children, and servants, do religiously worship the “ Gods: and (*u*) also forbear to converse with the servants, children, “ and

(*q*) *Ep. xi. p. 380.*

(*r*) *Ἀρσακίῳ ἀρχιερεῖ Γαλατίας . . . Ep. 49. p. 429. Ὡς.*

(*s*) *Sozom. l. v. cap. 16.*

(*t*) Ἑλληνισμὸς ἔγωγε πράττει κατὰ λόγον ὑμῶν, ἕνεκα τῶν μετιόντων αὐτόν. *If Hellenism does not prosper, Ὡς.* That was the stile at that time. *Hellenism* is Heathenism, or Gentilism. And Heathens are called *Hellenes*, and *Hellenists*, by our ecclesiastical historians, Sozomen, and Theodoret, especially, in their historie of Julian's reign.

(*u*) *And also forbear to converse with, Ὡς.*

ἀλλὰ ἀνέχουτο τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἢ υἱέων, ἢ τῶν Γαλιλαίων γαυατῶν, ἀσεβούντων μὲν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀθρόοτητα δὲ θεοσεβείας προτιμῶντων. I have attempted a new translation of this place, not being quite satisfied with any other, which I have met with. In Spanheim's edition the Latin version is: et ne patiantur servos, aut filios, aut conjuges Galilaeorum impie in Deos se gerere, et impietatem pietati praeponere. And much to the same purpose is the Latin translation of this epistle in Sozomen, made by Valesius. Which would be commanding every Heathen priest, and his familie, to become

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“ and wives of the Galileans, who are impious toward the Gods,  
“ and prefer impiety to religion. You are likewise to order them,  
“ not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exer-  
“ cise any mean and sordid employments. Such as hearken to your  
“ directions you are to encourage : others you are to reject. You  
“ are also to erect hospitals in every city, that strangers also may  
“ share in our humanity : and not only those of our own religion,  
“ but others likewise, if they are necessitous.” “ He then tells him,  
“ what allowances he had made for that purpose. . . For, says he, it  
“ is a shame, when there are no beggars among the Jews, and the  
“ impious Galileans relieve not only their own people, but ours al-  
“ so, that our poor should be neglected by us, and be left help-  
“ less and destitute.”

13. There is a long fragment of some Oration (x) or Epistle, in which Julian gives many directions for regulating the behaviour and studies of Heathen Priests, and recommends humanity, and near the end, particularly, a regard to the poor, where he says : “ This (y)  
“ ought to be carefully attended to, as what may be a good remedie  
“ for the present disorder. For it having so happened, as I suppose,  
“ that the poor were neglected by our priests, the impious Galile-  
“ ans observing this, have addicted themselves to this kind of hu-  
“ manity. And by the show of such good offices have recommend-  
“ ed the worst of things. For (z) beginning with their love-feasts,  
“ and the *ministrie of tables*, as they call it : (for not only the name,  
“ but

*Acts vi.*  
2.

come persecutors. Which cannot be sup-  
posed to be probable. Cave, in the In-  
troduction to his History of the Fathers  
of the fourth centurie, p. 34. *not suffering*  
*their servants, children, or wives, to be*  
*Galileans, who are despisers of the Gods,*  
*and prefer impiety before religion* Which  
cannot be right. For it is a tautologie,  
saying over again the same thing, which  
had been said just before. And yet Blec-

terie's translation is much to the same  
purpose : S' ils souffrent dans leur famille  
de ces impies de Galiléens.

(x) *Tom. i. p. 288. Ec.*

(y) *Ibid. p. 305*

(z) Τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι  
διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑπο-  
δοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπέζων κ. λ. P. 305.  
C. D.



“ but the thing also is common among them :) they have drawn away the faithfull to impiety.”

There ends the fragment. But it seems not to be the conclusion of the piece. As it is plainly defective at the beginning, it appears to be so likewise at the end. Otherwise we might have had somewhat more, not unworthie of observation.

In that fragment, nearer the beginning (*a*) he says, “ he does not believe any man is the poorer for what he gives to the necessitous. I who have often relieved the poor, have been rewarded by the Gods manifold: though riches is a thing which I never was intent upon.”

It may be hence argued, that the scandalous stories about the Christian worship, and manners, which were spread abroad at the first rise of Christianity, were without foundation. Nor were the Christians now charged with them. At least Julian never mentions them. And here he celebrates their virtue. However, still, their religion was, with him, very bad. But it is somewhat strange, that should be the *worst* impiety, which had produced such exemplarie humanity, as to be recommended to Heathen priests for a pattern of imitation.

14. I may now take a passage or two of Julian, where he exposeth monkery.

In his seventh oration, which is addressed to *Heracleas*, a Cynic Philosopher, Julian tells him, that (*b*) “ the Cynics are like that sort of men, whom the impious Galileans call renouncers. Many of whom quitting a small substance scrape together a great deal, or rather every thing, from all quarters, and arrive at such dignity, as to secure a numerous attendance, and all kinds of respect.”

15. In

(*a*) *Ibid* p. 288. *C.*

πανταχόθεν συγκομίζεσι, καὶ προσὴν δῖμαι τὸ

(*b*) . . . ἀποτακτιδὰς τινὰς ὀνομάζεσι οἱ

τιμᾶσθαι, καὶ δορυροφῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι.

δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι: τέτων οἱ πλείους μικρὰ  
πρόεμενοι, πολλὰ πᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα

*Ibid*, Or. vii. p. 224. *B.*

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15. In the fragment of the Oration, or Epistle, before quoted, he speaks (*c*) of some people, who left cities, and retired into deserts. Whereas, says he, man is a social animal. Moreover, as he adds, many of these load themselves with chains and shackles." The place is obscure. But I think he means Christians, forasmuch as he supposeth them to be men, who had forsaken the immortal and good Gods. And (*d*) in his Misopogon he speaks of old women lurking about sepulchres.

16. In his letter to the people of Athens he mentions (*e*) *Epiſtetus*, a Bishop of Gaul, whom Constantius had sent to him. In (*f*) a fragment of an epistle he speaks of Bishops and Presbyters of the Galileans.

17. In his Misopogon, (*g*) a Satyr upon the people of Antioch, in which he says what he pleaseth, both of himself and them, are these following things, which may be taken notice of.

"I (*b*) suppose, says he, you are very happy, because you have renounced all kinds of servitude, first to the Gods, then to the laws, and lastly to me, who am the guardian of the laws."

And soon after: "But (*i*) it is said, that Chi and Kappa never did the city any harm. It is hard to know the meaning of this wise riddle of yours. But by some interpreters of your city we have been informed, they are initial letters of names, the one denoting "Christ, the other Constantius."

"But

(*c*) ... ἤδη δὲ καὶ δεσμά, καὶ κλοῖας ἐξεύ-  
ρον οἱ πολλοὶ τούτων. Οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἀν-  
τὸς ὁ κακὸς συνελάνθει δαίμων, ὃς δεδάκασιν ἔ-  
κοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀποσάντες τὰν οἰδίαν καὶ σω-  
τήρων θεῶν. κ. λ. P. 288. B.

(*d*) Τοῖς περὶ τοὺς τέρας καλινδουμέναις  
γραῖδίοις συνεχάρησαν. *Misop.* p. 344. A.

(*e*) Ἀλλ' Ἐπίκτητόν τινα τὰν Γαλλῶν ἐπί-  
σκοπον ἔπεμψεν. *Ad. l.* P. 2. *Athen.* p.  
286. C.

(*f*) Ὅτι μὲν τῶν Γαλιλαίων ἴσως ἐπίσκοποι  
καὶ πρεσβύτεροι συγκαθίζουσίν σοι. *Ep.* 62. p.  
450. C.

(*g*) P. 337. B.

(*h*) *Ibid* p. 356. D.

(*i*) Τὸ Χΐ, φησὶν, ἐδὲν ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν,  
ἐδὲ Κάππα. κ. λ. *Ib.* p. 357. A.

“ But (*k*) you love Christ, and esteem him the tutelar patron of  
 “ your city, instead of Jupiter, and Apollo of Daphne. . . Many of  
 “ you, it seems, I have offended, in a manner all of you, the Se-  
 “ nate, the rich, the people. The greatest part of the people, or  
 “ rather the whole of them, are offended with me, because they  
 “ are in love with impiety, and they see, that I embrace, and adhere  
 “ to the religion of my ancestors.”

“ You (*l*) say, I wage war with Chi, and you admire Kappa.”

Omitting some other things, Julian (*m*) went on a feast day to pay his homage to the temple of Apollo at Daphne, in the neighborhood of Antioch. But there were neither people, nor sacrifices. The Priest had only a small victim, of his own preparing. Of this Julian complains grievously: that so large a city had not provided some bulls for a sacrifice on that solemnity. “ You (*n*) ought, says he, to  
 “ have sacrificed both privately and publicly. But you let your  
 “ wives carry away every thing to the Galileans. And they main-  
 “ tain the poor with your goods, and so bring their impiety into  
 “ esteem.”

It is hence apparent, that Christianity was now the prevailing religion at Antioch.

18. I am disposed to conclude my accounts and extracts of Julian's Orations and Epistles, with a translation of his epistle to the people of Bosra, the chief city in Arabia, of which some notice was

(*k*) Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες ἔχετε πολὺν χρόνον ἀν-  
 τὶ τῷ Διὶ, καὶ τῷ Δαρνείῳ. . . Ἐλίσσῃσα δ'  
 ἐγὼ . . ὑμῶν μέντοι πολλὰς, καὶ ὀλίγας δὲ φά-  
 ναι πάντας, τὴν βελὴν, τὰς εὐπάρκας, τὸν δ' ἡ-  
 μόν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθεταί μοι τῷ πλέ-  
 εω μέρει, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπας ἀθεότητα παρελ-  
 μένος, ὅτι τοῖς πατρίοις ὄρᾳ τῆς ἀγιστείας θεσ-  
 μοῖς προσκείμενον. *Ibid.* p. 357. C. D.

(*l*) Καὶ ὅτι πόλεμῳ τῷ Χτ. πόθος δὲ ὑμᾶς  
 εἰσεσι τῷ Κάππα. *Ibid.* p. 360. D.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 362.

(*n*) Πρέπειν δ' ὁμοίαι, τῇ πόλει θύειν ἰδίᾳ  
 καὶ δημοσίᾳ· νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ἐπιτρέπει μὲν  
 τῇ γυναικὶ πάντα ἐκφέρειν ἐνδοθεν εἰς τοὺς Γα-  
 λιλάίους, κ. λ. p. 363. A.

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was taken (o) long agoe. And before I do that, I am led to recite an article of Sozomen, representing the state of things in the time of that Emperour. Sozomen, though sometimes rather too credulous of miracles, was a Lawyer, and a man of good understanding, and great moderation. And therefore his testimonie must deserve a good deal of regard, he being less partial, than some others. He was born in Palestine, and wrote his Ecclesiastical Historie at Constantinople about the year 440.

“ This (p) Emperour, says Sozomen, hearing, that Athanasius  
 “ held assemblies in the church of the Alexandrians, and that he  
 “ boldly taught the people, and brought over many Greeks [or Gen-  
 “ tils] to Christianity, he ordered him to leave Alexandria : threat-  
 “ ening him with a severe penalty, if he did not go away : pretend-  
 “ ing this as a crime : that whereas he had been banished by for-  
 “ mer princes, he had without his authority, again taken possession  
 “ of the episcopal chair : forasmuch he had not granted leave for  
 “ the Bishops who had been banished by Constantius, to return to  
 “ their churches, but only to their countrey. When in obedience to  
 “ this order of the Emperour he left Alexandria, and the people  
 “ were in tears, he said : *It is only a small cloud, which will soon pass*  
 “ *away.* . . . And, says Sozomen, though the Emperour was deter-  
 “ mined by all means to restore Hellenism, he judged it imprudent  
 “ to compell men by punishments to sacrifice against their will :  
 “ for he knew that compulsion was of no avail in things which de-  
 “ pended upon mens free choice. Nevertheless he would not per-  
 “ mit them to meet together, and offer the usual prayers. There-  
 “ fore he took care to banish the Clergie, and Presidents out of ci-  
 “ ties : intending by their absence to abolish the assemblies of the  
 “ people : when there were none to teach them, nor perform the  
 “ accustomed rites : that in length of time, the memorie of their  
 “ worship should be lost. His pretense for so doing was, that the  
 “ Clergie

(o) See Credib. Vol. 6. p. 46. 47.

(p) Soz. l. 5. cap. 15.



“ Clergie excited the people to sedition. Under this pretense he banished *Eleusius* and his friends from *Cyzicum*: though there was no sedition there, nor any reason to apprehend it. And he required, that the people of *Bosra* should by a public decree send away from their city, *Titus*, Bishop of their church. For, when he had threatened, that if any disturbance happened there, he should impute it to the Bishop and his Clergie: *Titus* thereupon sent a letter to the Emperour, assuring him, that the Christians of *Bosra* were equal in number to the Greeks, [or Gentils] and that they were very quiet, and that paying a regard to his admonitions, they had no thought of making any disturbance. From those words *Julian* took occasion to write a letter to the people of *Bosra*, in order to incense them against *Titus*, as having accused them, saying: It was not owing to their own good temper, but to his exhortations, that they were kept from sedition. Thus exciting the people to expell him out of their city, as a public enemy. And it is likely, that there were many such things, partly owing to the command of the Emperour, and partly to the violence and petulance of the people. But the whole fault of all is to be ascribed to the Emperour himself: Who neglected to punish, according to the laws, those who out of hatred to our religion transgressed in these respects: seemingly reproving them in words, but by his actions really exciting them to such irregularities. Therefore (*q*) though he did not openly persecute, yet the Christians were banished from cities and villages. Of this, as many others of my ancestors, so particularly my grandfather was an instance. His father was a Gentil. But he and the whole familie were converted to Christianity by *Hilarion*. And they were the first Christians at *Bethelia*, a populous village near *Gaza*.” So writes *Sozomen*, with great discretion, and judgement, as seems to me.

P 2

I now

(*q*) "Ὅθεν καὶ μὴ διάκοντος αὐτοῦ, κατὰ πόλεις φυγῆς μετέχον πολλοὶ τῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων, καὶ ὁ καίμας ἔφευγον οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ταύτης διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς πάππος. κ. λ. p. 617. *A*.

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I now proceed to the letter or edict abovementioned.

“ Julian to the people of Bostra.”

“ I (r) imagined, that the Presidents of the Galileans would acknowledge themselves to be under greater obligations to me, than to my predecessor. For in his reign many of them were banished, persecuted, imprisoned. And many of those who are called hereticks, were put to death, particularly, at Samosata, and Cyzicum, in Paphlagonia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, and other places, where many villages were plundered, and utterly ruined. In my time it has been quite otherwise. For they who had been banished, are permitted to return home. And all their goods that had been confiscated have been restored by a law of mine. Nevertheless, because they have now no longer power to tyrannize over any, nor to practise their usual violences upon one another, nor upon us the pious worshipers of the Gods, they are become furious: and try every method to raise seditions and disturbances among the people. In which they shew themselves void of fear toward the Gods, and of respect to our edicts, though full of moderation and humanity. For we suffer not any of them to be dragged to the altars against their own choice. And we openly declare, that if any are desirous to partake in our worship, they must first of all offer sacrifices of expiation, and so reconcile themselves to the Gods. So far are we from desiring, that any of the impious should communicate with us, till they have purified their souls by prayers to the gods, and their bodies by the appointed expiations. It is plain therefore, that the Clergie mislead the people for no other reason, but because they are not suffered to lord it over others. For they who have been hitherto accustomed to tyrannize over others, are not satisfied, that they have obtained forgiveness of past crimes: they would still, as formerly, act as judges, make testaments, and appropriate estates to their own use, and bring every

“ every thing to themselves. For this reason they blow up the fire  
“ of sedition among the people. Wherefore we by this edict de-  
“ clare, and make known to all people, that they joyn not the cler-  
“ gie in seditions, nor be persuaded by them to throw stones, nor  
“ to disobey the magistrates : but to be contented with saying their  
“ prayers among themselves in their own assemblies. This edict is  
“ particularly addressed to the city of the *Bostrenes* : because their  
“ Bishop *Titus*, and his Clergie, in a petition sent to me, have ac-  
“ cused their people, as ready to raise disturbances, if not restrained  
“ by their admonitions. I insert here their own words : *though the*  
“ *Christians are equal in number to the Gentils, they are so restrained*  
“ *by our admonitions, that they are not at all inclined to make any dis-*  
“ *turbances.* These are your Bishops words concerning you. See,  
“ how he says, your good order proceeds not from your own mind :  
“ and that you have been unwillingly restrained by his admonitions.  
“ Therefore do you willingly, and of your own accord expell him  
“ out of your city, as your accuser. Do you live in concord with  
“ each other. Let no one be an enemy, or injurious to another.  
“ Let not them who are in error disturb those who rightly and  
“ justly worship the Gods, according to the tradition handed down  
“ to us from ancient time. Nor let the servants of the Gods disturb,  
“ or pillage the houses of those who err more through ignorance  
“ than choice. Men ought to be persuaded and taught by reason,  
“ not by blows, reproaches, and corporal punishments. I therefore  
“ again and again, and often exhort those who embrace the true re-  
“ ligion, not to abuse, nor insult the Galileans. We ought to pity,  
“ rather than to hate men, who suffer the greatest calamity. For  
“ indeed true religion is the greatest good, and on the contrary,  
“ impiety is the greatest of evils. Which calamity they bring upon  
“ themselves, who forsaking the immortal Gods, betake themselves  
“ to dead men, and their reliques. With those who are sick we  
“ sympathize : and we rejoice with them who obtain deliverance  
“ from the Gods. Given at Antioch, the first day of August.” That  
is, in the year of Christ, 362. From



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361.

From this edict, as well as from other things, it appears, that Julian was very fond of Hellenism, or Heathenism. And Sozomen's observations, above mentioned, appear to be very pertinent. Julian was very ready to lay hold of every pretense, and to improve every occasion, to rid himself of the Presidents of Christian churches: especially such as had an influence with the people. Here we see three instances of this in *Athanasius* of Alexandria, *Eleusius* of Cyzicum, and *Titus* of Bostra: all of them, men of great distinction.

Julian here makes repeated professions of moderation and equity toward the Christians. But the letter bears witness against him. *Titus* was one of the most learned men of the age. His people were peaceable, and he had exhorted them to be so. And yet Julian commands his people to expell him out of their city: under a pretense, that his exhortations to a peaceable behaviour implied an accusation of an unpeaceable temper.

I add no more. The extracts now made, are sufficient to cast some light upon the circumstances and state of things in the time of Julian: and to shew the real temper of that Emperour, and that he was intent upon extirpating Christianity, and with the greatest dispatch. He was a man of great ingenuity, sobriety of manners, and good natured in himself. But his zeal for the religion which he had embraced, was excessive, and degenerated into bigotry, and superstition: insomuch that with all his pretensions to right reason, and all his professions of humanity, moderation, tenderneſſe and equity, he has not escaped the just imputation of being a persecutor.

I cannot but think, that a review of the historie of this person, of shining abilities, and high station, may lead us to some serious reflexions: particularly it holds out to us this humbling, and usefull admonition: *Let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall.*

1 Cor.  
x. 12.



C H A P. XLVII.

H I M E R I U S.

“ **H**IMERIUS, the (a) Sophist, says Suidas, was the son of  
 “ the Rhetorician *Aminius*, and was born at Prusias in Bi-  
 “ thynia. He lived in the time of the Emperour Julian, and was  
 “ rival of *Proaeresius* at Athens. In his old age he lost his sight.  
 “ He made declamations.” That is the whole article.

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 363.

His life was also writ by *Eunapius* (b) among other Sophists and Philosophers. But it is short. He says, Himerius was born in Bithynia. He says, he did not know Himerius, though he lived at the same time with him. Julian sent for him, by whom he was well received. He seems to say, that Himerius accompanied Julian, so long as he lived, and that he did not settle at Athens, till after the death of Proaeresius. He commends the stile of Himerius, and says, he imitated the divine Aristides. He lived to a great age, and for some-time was afflicted with (c) the leprosie. But, perhaps he means, the epilepsie, or falling sicknesse.

Cave (d) in the Life of St. Basil, observes, “ that for the direction  
 “ of his studies he chiefly applied himself to *Himerius* and *Proacre-*  
 “ *sus*, two of the most eminent Sophists at that time at Athens.  
 “ men renowned for learning and eloquence, and upon that account  
 “ in

(a) V. Ιμεριος.

(b) *Eunap.* p. 129.

(c) . . . τῆς ἰσχυρῆς νόσου. p. 129.

(d) *Lives of the Fathers.* p. 219.

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363.

“ in favour with the Emperour Julian.” For which Cave refers to (e) Socrates and Sozomen: who in the same place (f) say the same of Gregorie Nazianzen, and that they afterwards studied under Libanius at Antioch.

Photius has two articles for Himerius. In (g) the first of which he has a catalogue of his declamations. In the other (h) he makes some extracts out of them. He seems to say, that (i) Himerius taught some while at Corinth. His declamations were in number (k) almost seventy. One (l) Photius calls a dissertation at Philippi, when he was there in his way to Julian, who had invited him to come to him. The next is an oration at Constantinople, in praise of that city, and Julian. One of these declamations, or orations, was (m) in praise of *Praetextatus*, Proconsul of Greece. To which office he had been appointed by Julian (n) in the year 362. And he continued in it for some while under (o) Valentinian.

At the end of the first article, having highly commended the stile of Himerius, Photius concludes in these words: “ But (p) though  
“ he

(e) *Socrat. l. 4 cap. 26. p. 242. Soz. l. 6. cap. 27. p. 659.*

(f) . . . νέοι γὰρ δὴ οὐτεσὶ τοὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις γεόμενοι τῶν τότε ἀκμασόντων σοφιστῶν, ἱμερίῳ καὶ Προαιρεσίῳ ἀκροαταὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας Λιβανίῳ συμφοιτήσαντες, ἀκρῶς τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἐξέπύοντο. *Socr. p. 242.*

(g) *Cod. 165. p. 351. Esc.*

(h) *Cod. 243. p. 1075. Esc.*

(i) Ἐἵτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐτάιρους συντακτῆριος, ὅτε ἐξῆλθε εἰς Κόρινθον. *Cod. 165. p. 352. sub fin.*

Καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ Κόρινθου ἐπάνοδον. *p. 353. in. Et vid. ibid. ad fin.*

(k) *P. 353. fin.*

(l) Καὶ διέλεξίς ἐν Φιλίπποις, ὅτε ἀπῆλθε παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆ βασιλέως καλέμενος· ἔἵτα ῥηθείας ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰς αὐτὴν τε τὴν Κωνσταντινέπολιν, καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα. *p. 353. m.*

(m) . . . καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνθύπατον τῆς ἐλλάδος Πραιτεκστάτον. *Phot. p. 353 m.*

(n) Aderat his omnibus Praetextatus, praeclaræ indolis gravitatisque priscæ Senator, ex negotio proprio forte repertus apud Constantinopolim, quem arbitrio suo Achaiae Proconsulari praefecerat potestate. *Ammian. Marc. l. 22 cap. vii. p. 331.*

(o) *Vid. Zof. l. 4 p. 735. fin.*

(p) Ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀσεβής, (ὡς

“ he was so excellent a writer, yet, as to religion he was plainly im-  
 “ pious. And for his reflexions upon the Christians he may be  
 “ compared to a snarling dog. He flourished in the time of Con-  
 “ stantius, and the most impious Julian. And presided in the school  
 “ of rhetorick at Athens.”

They who desire to know more of Himerius, may consult (*q*) Tillemont, and (*r*) the writers of ancient Universal Historie: and especially Fabricius (*s*) in the places referred to by me at the bottom of the page. By Cave (*t*) he is placed at the year 361. I place him at 363.

*Himerius* must be reckoned an example of the moderation of the Christian government at that time. The reign of Julian was short. Himerius lived to a great age. A good part of his time was spent under the Christian Emperours, Julian's predecessors and successors. He was a zealous Gentil, and in favour also with Julian. Nevertheless he suffered not any ill usage. For a while he taught at Corinth. Afterwards he presided in the school of rhetorick at Athens. He was a great author, and published many declamations, writ with elegance: a proof of his high spirit, and easie circumstances. And in some of them he made free reflexions upon the Christians.

His father, *Aminius*, likewise was a Rhetorician, or Sophist, and undoubtedly of the Greek religion. He must have lived in the times

(ὡς δ' ἵκλιν ἐστὶ) τὴν θρησκείαν· εἰ καὶ τὰς λαθραίους  
 μιμῆται τῶν κυνῶν, καθ' ἡμῶν ὑλακτῶν. Ηκ-  
 μαστε δ' ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ τῷ δυσσεβεστάτῳ Ιου-  
 λιανῷ· καὶ τὰ ἐν Αθήνῃσι κατὰ ῥητορίαν προὔσῃ  
 διδασκαλίᾳ. *Cod.* 165. p. 356.

(*q*) *Tillem. L'Emp. Julien, art.* 34.

(*r*) *Vol. xvi. p.* 276.

(*s*) *Bib. Gr. l. 4. c. 30. T. 4. p. 413.*  
*Esc. et l. 5. cap. 38. Tom. 9. p. 426.*  
*Esc.*

(*t*) *Hist. Lit. p.* 346.

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363.

times of Constantine, and Constantius: under whom he taught rhetoric at Prusias in Bithynia, without molestation, or disturbance. His son, *Himerius*, more eminent, and more famous than himself, was one of his scholars, and did honour to his school. So, in like manner, *Basil*, and *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and others, by their oratorical talents, did honour to *Himerius*.



CHAP.



## C H A P. XLVIII.

## T H E M I S T I U S.

- I. *His Time, and Writings, and Character.* II. *Extracts out of his Oration to the Emperour Jovian.* III. *An Account of another Oration addressed by Him to Valens.* IV. *Farther Remarks upon his Character.*

I. **T**HÉMISTÍUS, (a) surnamed *Euphrades*, or the fine *Speaker*, a Philosopher, greatly celebrated for his eloquence, was born in (b) Paphlagonia, about the year 317. and reached to the year 385. or later. His father was *Eugenius*, likewise a professor of philosophie.

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364.  
*His Time,  
and Work*

Beside thirty six Orations (thirty three of which are still remaining, including that to *Valens*, which we have in Latin only) he wrote Commentaries upon Plato and Aristotle. Having gained in other

Q 2

places

(a) *Vide Phot Cod. 73. p. 164. Suid. V. Θεμιστιος. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 18. T. 8. P. i. &c. Tillemont. H. E. Theodof. i. art. 93. et 94. Universal ancient History. Vol. xvi. p. 346.*

(b) *Vid. Themist. Or. 2. p. 28. D. ed. Harduin. Paris. 1684.*

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places a great deal of reputation for his philosophie and eloquence, he settled at Constantinople : which he made the place of his ordinarie residence for the space of near forty years. He was in great esteem with all the Emperours of his time, from Constantius to Theodosius. His first Oration was pronounced before Constantius in 347. By whom he was made Senator of Constantinople in the year 355. By which Senate (c) he was ten times deputed to several Emperours. He (d) had the honour of two brass statues, one of which was erected by order of Constantius in 357. He was made Prefect of Constantinople by Julian in the year 362. and again afterwards by Theodosius in 384.

Some, by mistake, have supposed him to have been a Christian, confounding him with another of the same name. The stile of all his Orations, shews him to be a Heathen. One proof of which may be sufficient. He concludes an Oration, in praise of Gratian, spoken in the Roman Senate, in the year (e) 377. “ with (f) an ardent  
“ prayer, to Jupiter, Father of Gods and men, founder and protec-  
“ tor of Rome, and to Minerva, and Quirinus, tutelarie demon or  
“ genius of the Roman Empire, that Rome may be loved by the  
“ Emperour, and the Emperour be again be loved by Rome \* \*.”

He

(c) *Vid. Orat. 17. p. 214. Or. 31. p. 352. 353.*

(d) *Or. 17. p. 214. Or. 31. p. 353.*

(e) *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 11.*

(f) *Σὺ δὲ, ὦ πάτερ μὲν θεῶν, πᾶτερ δὲ ἀν-  
θρώπων, Ζεῦ Ῥώμης κτῆτορ, καὶ πόλιός τε, καὶ πρό-  
ματερ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ Κυρίε δίδιμαν ἐπίτροπε Ῥω-  
μαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ, δίδοίν τε τοῖς ἡμῶς παιδι-  
κοῖς ἔργον μὲν Ῥώμης, ἀντιρᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ Ῥώμης.  
Or. 13. p. 180.*

\* \* Mr. *Mosheim* had a fancy, that many learned men about that time made little difference between Gentilism and Christianity, and were willing to join

them in one. Among these he placeth *Themistius*. But I see no ground for it. They lived in the time of Christian Emperours, when Christians were numerous in every part of the Empire. They judg- ed it proper to be civil to Christians. Ne- verthelefs, they kept their Gentilism en- tire. The character of *Themistius* is ma- nifest in the place above cited. And, perhaps, may be still more apparent, be- fore we finish this chapter. Mr. *Mosheim's* argument may be seen quoted a- bove in Vol. 3. p. 195. 196.

He may be said to have twice quoted the Old Testament, but as a book, with which he was not much acquainted. In the first place he says, “ he (*g*) had observed an elegant saying in the writings of “ the Assyrians, that *the mind of the King is held in the band of God.*” To the like purpose, in another place: “ that (*b*) he had often admired some things in the Assyrian writings. And that particularly, he could not but admire, and commend that saying, which “ is some where to be found in them: *The heart of the King is held in the band of God.*” There can be no doubt, that (*i*) by *the writings of the Assyrians* he intends the scriptures of the Old Testament.

This may suffice for a general historie of Themistius. Some more particulars will be added hereafter.

And indeed, before I proceed any farther, I would take notice of his article in Suidas. “ Who (*k*) says, he was a Philosopher, who lived in the time of Julian the Apostate, by whom he was made Prefect of Constantinople.” And having mentioned divers philosophical works writ by him, he adds, “ and (*l*) dissertations.” If by these he does not intend his Orations, he has not mentioned them at all.

On the other hand, Photius begins his article of Themistius, saying, “ he (*m*) had read his 36 political discourses, spoken to the Emperours Constantius, Valens, the younger Valentinian, and Theodosius.

(*g*) . . . Αλλ' ἐγὼ ποτε ὑπεσθόμην καὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων ταῦτὸ τέτο κομψοειμένον, ὡς ὅρα ὁ νῦν τῷ βασιλεῶς ἐν τῇ τῷ Θεῷ παλαμῇ δορυφορεῖται. Or. 7. p. 89. D.

(*b*) Ἀλλὰ τε ἡγάσθην πολλάκις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων ἅταρ ἔν καὶ τέτο θαυμάσιον ὄγκον, καὶ ὅπαινέ λέγει γάρ περ ἐκείνα τὰ γράμματα, τὴν τῷ βασιλεῶς καρδίαν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ παλάμῃ δορυφορεῖσθαι. Or. xi. p. 147. C.

(*i*) Unde, ut cetera huc favientia mittam, Themistius γράμματα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων,

Affyriorum literas, substituit pro eo quod est sacra Hebraeorum volumina: ubi scilicet Salomonis laudat dictum, de corde seu mente regis in manu Dei. Selden. de Jure naturali et Gentium l. 1. c. 2. p. 85. Vol. i. Londini. 1726.

(*k*) Θεμιστίος φιλόσοφος, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ Παραβάτου, ἱφ' ἧ καὶ ὑπαρχος προεβλήθη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Suid.

(*l*) . . . καὶ Διαλέξεις.

(*m*) Ανεγνώσθησαν Θεμιστίου λόγοι πολιτικοί. Cod. 74. p. 164.

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Prov. xxi.  
1.

A. D. 364. “ doſius. After which he mentions his philoſophical writings. He  
 “ ſays, his father was *Eugenius*, who (*n*) alſo was a Philoſopher.”

He appears to have been greatly eſteemed for his learning and eloquence, and other abilities. Among the letters of *Gregorie Nazianzen*, there are two (*o*) to *Themiftius*, which are very polite and complaiſant. He calls him the (*p*) King of eloquence. And ſays, it (*q*) was that, in which he moſt excelled, though he excelled in every thing. There is alſo ſtill (*r*) exſtant a very long letter of *Julian* writ to him. *Fabricius* (*s*) has made a collection of fourteen letters of *Libanius* to him. And there are ſtill more among the epiſtles of *Libanius*, publiſhed by *Wolſius*. How he was eſteemed by the Emperours *Conſtantiuſ*, *Julian*, *Valenſ*, *Gratian*, and *Theodoſiuſ*, he has himſelf obſerved in one of his Orationſ, in a beautifull paragraph (*t*) to which I refer.

*Extraſts  
 out of his  
 Oration  
 to Jovian.*

II. There are two Orationſ, of which we muſt take particular notice : one of which is to *Jovian*, or *Jovinian*, upon his acceſſion after the death of *Julian*, when alſo the Emperour was Conſul. For which reaſon it is called a Conſular Oration. And I place *Themiftiuſ*, as flouriſhing at this time. Of this *Socrates* ſpeaks in this manner : “ The (*u*) affairſ of the Chriſtians were then in great agitation. For the Preſidentſ of the ſeveral ſectſ made addreſſeſ to “ the Emperour, entreating hiſ ſupport and aſſiſtance againſt thoſe “ who differed from them. To whom he made ſuch anſwerſ, as “ were ſuitable. For (*x*) the Emperour had formed this determination, with kind wordſ, and civil uſage to compoſe the diſſenſionſ “ of

(*n*) . . . καὶ αὐτὸς φιλοſοφίſας. *Ibid.*

(*o*) *Gr. Naz. ep.* 139. 140. *Tom. i. p.* 865 866.

(*p*) Ἐπερ σὺ βαſιλεὺſ τῶν λόγων. *p.* 866. *A.*

(*q*) *p.* 865. *C.*

(*r*) *Julian. Opp Tom. i. p.* 253. *edit. Spanhem.*

(*s*) *Bib. Gr. Tom. 8. p.* 37. *ἔς.*

(*t*) *Or.* 31. *p.* 354. *D.*

(*u*) *Socr. l. 3. c.* 25. *in. p.* 203.

(*x*) Ὁ μὲντοι βαſιλεὺſ πρόθεſιν ἔχουſ, καλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν διεſτάτων τὴν φιλονεικίαν ἐκκρίνει, φίſας, μηδενὶ ὀχλέρουſ τῶν ὁπωſέν τιſ τευόντων ἔſεſθαι. κ. λ. *ib. p.* 204. 205.



“ of all parties. And he declared, that he would give no disturbance to any upon account of their opinions. But that he would love, and highly esteem those who promoted the peace and unity of the churches. That this was his conduct, is attested by Themistius the Philosopher. For in his Consular Oration he commends the Emperour for allowing to all full liberty to worship the Deity according to their own sentiments, thus checking the designs of flatterers : whom also he ridicules very freely, saying, that they worship the purple, not the Deity : and they mightily resemble the Euripus, which sometimes flows one way, and at other times quite the contrarie.”

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364.

Socrates goes on to say, “ That (y) the Emperour leaving Antioch, went on to Tarsus in Cilicia : where he interred the body of Julian. Having finished the funeral solemnities, he intended to go to Constantinople, and was got as far as Dadaſtana, upon the borders of Galatia and Bithynia. There Themistius, and others of the Senatorian order, met him. And (z) he then pronounced his Consular Oration, which he afterwards recited at Constantinople, in the presence of all the people.”

Thus I have transcribed from Socrates this authentic account of the oration to Jovian : which must have been pronounced before the Emperour in the begining of the year 364.

I shall now recite a part of the Oration itself. It can by no means be omitted. It has a double claim to our regard : for the relation it has to Christian affairs, and for the excellence of the sentiments. “ The (a) begining of your care of mankind, says this Senator, is  
“ a law

(y) *Cap* 26 p. 205.

(z) Ἐνθα καὶ Θεμιστίους ὁ φιλόσοφος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συγκλητικῶν ἀπαντήσας. τὸν ὑπατικὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ διεξῆλθε λόγον, οὗ ὕστερον καὶ ἐν κωνσταντίνῃ πόλει ἐπὶ τῷ παλήθῃς ἐπεδιδάξατο. p. 205. C.

(a) Ἐπεὶ σοὶ πρόμεινον γέγονε τῆς ἀνθρώ-

παν ἐπιμελέας ἢ περὶ τῷ θεῷ νομοθεσία. . . . Μόνος γὰρ, ὡς εἰκέν, ἐκ ὀγνοῦς, ὅτι μὴ πάντα εἴεσι τῷ βασιλεῖ βιάζεσθαι τὸς ὑπηκόας, ἀλλ’ ἔσιν ὃ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐκπέφυγε, καὶ ἀπειλῆς ἐσε κρέπτω, καὶ ἐπιτάγματος. *Themist. Or. v.* p. 67.

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“ a law concerning religion. . . . For you alone, as it seems, are not  
“ ignorant, that it is impossible for an Emperour to compell his sub-  
“ jects in all things : and that there are some things above compul-  
“ sion, and beyond the reach of threatenings and commands : as in-  
“ deed is every virtue, and especially piety toward God : and that in  
“ order to be sincere in it, there must be an unforced disposition of  
“ mind, which is in it's own power, and willing of itself. This you  
“ have wisely considered. For it is not possible for You, o Empe-  
“ rour, by an edict to make him love you, who is not disposed  
“ to it. How much less can you make men pious and religious by  
“ the terrour of human ordinances : a short necessity, and weak fear,  
“ which time has often introduced, and often removed ? If (b) this  
“ fear prevailed, we should only become ridiculous, worshiping the  
“ purple, rather than the Deity, and shifting our religion, as often as  
“ Euripus. . . .

“ . . . This, (c) o most divine Emperour, is not your case. But,  
“ as in other things you are supreme, and ever will be so, you ordain,  
“ that the affair of religion should be in every man's power : herein  
“ resembling God, who has made the disposition to be religious  
“ common to the human nature : but has left the particular way of  
“ worship to every man's own choice. And he who introduces force  
“ here, takes away that freedom, which God has granted. For this  
“ reason the lawes of *Cheops* and *Cambyfes* scarcely lasted so long as  
“ the lives of those who made them. But (d) the law of God, and  
“ your law, remains for ever : that the mind of man be left free to  
“ that way of worship, which it thinks best. Nor have fies, or  
“ gibbets, or fires, prevailed to abrogate this law. The body in-  
“ deed

(b) Ἐπειτα ἐλεγχομένηθα πάντῳ γελοίως ἀλκυ-  
ρίδας, ὃ θεὸν θεράπευοντες, καὶ ῥῶτον Εὐρίπῳ με-  
ταβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀγιστείας. p. 67. D.

This, I suppose, is the passage, to which  
Socrates referred in the place above cited.

(c) Ἀλλ' ἐν σὺ γε, ὡ θεοειδέστατε βασιλεῦ.

ἀλλὰ τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοκράτωρ ὦν τε, καὶ εἰς τί-  
λος ἐσόμενος, τὸ τῆς ἀγιστείας μέρος ἅπαντος  
εἶναι κοινῶς. κ. λ. p. 68. A.

(d) Ὁ δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ σὸς νόμος ἀκίνητος μένει  
τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, ἀπογελεύσθαι τὴν ἐκάστη ψυ-  
χὴν πρὸς ἣν οἴεται ὁδὸν εὐσεβείας. p. 68. B.

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“ deed you may gain, or kill, if you please. But the soul will escape,  
 “ carrying with it the free sentiments of the law, though you may  
 “ force the tongue.” He proceeds to argue, that different sentiments  
 and studies produce emulation, which is of great advantage. “ And,  
 “ perhaps, says he, it is not pleasing to God, that there should be  
 “ this agreement among men. For nature, according to Heraclitus,  
 “ loves to be hid: and above all, the author of nature: whom for  
 “ this reason we the more reverence and admire, because the know-  
 “ ledge of him is not easie, nor to be attained without a great deal  
 “ of studie and labour. This law I esteem no less than I do the  
 “ friendship that has been made with the Persians. By that we are  
 “ freed from a war with Barbarians: by means of this law we live  
 “ together without contention. We were before worse to one ano-  
 “ ther, than the Persians. Accusations brought against each other  
 “ from each sect in every city, in the midst of the Commonwealth,  
 “ were more grievous, than their incursions. The time past, o  
 “ Emperour, dear to God, affords you evident examples of this.  
 “ Let the balance remain suspended on itself. Depress it not on ei-  
 “ ther side by your weight. Let prayers be offered up to heaven  
 “ for the prosperity of your government from all quarters.” He  
 then reminds the Emperour, that his armie consists of men of dif-  
 ferent nations, of different ranks, and offices, and different kinds of  
 armour. “ Yet, says he, all are subject to you, and depend upon  
 “ your pleasure: and not only the militarie men, but likewise all  
 “ other, who bear no arms, husbandmen, rhetoricians, they who  
 “ speak, and they who hear, and they who philosophize. Believe,  
 “ and be persuaded, that the Governour of the universe is even pleas-  
 “ ed with this variety. It is his will and pleasure, that the Syrians  
 “ should have their particular institutions, the Greeks theirs, and the  
 “ Egyptians theirs: and that the Syrians should not all have entire-  
 “ ly the same. For even among them are differences. For no man  
 “ agrees exactly with his neighbour, but one thinks in this way,  
 VOL. IV. R “ ano-



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Here is no express mention of the *Christians*. This learned Philosopher, and honourable Senator, though speaking to a Christian Emperour, upon so joyfull an occasion: when also he had so good reason of gratitude for so just and excellent a law, and was disposed to commend and praise him for it, has not vouchsafed to make particular mention of the religious sect, which this Emperour professed, and for which he was very zealous. However, none can make any doubt, that he applauds a general toleration allowed by a Christian Emperour. And I suppose, that (e) by *Syrians* in the last cited paragraph, we are to understand Christians. For they had their original in Palestine, a branch of Syria. Then, he names them first. The reason of which seems to be respect for the Emperour. The next mentioned are the *Greeks*, the speaker's own sect, or people, and lastly the *Egyptians*. Besides, he particularly observes, that there were differences even among the *Syrians*. If by these are intended Christians, the consideration must be of weight, to confirm the Emperour in his present moderation toward all men. Finally, this interpretation is supported by the quotation from the Old Testament, which he calls *the writings of the Assyrians*, as seen above.

III. We are now to make inquiries after another Oration, addressed by Themistius to *Valens* in the year 375.

Socrates having related the death of *Valentinian*, goes on: “*Valens* (f) however, still residing at Antioch, was free from foreign wars. . . . But he persecuted those who held the Homœian doctrine in a most grievous manner: and was every day inventing greater punishments for them: till (g) the philosopher *Themistius* “ by

(e) The word is so understood by Petavius. See his notes upon the place. p. 403.

(f) Socrat. l. 4. cap. 32. p. 250.

(g) Έως αὐτῷ τὴν πολλὴν ἀτίμειαν ὁ φιλόσοφος Θεμιστιος μετρίωτέραν τῷ προσφωνητικῷ



“ by a monitorie Oration reduced his great severity to some degree  
 “ of moderation. In which oration he observed, that the Empe-  
 “ rour ought not to wonder at the diversity of opinions, which there  
 “ was among the Christians. For the diversity among them was  
 “ small, if compared with the multitude and confusion of opinions  
 “ among the Greeks, which were not less than three hundred. And  
 “ it was necessarie, that there should be great variety. And more-  
 “ over, that God was well pleased with the difference of opinions,  
 “ that all men might the more revere his Majesty, because the  
 “ knowledge of him was not obvious, and easie to be attained. These  
 “ and other things having been observed by the Philosopher, the  
 “ Emperour became milder for the future.”

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To the like purpose Sozomen. “ Valens (*b*) still residing at An-  
 “ tioch in Syria grew more and more bitter toward those who had  
 “ different sentiments from himself. At which time the Philosopher  
 “ *Themistius*, addressing an oration to him, reminded him, that (*i*)  
 “ he ought not to wonder at the diversity of ecclesiastical opinions,  
 “ it being less in degree and number, than that which was among  
 “ the Greeks. For among them there was a very great variety of  
 “ opinions.” And more to the like purpose, so agreeable to  
 what we have already seen in Socrates, that it needs not to be re-  
 hearded.

But it is greatly to be suspected, that neither of these historians has  
 confined himself to the very words of Themistius. *Christian*, and  
*ecclesiastical opinions*, or *opinions in the Church*, are phrases, that ap-  
 pear no where in any of this Philosopher's orations now extant,  
 though we have a large part of them.

R 2

However,

ἡ δὲ λόγῳ ἐργάσατο· ἐν ᾧ μὴ δὲν ξενίζεσθαι ἐπὶ  
 τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῶν Χριστιανικῶν δογμάτων παραι-  
 νῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ. *Ibid.*

(i) . . παρῆεν, μὴ χρῆναι θαυμάζειν τὴν δι-  
 αφωνίαν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δογμάτων. κ. λ. κ.  
*Ibid.*

(*b*) *Sozom. l. 6. cap. 36. p. 696.*

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However, the main question is, whether the oration, to which these historians refer, be now extant. There is an oration to (*k*) Valens, in Latin, in which is to be found what those writers say of the necessity and usefulness of different opinions. Valefius in his notes upon the forecited passage of Socrates, declares himself (*l*) in favour of the genuineness of it: as (*m*) does Basnage likewise. Petavius (*n*) who published an edition of this Philosopher's Orations, does not allow it to be the same, that was spoken to Valens, and assigns many reasons for his judgement: though (*o*) he was at the pains to translate it into Greek. Fabricius is of opinion, that (*p*) the oration, of which Socrates and Sozomen speak, is lost. And he refers to Baronius, as having been before of the same Sentiment. Tillemont (*q*) says: "We have still in Latin an oration addressed to *Valens*, in which is " what these writers mention. But it is so like to that which we " have in Greek, and was certainly addressed to *Jovian*, that it is " not easie to believe, that Themistius composed both. It (*r*) is " more

(*k*) *Orat. xii. p. 154. &c.*

(*l*) Haec oratio Themistii ad Valentem hodie exstat Latine edita a Duditio. Nam quod Socrates ait, Themistium in ea oratione locutum esse de discrepantia dogmatum philosophicorum, habetur in versione Duditii. *Valef. in Socrat. p. 58.*

(*m*) Cum porro Valens majore in dies odio adversus Homoiusianos aestuaret, quos acerrime vexabat, Themistius furentem oratione placare tentat. Quam Latine olim ab Andrea Duditio publicatam, Graece Petavius vertit. *Basn. ann. 375. num. viii.*

(*n*) Hanc ipsam esse orationem, quâ in Catholicos exacerbatus Valens a Themistio compellatus, ac mitigatus dicitur, mi-

ror cuiquam in animum induxisse. *Petav. annot. ad Themist. p. 459.*

(*o*) Nos, ut jacturam hanc aliqua ex parte sublevemus, Graecam nostram interpretationem pro germana Themistii oratione substituimus. *Petav. ibid. p. 460.*

(*p*) Alter vero Themistii λόγος προσπασιμίδος, quo ab illa etiam persecutione Socrates iv. 32 et Sozomenus vi. 36 Valentem scribunt revocatum esse, intercedit, ut recte Baronius ad A. C. 374. num. ix. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 10.*

(*q*) *L'Emp. Theodof. art. 94. H. des Emp. Tom. v.*

(*r*) Il y a plus d'apparence, que le véritable discours à Valens étant perdu, on

“more probable, that the true oration to *Valens* being lost, some  
 “person left out that which was peculiar to *Jovian*, the better to  
 “accommodate the whole to *Valens*.”

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There can therefore be no good reason, why I should be at the pains to make extracts out of this Latin oration: though the truth of what is writ by *Socrates* and *Sozomen* ought not to be contested: *Themistius* did address an oration to *Valens*, recommending moderation. And the Emperour was mitigated. He was milder in the punishments inflicted upon those who differed from him. Some were only banished, who otherwise might have been put to death.

IV. We may now, I think, see what judgement ought to be made of this Philosopher, and Senator: He was eminent for learning, and eloquence, esteemed by all learned men in general, both Christians, and others: In favour with all the Emperours, in whose time he lived. Excepting *Julian*, they were all Christians. And (s) they were all flattered by him. But it does not appear, that he was at all inclined to embrace the Christian sentiments. Nevertheless he may have been a very usefull man. For during his abode at Constantinople he educated many young persons in the knowledge of the polite arts and sciences. Moderation was for the interest of Gentilism at that time. Such principles were approved and embraced by this Philosopher, and recommended by him upon proper occasions. *Jovian* was handsomly commended by him for his law of general

a-retranché de l'autre ce qui estoit particulier à *Jovien* pour l'accommoder à *Valens*.  
 . . . Le P. Harduin n'en a pas voulu dire un mot. *Tillem. ibid.*

(s) Il y a peu de faits dans ses eloges. Mais on y trouve des maximes assez belles, et il prend presque toujours un caractère d'un homme d'honneur. Cependant,

quoiqu'il se declare grand ennemi des flatteurs, je ne vois pas, qu'on le puisse excuser de l'avoir este luy-mesme. Car les discours, qu'il fait aux Empereurs sont tous eloges, souvent mal fondez. Et *Valens* y paroist aussi-bon, et aussi grand que *Theodose*. *Id. ib.*

A. D. 364. neral toleration for all opinions, including Gentilism, and the several sects among Christians. The same sentiments were recommended by him afterwards to *Valens*, from the same just, and equitable, and forcible reasons and considerations. And not altogether without effect. The severity of that bigoted Prince toward *Homoïfians* was mitigated, and they had a benefit by it.





## C H A P. XLIX.

## L I B A N I U S.

- I. *His Time, Works, and Character.* II. *Extracts out of his Epistles.* III. *Extracts out of his other Works.* IV. *His Oration for the Temples, to the Emperour Theodosius, in the year 390. translated from the original, with notes.* V. *General, and concluding observations upon that Oration.*

**L**IBANIUS (*a*) a celebrated Sophist of the fourth centurie; A. D. flourished under Constantius, and the following Emperours, 370. till the time of Theodosius the Great. He was born at Antioch in Syria, in the year of Christ 314. or 315. He taught Rhetorick for some while at Constantinople, and afterwards at Nicomedia. About the year 354. he came to his native place, Antioch: where he resided, for the most part, the remainder of his life.

He

(*a*) Liban. *De vitâ suâ.* Eunap. *de Vitâ Philosoph. et Sophist.* Phot. *Cod. xc.* p. 209. Suid. *V. Λιβάνιος.* Fabr. *Bib. Gr.* Tom. vii. p. 378. &c. Cav. *Hist. Lit.* Tillemont. *Hist. des Emp.* Tom. iv. Julien. art. 36. 37. *Le Clerc. Bib. Anc. et Mod.* T. iii. p. 353. &c. *Bib. Raisonnée.* T. 24. p. 177. &c. *Bib. Germanique.* T. 47. p. 1. &c.

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He is placed by Cave at the year 360. I place him at the year 370. at which time he was considerably above fifty years of age. When he wrote his Life, he was in the sixtieth year of his (*b*) age. He speaks of his being fifty years old, in the time of (*c*) Jovian, who succeeded Julian, and in the time of Valens (*d*) 57. In a letter to Priscus, he says, he (*e*) was seventy six years old. Which he could not be, before the year of our Lord 390. or 391. and near the end of the reign of Theodosius, before mentioned, who died in 395.

He was the author of many works, still extant. His letters, which were very numerous, are particularly recommended by (*f*) Eunapius, and (*g*) Photius. And the late Mr. Wolfius, in our time, has made a large collection of them, amounting to the number of more than sixteen hundred : the greatest part of which are unquestionably genuine, and very entertaining.

Libanius was a great admirer of Julian, fond of Gentilism, and averse to Christianity, but not an enemy to all Christians. He did not embrace Christianity, having been educated in great prejudices against it, and having never examined it's evidences. Nevertheless I cannot but esteem him an usefull man. For, as Socrates (*b*) acknowledgeth, he was an excellent Sophist. And he was continually employed in teaching polite literature, and had many scholars : some of whom were afterwards men of great eminence. Among them Socrates (*i*) and Sozomen (*k*) reckon *John Chrysostom*, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, and *Maximus*, Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria.

And Sozomen says, that when Libanius was dying, and his friends asked him, whom he would have to succeed him in his school, he said, " he (*l*) should have chosen *John*, [*Chrysostom*] but the Christians

(*b*) *De Vitâ suâ*. p. 19.

(*c*) *Ibid*. p. 46.

(*d*) *Ibid*. p. 48.

(*e*) Τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον, ἑξ μὲν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γέγονα. *Ep*. 866. p. 405.

(*f*) *In Libanii Vit.* p. 133.

(*g*) *Ubi supr.* p. 212.

(*b*) Εγὼ δὲ σοφιστὴν μὲν αὐτὸν ἄριστον γένεσθαι φημί. *Socr. l.* 3. *cap.* 23. *in*.

(*i*) *Vid. Socrat. l.* 6. *cap.* 3.

(*k*) *Soz. l.* 8. *cap.* 2. p. 757. *A. B.*

(*l*) . . . λέγεται Ἰωάννην εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ Χριστιανὸς τίτον ἐσύλισαν. *Id. ib.* p. 756. *B.*

stians had got him. . . ” He says, in one of his Epistles, that (*m*) Philosophers are to be respected next after the Gods. For they are next to them in dignity. Recommending *Letoïus* to Eutocius, he says: “ Letoïus (*n*) is my friend, because he is a good man, and exceeds what might be expected from one in his station. By profession he is a soldier, but in his mind he is well affected to literature, and to those who make that their studie.” These, and many other like things, in his writings, shew, how desirous Libanius was to promote learning and knowledge.

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Eunapius says, that (*o*) Libanius, was well qualified for public offices in the state, and that one of the Emperours, in whose time he lived, meaning Theodosius the Great, bestowed upon him, the honorarie title of Prefect of the Praetorium, the highest office in the Empire. But Libanius declined it, saying, that the title of Sophist was more honourable. We may observe him in his Epistles expressing the same (*p*) sentiment. And by the force of his eloquence he appeased two Emperours, Julian and Theodosius, when they were much offended with the people of Antioch. His pathetic orations upon both these occasions are still (*q*) extant. However, undoubtedly, there were others beside him, who joyned together in mitigating the displeasure of those Emperours.

Divers letters of our Sophist are writ to Christians, and Christian Bishops. Indeed the correspondence between Him and *Basil*, consisting

(*m*) Φιλοσόφους, ὡς μακάριε, μετὰ τοὺς Θεοὺς θεραπεύεσθαι, ἐγγύς οὐκ ἔστι τῶν Θεῶν. *Ep.* 1524. p. 649.

(*n*) Ληϊσίος ἡμῶν φίλος ἐστίν, ἀπὸ τῆς χρηστότητος, καὶ κρείττων τῆς χήματος, ἐν ᾧ ζῇ. Ζῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐν στρατιᾷ μόρῃ, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ μετὰ τῶν περὶ λόγους ἐστίν. *Ep.* 433. p. 221.

(*o*) Ικανὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ πολιτικαῖς ὁμιλησασθαι πράγμασι . . . *Eunap. ib.* p. 135.

(*p*) Εμὲ χῆμα μὲν ἀρκεῖν οἱ λόγοι, δὲ εἰς ἐδωπόποτε ταπεινότερον ἡγήσασθαι ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῶν, ὧν ἡ λαμπρότης ὄρεος τοῖς κάλαξι. *Ep.* 18. p. 7.

(*q*) *Legatio ad Julianum. T.* 2. p. 151. *Ad Theodos. Imp. de Seditione Antiochena* p. 389. *Ec.* *Vid et ad Theodos. Antiochenis reconciliatum.* p. 406. *Ec.*

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sisting (*r*) of more than 20 letters, is (*s*) suspected. And I think, not to be genuine. There is also a letter (*t*) to *John*, by whom many learned men suppose to be meant *Chrysostom*. But *Valesius* (*u*) hesitates, and I think, with good reason. There is also one letter (*x*) to *Athanasius*, by whom may be intended the celebrated Bishop of Alexandria: another (*y*) to *Amphilochius*, Bishop. *Wolfius* makes no doubt, that hereby is intended *Amphilochius*, Bishop of Iconium. The (*z*) letter, next following, is inscribed to *Optimus*, appointed Bishop. Hereby may be meant *Optimus*, who for some while was Bishop of Antioch in Pisidia: who likewise, as appears from this letter, was disciple of Libanius, and had been chosen Bishop without his own consent. In (*a*) a letter to *Olympius*, Libanius recommends *Heliodorus*: whom, *Wolfius* supposeth to be the Author of the Ethiopicks, and a Christian. There is also (*b*) a letter of our author to *Heliodorus*, supposed to be the same. Concerning him may be consulted (*c*) *Fabricius*. *Photius* (*f*) gives an agreeable account of the Ethiopicks. When *Heliodorus* wrote that work, he was a Christian. And it is supposed, that afterwards he was a Bishop.

*Extracts  
out of his  
Epistles.*

II. I cannot forbear to take particular notice of some of our Sophist's letters. Good sentiments may be observed in several of them.

I. He expresseth himself very agreeably concerning forgiveness of injuries, and readinesse to be reconciled, in a letter to (*g*) *Ulpian*, a part of which I shall transcribe here. "I am glad, that you have the Emperour's good will. [meaning *Jovian* as is supposed:] I conclude

(*r*) *Ap. Wolf. ep. 1580. . . 1605.*

(*s*) *Vid. Garnier. de Vita S. Basilii. cap.*

39.

(*t*) *Ep. 1576.*

(*u*) *In notis ad Socrat. l. 6. cap. 3. p.*

75.

(*x*) *Ep. 691. p. 331.*

(*y*) *Ep. 1226. p. 581.*

(*z*) *Ep. 1227. p. 582. Ὁ πατριμὸν ἐπιστολὴν*

*πρὸς γενομένον.*

(*a*) *Ep. 437. p. 222.*

(*b*) *Ep. 595. p. 286.*

(*c*) *Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap. vi. T. 6. p.*

784.

(*f*) *Cod. 73. p. 157.*

(*g*) *Ep. 1138. p. 542.*



“ clude it from your being still in the magistracie. For without that  
 “ you could not have this. If the difference between you and Se-  
 “ leucus is made up, so much the better. If not, by Jupiter let it  
 “ be brought to an end without delay. If you was the first author  
 “ in the injurie, it is fit, you should be the first author of peace. If  
 “ the fault is on his side, the greater honour will you have from a  
 “ reconciliation. It is not he who avengeth an injurie, whom we  
 “ admire, but he who has power to avenge it, and does not. The  
 “ former belongs to barbarians, and wild-beasts: the later to Greeks,  
 “ and Athenians, and such as resemble the Gods. Call to mind  
 “ him, whose death has cost you so many tears: and perhaps you  
 “ will find, that he forgave many men offenses, which were not  
 “ small, and greater than those, which have caused a difference be-  
 “ tween you.”

2. There is another letter (*b*) equally pleasing, writ upon the same sentiments, and in the time of Julian, and in favour of a Christian. “ *Orion*, says he, was my friend, when he was in prosperity. And  
 “ now he is in affliction, I have the same disposition toward him.  
 “ If he thinks differently from us concerning the Deity, he hurts  
 “ himself, being deceived: but it is not fit, that his friends should  
 “ look upon him, as an enemy.”

He goes on to dissuade against treating *Orion* with severity. It is indeed a curious letter. Upon which Wolfius (*i*) has made remarks, and Le Clerc (*k*) yet more. *Orion* was plainly a Christian, as appears not only from this, but also from another letter (*l*) of Libanius. In the time of his prosperity, it is likely, he had done some things to the detriment of Hellenism, which were liable to resentment in the reign of Julian. But Libanius extenuates his fault, and endeavors to mitigate his sufferings.

S 2

3. Wol-

(*b*) *Ep.* 730. p. 349.(*k*) *Bib. A. et M. Tom.* 3. p. 366. &c.(*i*) *Vide Notas.* p. 349.(*l*) *Ep.* 673. p. 322.

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3. Wolfius (*m*) justly considers these letters as proofs of the equity of Libanius toward Christians.

*His Character.*

4. It must be owned, I think, that Libanius was of a friendly disposition, good-natured, tender-hearted, and compassionate. And I would farther observe here, that though he sometimes speaks with great dislike, and even with indignation against the Christians, calling them *profane*, and *impure*, and the like: he never adopts the language of Julian, or calls them *Galileans*, though Julian never spoke of them under any other denomination.

5. I would here mention another observation upon our Author. I do not perceive, that he had read the books of the New Testament: I may add, nor the Old, that I can discern. Wolfius thinks, that (*n*) in one of his letters published by him, Libanius alludes to St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians. iv. 26. *Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.* And thence he concludes, that (*o*) Libanius had read the books of the New Testament. But it should be considered, that that letter is one of the letters to *Basil*, which are not known to be genuine, and, probably are not.

6. Libanius, formerly quoted by us (*p*) passed a judgement upon the writings of Julian and Porphyrie against the Christians: preferring the work of Julian to that of Porphyrie. Whence some may argue, that he must have been well acquainted with the books of the New Testament, and the principles contained in them. But I do not think, there is any proof of this. The judgement of Libanius upon that controversy is of no value. And might be founded, such

as

(*m*) Notanda est haec epistola, tanquam index aequitatis, quâ Libanius in Christianos usus est. *Not.* (19.) *ad ep.* 673. p. 323.

(*n*) . . . πῶς ἄλλοις κριέτωρ μὴ χρίναι μέγχι δις μὲν ἡλίε λέγει φυλάττειν, αὐτὸς ἐν πολλοῖς ἡλίους ἐφέλαξας. *Ep.* 1586. p. 721.

(*o*) Vult omnino illa S. Pauli Eph. iv. 26. Ex his, itemque aliis locis, patet, Libanium sacros Novi Testamenti libros evoluisse. *Welf.* *lb.* in *not.* p. 721.

(*p*) See *before.* p. 46.

as it was, upon only a very general knowledge of Christianity, of which he could not be destitute. In short, our Sophist, with all his discernment in many other things, being prejudiced, and conceited, shut his eyes against the evidences of the Christian Religion, and would not examine them: nor vouchsafe to read, with any attention, the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, who had not the reputation of being skilled in Greek learning.

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III. I shall now make some extracts out of his other works.

*Extracts  
from his  
other  
Works.*

1. In a panegyrick upon Julian, at the begining of the year 363. when Julian was for the fourth time Consul, he says of him: “ By (q) the guidance of philosophie he soon wiped off the reproach of impiety, and learned the truth, and acknowledged those for Gods, who were such indeed, instead of him, who was only thought to be so. That day I call the begining of liberty to the world.”

2. In a funeral Oration upon Julian, he gives this account of his conduct in religious matters, when he came to be sole Emperour, after the death of Constantius. “ Having, (r) as he says, paid all honours due to Constantius, he began with remedying matters relating to the Gods, sacrificing in the view of all, and expressing his satisfaction in those who followed him, and deriding those who did not, and endeavouring to persuade them to imitate him, but without compulsion. Indeed, they who were in wrong sentiments, were filled with fear, and expected pulling out of eyes, beheadings, and rivers of blood, flowing from innumerable slaughterers: and that this new Lord would find out new ways of torture: and

“ and

(q) Φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἡμμένον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παρακύψαντα λειμῶνα, δόξαν περὶ τῶ θέναι παρὰσημεν οὐκ ἐνὶν περιτρέφειν· ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς τὴν κηλίδά διετρίψας, καὶ τὰς οὐτάς, αὐτὶ τὸ δοκῆντος ἐπέγνων· πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἡγεμόνι φιλοσοφία χρησάμενος. Ἐκέννη ἐγὼ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀρχὴν ἐλευθερίας τῇ γῇ καλῶ κ. λ. *Panegy.*

*Imp. Juliano Cos. dictus. Or. 8. T. 2 p. 234. C. Conf. Or. 10. p. 265. A.*

(r) *Concio Funeb. super Juliani Imp. nece Or. x. Tom. 2. p. 289. D. 290. 291. et ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. vii. Parentalis in Julian. Imp. cap. 58. 59. p. 283. Etc.*

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“ and that fire and sword, and drowning, and burying alive, and amputation of limbs, would be trifling things. Such (*s*) things had been practised by those who went before. But now more grievous things were expected. But Julian dissented from those who had practised such things, as not obtaining the end aimed at: and he was sensible, that no benefit was to be expected from such violence. For men laboring under diseases of the body, may be relieved by bandages. But a false opinion about the Gods is not to be expelled by cutting and burning. And if the hand sacrificeth, the mind reproves the hand, and condemns the infirmity of the body, and still approves what it approved before. There is only an appearance of a change, but no real alteration of sentiment. Moreover, they who comply, are pardoned afterwards, and they who dye [under torture] are honoured as Gods.”

“ Considering (*t*) therefore these things, and observing likewise, that their affairs had been encreased by slaughters, he declined what he could not approve of. Thus he brought over all to the truth, who were to be persuaded: but did not compell those who were in love with falsehood. However, he did not cease to call to them, and say: Whither do you run? Are you not ashamed to think darknesse brighter than light? . . . They who were of the same sentiments, were dearer to him than his kindred: esteeming him his friend, who was a friend to Jupiter, and him his enemy, who was an enemy to Jupiter: or rather esteeming him his friend, who was a friend to Jupiter, but not every one his enemy, who was an enemy to Jupiter. For such as he thought might be changed in time, he did not reject, but by good usage gained upon them. And though they refused at first, he brought them at length to dance about the altars.”

Upon

(*s*) Ταὐτὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπέπρακτο· πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἡλατίζετο χαλεπώτερα. κ. λ. p. 290. B.

(*t*) Ταῦτα ἔν ὁτιώμενος, καὶ ταῖς σφαγαῖς ὁρᾶν ἡυξημένα τὸ ἐκείνων, ἐφυγεν ἁ κατεμύμετο. p. 290. C.



Upon this passage I may be allowed to make some remarks. 1.) Here is an acknowledgement, that in times past, under Heathen Emperours, Christians had undergone very ill usage. 2.) And that under those sufferings their numbers had encreased, and their religion had prospered. This could never be said of Hellenism. 3.) Here is a reference to some customs of the Christians. They who were overcome by tortures, and other sufferings, in time of persecution, afterwards acknowledged their weaknesse, and upon due humiliation were pardoned. They who persevered and died for their religion, were honoured as Martyrs, or as Gods, as he represents it. 4.) Libanius has here produced good reasons against persecuting men upon account of religious sentiments. 5.) It is intimated, that Julian, by his management prevailed upon many, and made more than a few converts to Gentilism. 6.) This account of Julian's conduct, as I apprehend, may be considered, as intended, partly at least, to be an apologie for him to Heathen people. Upon Julian's accession, the Christians feared a heavie persecution. And there were also, as it seems, a good number of Heathens, who withed, and expected to see the Christians treated with the utmost rigour and severity. And some there were, who gave such counsel, and advised him to act in that manner. The better to satisfy such persons, Libanius argues against the severities of persecution, and shews, that milder methods were not without effect.

IV. I must now give a particular account of an *Oration* of Libanius, entitled (u) *for the Temples*. It is addressed to Theodosius the First, or the Great, who then had for his colleague in the Empire Valentinian the Second, or the Younger. James Gothofred (x) the publisher of this Oration, has endeavored to determine the time of it.

*His Oration for the Temples.*

He

(u) Λιβανίου λόγος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν.

(x) Libanii Antiocheni pro Templis Gentilium non exciendis, ad Theodosium M.

Imp. Oratio: nunc primum edita a Jacobo Gothofredo J. C. notisque illustrata Genevae. 1634.

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He argues from divers notes of time in the Oration itself, that (\*) it must have been writ after the year 388. and before 391. and very probably in the year 390. Nevertheless Mr. Tillemont has since argued, that (y) it might be writ in the year 384. And Gothofred himself has also since said, that ( \* ) this Oration was writ in the year 387. if that be not a fault of the impression, as I think it must be. I do not think it needful for me to enter here into a debate upon this point. Gothofred's argument in his Notes has an appearance of probability. And I may observe some characters of time in my own notes upon the Oration, as we pass along.

Whether this Oration was spoken to Theodosius, may be questioned. For though Libanius seems to speak to the Emperour, as present; it cannot be thence certainly concluded, that he was so, because Libanius expresseth himself in a like maner in some other orations, when it is plain, the Emperour was absent, as Gothofred has observed.

The occasion of the Oration was this. In the reign of Theodosius several Heathen Temples, some of them very magnificent, were pulled down and destroyed in the cities, and especially in countrey-places, by the Monks, with the consent and connivance, as Libanius intimates, of the Bishops, and without express order of the Emperour to that purpose. Of this Libanius complains, and implores the Emperour's protection, that the Temples may be preserved.

Throughout the whole Oration Libanius professeth himself a Heathen, and worshiper of the Gods, and takes great liberty with a Christian Emperour. Nevertheless it will be of use to us upon many accounts. We shall see, particularly, the state of Christianity and  
Gen-

(\*) *Vide Gothofred notas in Oration. Libanii. p. 37. . . 40.*

(y) *See H. E. L'Emp. Theodose. i. art. xviii. et note xvi.*

( \* ) Quae [sacrificia] paullo ante

hanc Legem Romae stetisse Libanius disertè testatur oratione, quam edidi ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν, quae scripta est anno D. 387. *Goth. in Cod. Theod. T. 6. p. 272.*

Gentilism at that time : How the Heathens argued against the Christians, and how the Christians defended themselves.

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As almost every part of this Oration is of some moment to us, and the original is uncommon, I intend to make a literal translation of the whole \* \*.

At the bottom of the pages, under the translation, I shall place some notes, by way of explication, chiefly taken from *Gothofred*, the editor of it. I shall likewise put the pages of his edition in the margin, that the translation may be the more easily compared with the original by such of the curious, who are possessed of it. And at the end I shall add such remarks, as are especially suited to our design.

“ Having already, o Emperour, often offered advice which has  
“ been approved by You, even when others have advised contrarie  
“ things ; I come to You now upon the same design, and with the  
“ same hopes, that now especially You will be persuaded by me.  
“ But if not, do not judge the speaker an enemy to your interests,  
“ considering, beside other things, the (z) great honour, which You  
“ have

P. 6.

P. 7.

\* \* At first I intended to translate the greatest part of the Oration, and give an abstract of the rest. But upon consulting my good friend, Dr. WARD, the late learned Professor of Rhetorick at Gresham College, London ; he recommended a translation of the whole, and the publication of the original Greek with it, as the Oration is very scarce. Accordingly, I have followed his advice, so far as to translate the whole. Which translation was made by me, and then kindly revised and corrected by Dr. Ward, several years before his decease, which hap-

pened in the year 1758. For this work has been long in hand: I may say, almost half a century.

(z) The honour here referred to, as Gothofred observes, was that of *Praefectus Praetorio*, which Libanius had received by a commission or patent from Theodosius. It was the highest office at that time under the Emperour. After the division of the Empire, there were four of these Prefects, two in the Eastern, and two in the Western Empire, who commanded as Vicegerents of the Emperour.

But

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“ have conferred upon me, and that it is not likely, that he who is  
“ under so great obligations, should not love his benefactor. And  
“ for that very reason I think it my duty to advise, where I appre-  
“ hend I have somewhat to offer, which may be of advantage. For  
“ I have no other way of shewing my gratitude to the Emperour,  
“ but by orations, and the counsel delivered in them.”

“ I shall indeed appear to many to undertake a matter full of  
“ danger in pleading with You for the Temples, that they may suf-  
“ fer no injurie, as now they do. But they who have such appre-  
“ hensions, seem to me to be very ignorant of Your true character.

P. 8.

“ For I esteem it the part of an angrie and severe disposition, for  
“ any one to resent the propofal of counsel, which he does not ap-  
“ prove of : but the part of a mild, and gentle, and equitable dis-  
“ position, such as Yours is, barely to reject counsel not approved  
“ of. For when it is in the power of him, to whom the addresse  
“ is made, to embrace any counsel, or not ; it is not reasonable to  
“ refuse a hearing, which can do no harm : nor yet to resent and  
“ punish the propofal of counsel, if it appear contrarie to his own  
“ judgement : when the only thing that induced the adviser to men-  
“ tion it, was a persuasion of it’s usefulness.”

“ I entreat you, therefore, o Emperour, to turn Your counte-  
“ nance to me, while I am speaking, and not to cast Your eyes  
“ upon those, who in many things aim to molest both You and  
“ me : forasmuch as oftentimes a look is of greater effect, than all  
“ the force of truth. I would farther insist, that they ought to per-  
“ mit me to deliver my discourse quietly, and without interruption :  
“ and then, afterwards they may do their best to confute us by  
“ what they have to say. [*Here is a small breach in the Oration.*  
“ *But he seems to have begun his argument with an account of the*  
“ *ori-*

But I suppose, that the honour conferred upon Libanius was only the title of an office, without the administration. This must be what Eunapius means. *Vita Li-*

*banii. sub fin.* Τὸν γὰρ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχὸν μέχρι προσωποποιίας ἔχεν ἐκέλευον· ἐν ἐδίδξατο, φήσας, τὸν σοφιστὴν εἶναι μέγιστον. p. 135,



“ *origin of temples, that they were first of all erected in country-pla-*  
 “ *ces.]* Men then having, *as he goes on*, at first secured themselves  
 “ in dens and cottages, and having there experienced the protecti-  
 “ on of the Gods, they soon perceived, how beneficial to mankind  
 “ their favour must be. They therefore, as may be supposed, erec-  
 “ ted to them statues and temples, such as they could in those early  
 “ times. And when they began to build cities, upon the encrease  
 “ of arts and sciences, there were many temples on the sides of  
 “ mountains, and in plains. And in every city [*as they built it,*]  
 “ next to the walls were temples and sacred edifices raised, as the  
 “ begining of the rest of the body. For from such governours *P. α.*  
 “ they expected the greatest security. And, if You survey  
 “ the whole Roman Empire, You will find this to be the case  
 “ every where. For (*a*) in the city next to the (*b*) greatest, there  
 “ are still some (*c*) temples, though they are deprived of their ho-  
 “ nours: a few indeed out of many, but yet it is not quite desti-  
 “ tute. And with the aid of these Gods, the Romans fought, and  
 “ conquered their enemies: and having conquered them, they em-  
 “ proved their condition, and made them happier, than they were  
 “ before their defeat: lessening their fears, and making them part-  
 “ ners in the privileges of the Commonwealth. And (*d*) when *E*  
 “ was a child, he (*e*) who led the Gallic armie, overthrew him that  
 T 2. “ had

(*a*) . . . ἐπεὶ καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν μαγίστην  
 πάλτι.

(*b*) He means Constantinople, called by Libanius in other orations also, *the second city after the greatest of all: the greatest city after Rome*, and the like. Hence it appears, that this Oration, was not written, or spoken at *Constantinople*, but at some other place.

(*c*) He means the ancient temples of *Byzantium*, before Constantin the Great enlarged it, and called it after his own name *Constantinople*.

(*d*) Libanius seems there to speak of the *Licinian* war. And being born in the year 314. or 315. he must have been a child at that time, in 323.

(*e*) He means Constantin, who came from Gaul, with Gallic forces, when he conquered Maxentius in 312. The soldiers of the same country are here supposed by Libanius to have been the strength of Constantin's armie, when he fought with Licinius.

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“ had affronted him : they having first prayed to the Gods for suc-  
 “ cesse, before they engaged. But (*f*) having prevailed over him,  
 “ who at that time gave prosperity to the cities, judging it for his  
 “ advantage to have another Deity, ἡγησάμενος αὐτῷ λυσιτελεῖν ἕτερόν  
 “ τινα νομίζειν Θεόν, for the building of the city, which he then (*g*)  
 “ designed, he made use of the sacred (*h*) money, but made no al-  
 “ teration in the legal worship. The temples indeed were empo-  
 “ verished, but the rites were still performed there. But when the  
 “ Empire came to his (*i*) son, or rather the form of Empire, for the  
 “ government was really in the hands of others, who from the be-  
 “ gining had been his masters : and to whom he vouchsafed equal  
 “ power with himself. He therefore being governed by them, even  
 “ when he was Emperour, was led into many wrong actions, and  
 “ among others to forbid sacrifices. These his cousin (*k*) possessed  
 “ of every virtue, restored. What he did otherwise, or intended to  
 “ do, I omit at present. After his death in Persia, the liberty of  
 “ sacrificing remained for some time. But at the instigation of some  
 “ in-

(*f*) Libanius supposes Constantin not to have been converted to Christianity, till after the defeat of Licinius in 323. though he really was a Christian many years before. “ But, says Gothofred in his notes at p. 43. I know not how it comes to pass, the Gentil writers pretend, that Constantin was not a Christian, till after the Licinian war. So Zosimus, lib. 2. 685. The reason of which I suspect to be, that, if Constantin did not so long approve of South-saying, which yet Zosimus says he did, he bore with it, as several of his edicts shew. l. 1. *Cod. Th. de Paganis. l. 1. 2. 3. C. Th. de Maleficis et Mathematicis :* “ as also because from that time he began more earnestly to oppose the Heathen

“ worship, and also left Rome, not “ without some offense and disgust.” See more of this in our notes upon Zosimus.

(*g*) Meaning Constantinople.

(*h*) That is true, as Gothofred says, in his notes p. 43. Ceterum verum est, quod Libanius scribit, Constantinum M. in condenda urbe Constantinopolitana, sacris pecuniis usum, id est, redditibus et donariis Templorum Gentiliorum. Adde et simulachris, quae templis ab eo detracta, atque in urbis ornatum translata.

(*i*) *Constantius* : who, as Gothofred observes, p. 44. often forbid sacrifices, as his edicts shew. l. 4. 5. 6. C. Th. de Paganis. sacrif. and other writers say.

(*k*) *Julian*.

“ innovators, sacrifices were forbidden by the two (*l*) brothers: but  
 “ not incense. Which state of things Your law (*m*) has ratified.  
 “ So that we have not more reason to be uneasy for what is denied  
 “ us, than to be thankfull for what is allowed. You therefore have  
 “ not ordered the Temples to be shut up, nor forbidden any to fre-  
 “ quent them. Nor have you driven from the temples, or the al-  
 “ tars, fire, or frankincense, or other honours of incense. But (*n*)  
 “ those black-garbed people, who eat more than elephants, and (*o*)  
 “ demand a large quantity of liquor from the people (*p*) who send  
 “ them drink for their chantings: but who hide their luxurie by *P. II.*  
 “ their pale, artificial (*q*) countenances. These men, o Emperour,  
 “ even whilst your law is in force, run to the Temples, bringing  
 “ with them wood, and stones, and iron, and when they have not  
 “ them, hands and feet. Then (*r*) follows a Mysian prey, the roofs  
 “ are

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(*l*) *Valentinian and Valens.*

(*m*) That law of Theodosius is often mentioned, and insisted upon in this Oration by Libanius: a law, in which sacrifices were expressly forbidden, but not incense. *Gothofred*, p. 45. thinks, that Libanius may refer to several laws of Theodosius to that purpose: as l. 7. and 9. and perhaps 11. C. Th. de paganis. sacrific. And, as he says, in the year 392. after the composing of this Oration, incense also was forbidden by the same Emperour. l. 12. C. Th. de Paganis.

(*n*) Ὅτι δὲ μελανειμονῶντες οὗτοι, καὶ πλείων μὲν τῶν ἐλευσάντων ἐσθίωντες, πόνον δὲ παρέχοντες τῷ πλείονει τῶν ἐκπωμάτων τοῖς δὲ ἄσματος οὗτοις παραπέμπουσιν τὸ ποτὸν, συγκρύπτουτες δὲ τὰυτὰ ἀχρότητι τῇ διὰ τέχνης αὐτοῖς πεπορισμένη. κ. λ. p. 10. 11.

(*o*) By black-garbed people, undoubtedly

[ Libanius means the Monks, who wore dark-coloured garments.

(*p*) Thereby, possibly, Libanius ridicules the liberality of well-disposed Christians, who made contributions for the support of the Monks. And the ground of charging the Monks with demanding liquor for their hymns, might be the practice of some Heathen priests.

(*q*) It seems unreasonable in Libanius to charge those men with a luxurious life. The paleness of their countenances was a good argument of abstemiousness. I do not believe, that he had as good proof of the contrarie, or that they made use of art to procure paleness.

(*r*) “ Demosthenes in his oration for  
 “ Ctesiphon cap. 22. uses this as a proverbial expression. And Harpocration says,  
 “ it took it’s rise from the Mysians, who  
 “ in

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“ are uncovered, walls are pulled down, images are carried off, and  
 “ altars are overturned. The priests all the while must be silent up-  
 “ on pain of death. When they have destroyed one Temple, they  
 “ run to another, and a third, and trophies are erected upon tro-  
 “ phies. Which are all contrarie to (*your*) law. This is the prac-  
 “ tise in cities, but especially in the countreys. And there are ma-  
 “ ny enemies every where. After innumerable mischiefs have been  
 “ perpetrated, the scattered multitude unites and comes together,  
 “ and they require of each other an account of what they have  
 “ done. And he is ashamed, who cannot tell of some great injurie,  
 “ which he has been guilty of. They therefore spread themselves  
 “ over the countrey, like torrents, wasting the countreys together  
 “ with the Temples. For wherever they demolish the Temple of  
 “ a countrey, at the same time the countrey itself is blinded, declines,  
 “ and dyes. For, o Emperour, the Temples are the soul of the  
 “ countrey. They have been the first original of the buildings in  
 “ the countrey, and they have subsisted for many ages to this time:  
 “ and in them are all the husbandman’s hopes, concerning men, and  
 “ women, and children, and oxen, and the seeds and plants of the  
 “ ground. Wherever any countrey has lost it’s Temples, that coun-  
 “ trey is lost, and the hopes of the husbandmen, and with them all  
 “ their alacrity. For they suppose, they shall labour in vain, when  
 “ they are deprived of the Gods, who should blefs their labours.  
 “ And the countrey not being cultivated, as usual, the tribute is di-  
 “ minished. This being the state of things, the husbandman is em-  
 “ poverished, and the revenue suffers. For be the will ever so good,  
 “ impossi-

P. 12.

“ in the absence of their King *Telephus*,  
 “ being plundered by their neighbours,  
 “ made no resistance. Hence it came to  
 “ be applied to any persons, who were  
 “ passive under injuries. See likewise *Sui-*  
 “ *das* in voce. *Μυσῶν λεία.*” That is a  
 note received from *Dr. Ward*, before men-

tioned. I shall add the note of *Gothofred*  
 from p. 47. *Myforum praeda*. Frequens  
 illud proverbium in ore scriptisque *Liba-*  
*nii*, hic, et in *Orat.* in *Julianum Cof.* p.  
 236. et in *Antiochico.* p. 335. et in *Julia-*  
*ni necem.* p. 269.



“ impossibilities are not to be surmounted. Of such mischievous  
 “ consequence are the arbitrarie proceedings of those persons in the  
 “ countrey : who say, *they fight with the Temples*. But that war is  
 “ the gain of those who oppress the inhabitants, and robbing these  
 “ miserable people of their goods, and what they had laid up of  
 “ the fruits of the earth for their sustenance, they go off as with the  
 “ spoils of those whom they have conquered. Nor are they satisfied  
 “ with this. For they also seize the lands of some, saying, it is  
 “ sacred. And many are deprived of their paternal inheritance up-  
 “ on a false pretense. Thus (s) these men riot upon other peoples  
 “ misfortunes, who say, *they worship God with fasting*. And if they  
 “ who are abused, come to the Pastor in the city : (for so they call  
 “ a man who is not one of the meekest) complaining of the injus-  
 “ tice that has been done them, this Pastor commends these, but re-  
 “ jects the others : as if they ought to think themselves happy,  
 “ that they have suffered no more. Although, o Emperour, these  
 “ also are your subjects, and so much more profitable than those who  
 “ injure them, as laborious men are than the idle. For they are like  
 “ bees, these like drones. Moreover if they hear of any land, which  
 “ has any thing that can be plundered, they cry presently : *Such an*  
 “ *one sacrificeth, and does abominable things, and an armie ought to be*  
 “ *sent against him*. And (t) presently the reformers are there. For  
 “ by this name they call their depredations, if I have not used too  
 “ soft a word. Some of these strive to conceal themselves, and deny  
 “ their proceedings. And if you call them robbers, you affront  
 “ them. Others glory, and boast, and tell their exploits to those  
 “ who are ignorant of them, and say, they are more deserving than  
 “ the husbandmen. Nevertheless, what is this, but in time of peace,  
 “ to wage war with the husbandmen ? For it by no means lessens  
 “ these

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P. 13.

P. 14.

(s) Ὅτι δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐτέραις περιῶσι κακῶν, ὅτι λῆστοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ πάντων χρημάτων. καὶ λ. π. 13.  
 πῶς πεινῶν ὥς φασὶ θεορπύουσαι θεῶν. Ἦν δ' ὁ π. 13.  
 καὶ πεπορθημένοι παρὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιμένα (καὶ (t) Καὶ πόρεσιν ἱ. σωφροσύνη π. 13.

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“ these evils, that they suffer from their countreymen. But it is  
 “ really more grievous to suffer the things, which I have mention-  
 “ ed, in a time of quiet, from those who ought to assist them in a  
 “ time of trouble. For You, o Emperour, in case of a war collect  
 “ an armie, give out orders, and do every thing suitable to the emer-  
 “ gence. And the new works, which You now carry on, are de-  
 “ signed, as a farther security against our enemies, that all may be  
 “ safe in their habitations, both in the cities and in the countrey :  
 “ and then if any enemies should attempt inroads, they may be sen-  
 “ sible, they must suffer losse, rather than gain any advantage. How  
 “ is it then, that some under your government disturb others, equal-  
 “ ly under your government, and permit them not to enjoy the  
 “ common benefits of it ? How do they not defeat your own care  
 “ and providence, and labours, o Emperour ? How do they not  
 “ fight against your law by what they do ?”

P. 15.

“ But they say, *We have only punished those who sacrifice, and there-  
 “ by transgress the law, which forbids sacrifices.* O Emperour, when  
 “ they say this, they lye. For no one is so audacious, and so ig-  
 “ norant of the proceedings of the courts, as to think himself more  
 “ powerfull than the law. When I say, the law, I mean the law  
 “ against sacrificers. Can it be thought, that they who are not able  
 “ to bear the sight of a Collector’s cloak, should despise the power  
 “ of Your government. This is what they say for themselves.  
 “ And they have been often alleged to (u) *Flavian* himself, and  
 “ never have been confuted, no, not yet. For I appeal to the  
 “ Guardians of this (x) law. Who has known any of those whom  
 “ you have plundered to have sacrificed upon the altars, so as the  
 “ law does not permit ? What young, or old person, what man,  
 “ what woman ? Who of those inhabiting the same countrey, and  
 “ not agreeing with the sacrificers in the worship of the Gods ? Who  
 “ of their neighbours ? For envie and jealousy are common in  
 “ neigh-

P. 16.

(u) *Bishop of Antioch at that time.*

evidently appeals to Christians, whom he

(x) Ἰδὲ γὰρ δὴ προκαλῶμαι τοὺς κηδεμό-  
 νας τῶδε τῶ νόμου. p. 15. Libanius here

calls *guardians of this law.*

“ neighborhoods. Whence some would gladly come as an evi-  
 “ dence, if any such thing had been done. And yet no one has ap-  
 “ peared neither from the one, nor from the other: [that is,  
 “ neither from the countrey, nor from the neighborhood.] Nor  
 “ will there ever appear for fear of perjurie, not to say, the punish-  
 “ ment of it. Where then is the truth of this charge, when  
 “ they accuse those men of sacrificing contrarie to law ?

“ But this shall not suffice for an excuse to the Emperour.  
 “ Some one therefore may say : *They have not sacrificed. Let it*  
 “ *be granted. But oxen have been killed at feasts and entertain-*  
 “ *ments, and merry-meetings.* Still there is no altar to receive the  
 “ blood, nor a part burned, nor do salt-cakes precede, nor any  
 “ libation follow. But if some persons meeting together in some  
 “ pleasant field, kill a calf, or a sheep, or both, and roasting part,  
 “ and broiling the rest, have eat it under a shade, upon the  
 “ ground : I do not know, that they have acted contrarie to any (y)  
 “ laws. For neither have you, o Emperour, forbid these things by  
 “ your law : but mentioning one thing, which ought not to be  
 “ done, You have permitted every thing else. So that though they  
 “ should have feasted together with all sorts of incense, they have  
 “ not transgressed the law, even though in that feast they should all  
 “ have sung, and invoked the Gods. Unless You think fit to ac-  
 “ cuse even their private method of eating : by which it has been  
 “ customarie for the inhabitants of several places, in the countrey,  
 “ to assemble together in those [places] which are the more confi-  
 “ derable, on holidays, and having sacrificed, to feast together.  
 “ This they did, whilst the law permitted them to do it. Since  
 “ that the liberty has continued for all the rest, except sacrificing.  
 “ When

(y) These things were allowed by some *de paganis*. But were totally forbidden af-  
 edicts of Christian Emperours about this afterwards. l. 19. *cod. tit. as Gothofred ob-*  
 time, and somewhat later. l. 17. *C. Th. serves, p. 51.*

A. D. 370. “ When therefore a festival day invited them, they accepted the invitation, and with those things which might be done, without offense or danger, they have honoured both the day and the place. “ But that they ventured to sacrifice, no one has said, nor heard, “ nor proved, nor been credited. Nor have any of their enemies “ pretended to affirm it upon the ground of his own sight, or any “ credible account he has received of it.

“ They will farther say: *By this means some have been converted, “ and brought to embrace the same religious sentiments with themselves.* “ Be not deceived by what they say. They only pretend it, but “ are not convinced. For they are averse to nothing more than this: “ though they say the contrarie. For the truth is, they have not “ changed the objects of their worship, but only appear to have “ done so. They joyh themselves with them in appearance, and “ outwardly perform the same things that they do. But when “ they are in a praying posture, they address to no one, or else “ they invoke the Gods: not rightly indeed, in such a place: “ but yet they invoke them. Wherefore, as in a tragedie he “ who acts the part of a King, is not a King: but the same person, he was, before he assumed that character: so every one of “ these keeps himself the same he was, though he seems to them to “ be changed. And what advantage have they by this, when the “ profession only is the same with theirs, but a real agreement with “ them is wanting? For these are things, to which men ought to “ be persuaded, not compelled. And when a man cannot accomplish that, and yet will practise this, nothing is effected, and he “ may perceive the weakness of the attempt. It (z) is said, that “ this is not permitted by their own laws, which commend persuasion, and condemn compulsion. Why then do you run mad a- “ gainst

(z) Λόγος δὲ μὴ ἐν τοῖς τέτοις αὐτῶν τῷτο θε κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν; Εἰ τὸ πείθειν μὲν ἔκ ἔστιν, ἐνέειναι νόμοις, ἀλλ’ ἐυδοκίμῳ μὲν τὸ πείθειν, βιάζεσθε δὲ, σαφῶς μὲν ἔτῳς, καὶ τὸς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν παραβαίνετε νόμους. p. 18.



“ gainst the Temples? When you cannot persuade, you use force.  
“ In this you evidently transgress your own laws.”

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But they say, *It is for the good of the world, and the men in it, that there should be no Temples.* “ Here, o Emperour, I need freedom  
“ of speech : for I fear, least I should offend. Let (a) then any of  
“ them tell me, who have left the tongs, and the hammer, and the  
“ anville, and pretend to talk of the heavens, and of them that dwell  
“ there, what rites the Romans followed, who arose from small and  
“ mean beginnings, and went on prevailing, and grew great : theirs,  
“ or these, whose are the Temples and the altars, from whom they  
“ knew by the fouthsayers, what they ought to do, or not to do ?  
“ [*Here Libanius instanceth in the successes of Agamemnon against*  
“ *Troy : and of Hercules, before, against the same place : and some*  
“ *other things.*] And many other wars might be mentioned, which  
“ have been successfully conducted, and after that peace obtained,  
“ by the favour, and under the direction of the Gods. But what  
“ is the most considerable of all, they who seemed to despise this  
“ way of worship, have honoured it against their will. Who are  
“ they? They (b) who have not ventured to forbid sacrifices

P. 19.

P. 20.

U 2

at

(a) The note of Gothofred upon this place, at p. 53. is this. Commune hoc argumentum et delirium Gentilium hoc aevo fuit, quasi religionibus Romanis imperium in eam magnitudinem excrevisset. Quod refutant passim Christiani. Vide vel Tertullianum, Arnobium, Symmachum, Prudentium.

(b) Libanius must needs mistake, or misrepresent the case, and consequently, he argues upon a wrong foundation. The Christians had no respect for the Heathen Deities, nor were they apprehensive of any evil from a neglect of them. *Vid. Euseb. de Vita Constantin. l. 4. cap. 25. Theodor. H. E. l. 5. cap. 22. p. 229. A.*

Libanius owned just now, that they said, *it was for the good of the world, that there should be no temples :* that is, in other words, that Heathen superstition and idolatry should cease, and the true Deity only be worshiped. If therefore they approved, or consented to, the permission of sacrifices, or other Heathen rites in some places, it could not be for the reason assigned by Libanius : but either because they were unwilling to do any thing that had the appearance of persecution, or of force and compulsion : or because they were apprehensive of tumults of the Heathen people, and perhaps more in some places, than in others. Cum, uti dixi, haec

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P. 21.

“(c) at Rome. But if all this affair of sacrifices be a vain thing, why  
“ has not this vain thing been prohibited? And if it be hurtfull like-  
“ wise, why not much more? But if in the sacrifices there per-  
“ formed consists the stability of the Empire, it (d) ought to be rec-  
“ koned beneficial, to sacrifice every where: and to be allowed, that  
“ the demons at Rome confer greater benefits, these in the coun-  
“ trey, and other cities less. This is what may be reasonably grant-  
“ ed. For in an armie all are not equal. Yet in a battle the help  
“ of each one is of use: the like may be said of rowers in a vessel.  
“ So one [demon] defends the sceptre of Rome, another protects a  
“ city subject to it, another preserves the countrey, and gives it feli-  
“ city. Let there then be Temples every where. Or let those men  
“ confess, that you are not well affected to Rome in permitting it  
“ to do things, by which she suffers damage. But neither is it at  
“ Rome only, that the liberty of sacrificing remains: but also in (e)  
“ the city of Serapis, that great and populous city, which has a  
“ multitude of Temples, by which it renders the plenty of Egypt  
“ common to all men. This [plenty] is the work of the Nile. It  
“ therefore celebrates the Nile, and persuades him to rise, and over-  
“ flow the fields. If those rites were not performed, when, and  
“ by whom they ought, he would not do so. Which they them-  
“ selves

haec indulgentiae singularis fuerint, et quidem in duabus maximis et populosissimis urbibus, [Româ et Alexandria] morisque veteris retinentissimis: ubi non tam facile, certe non simul et semel mores vertuntur, vertive poterant. Quod mox tamen effectum. *Gothofred. ib. p. 53.*

(c) That is reckoned to be one mark of time in this Oration. Sacrifices were still permitted at Rome. But they were prohibited there by Valentinian the Younger, with the advice of Theodosius the Great. A. D. 391. l. 10. C. Th. de pa-

ganis, sacrificiis. So says *Gothofred. p. 53.*

(d) . . . ὅπαντα καὶ δεῖ νομίζεν τελεῖν τὸ θύειν, καὶ δίδουαι τὰς μὲν ἐν Πάμῃ δαίμονας τὰ μύζῳ, τὰς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄσειν, ἐλάττω. κ. λ. p. 20.

(e) By the city of Serapis is meant Alexandria. This is another note of the time of this Oration. For the temple of Serapis was destroyed in 391. l. 11. C. Th. de paganis, sacrif. et templis. *Vid. et Sozom. H. E. l. 5. cap. 16. 17. Sezon. l. 17. c. 5 Theod. l. 5. cap. 22.*

“ selves seem to be sensible of, who willingly enough abolish such  
 “ things, but do not abolish these : but permit the river to enjoy his  
 “ ancient rites, for the sake of the benefit he affords.”

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“ What then, some will say. *Since there is not in every country*  
 “ *a river to do what the Nile does for the earth, there is no reason for*  
 “ *Temples in those places. Let them therefore suffer what these good*  
 “ *people think fit.* Whom I would willingly ask this question. Whe-  
 “ ther changing their mind, they will dare to say, Let there be an  
 “ end of these things done by [or for] the Nile. Let not the earth  
 “ partake of his waters, let nothing be sown, nor reaped. Let him  
 “ afford no corn, nor any other product, nor let the mud overflow  
 “ the whole land, as at present. If they dare not own this, by what  
 “ they forbear to say, they confute what they do say. For they  
 “ who do not affirm, that the Nile ought to be deprived of his  
 “ honours, confess, that the honours paid to the Temples are use-  
 “ full.” ( \* )

P. 22.

“ And since they mention him (*f*) who spoiled the Temples [of  
 “ their revenues and gifts] we shall omit observing, that he did not  
 “ proceed to the taking away the sacrifices. But who ever suffered  
 “ a greater punishment for taking away the sacred money, [out of  
 “ the temples] partly in what he brought upon (*g*) himself: partly  
 “ in what he suffered after his death, inasmuch that his familie (*b*)  
 “ destroyed

( \* ) All this argument is vain and trifling. If the Heathen Priests at Alexandria were still permitted to perform the ancient rites; it was not for the sake of any benefit they were of. For every Christian supposed them useless and insignificant. They were permitted therefore for some such reasons, as those hinted above.

(*f*) *Constantin the Great.*

(*g*) Libanius refers to Constantin's son

*Crispus*, and his wife *Fausla*, who were put to death by him.

(*b*) Libanius intends the brothers, nephews, and sons of Constantin the Great. For after his death, his son Constantius put to death two of his father Constantin's brothers, and six of their children. [Vid. Julian. Orat. ad S. P. 2. Atheniens. 497. Vid. et Victorem, Julian. Orat. 7. p. 424. Eutropium, Zosimum 1. 2. Socrat. 1. 3. c. 1. imo et Libanium nostrum Orat. 7. in Julian.

- A. D. 370. “ destroyed one another, till (*i*) there were none left. And it had  
 “ been much better for him, that some of his posterity should reign,  
 “ than to enlarge with buildings a city of his own name : for the  
 “ sake of which city itself all men still curse his memorie, except  
 “ those who live there in wicked luxurie, because by their poverty  
 “ these have their abundance. And since next to him, they men-  
 “ tion (*k*) his son, and how he destroyed the temples, when they  
 P. 23. “ who pulled them down (*l*) took no less pains in destroying them,  
 “ than the builders had done in raising them : so laborious a work  
 “ was it to separate the stones cemented by the strongest bands. Since,  
 “ *I say*, they mention these things, I will mention somewhat yet  
 “ more considerable. That he indeed made (*m*) presents of the  
 “ temples to those who were about him, just as he might give a  
 “ horse, or a slave, or a dog, or a golden cup. But they were un-  
 “ happy presents to both the giver and the receivers of them. For  
 “ he spent all his life in fear of the Persians, dreading all their mo-  
 “ tions, as children do bugbears. Of these some were childless,  
 “ and died miserably intestate. And others had better never have  
 “ had children : with such infamie and mutual discord do they live  
 “ together, who descend from them : whilst they dwell among fa-  
 “ cred pillars, taken from the temples. To whom I think these  
 “ things are owing, who knowing how to enrich themselves, have  
 “ taught their children this way to happinesse ! And at this time  
 “ their distempers carry some of them to (*n*) Cilicia, needing the help  
 “ of

Julian. Imp. Cos. p. 236. et Orat. in Juliani necem p. 262 ] Of his sons, Constantine the younger was killed in the war with his brother Constans : and Constans himself in the tyrannie of Magnentius. *Gothofred. p. 54.*

(*i*) Constantine's issue was at an end in Constantine. Constantine M. Stirps in Constantine defecit. *Gothofred. p. 55.*

(*k*) *Constantinus.*

(*l*) Theodoret H. E. l. 5. cap. 21. takes particular notice of the difficulty of pulling down the temple of Jupiter at Aspamea, which was destroyed about this time.

(*m*) For this *Gothofred*, p. 55. 56. refers to Orat. in Juliani necem p. 253. 266. et l. 8. C. Theod. de Jure fisci.

(*n*) He seems to mean the temple of Aesculapius



“ of Aesculapius. But instead of obtaining relief, they meet with  
 “ affronts only for the injurie done to the place. How can such re-  
 “ turn without cursing the author of these evils? But let the conduct  
 “ of this Emperour be such, as to deserve praises living and dead :  
 “ such as we know, he (o) was, who succeeded him : who had  
 “ overturned the Persian Empire, if treacherie had not prevented it.  
 “ Nevertheless he was great in his death. For he was killed by (p)  
 “ treacherie, as Achilles also was : and is applauded for that, as well  
 “ as for what he did before his death. This has he obtained from  
 “ the Gods, to whom he restored their rites, and honours, and  
 “ temples, and altars, and blood : from whom having heard, *that*  
 “ *he should tumble the pride of Persia, and then dye*, he purchased the  
 “ glorie of his life, taking many cities, subduing a large tract of land,  
 “ teaching his pursuers to fly : and was about to receive, as (q) all  
 “ know, an ambassie, which would have brought the submission of  
 “ the enemy. Wherefore he was pleased with his wound, and  
 “ looking upon it rejoyced, and without any tears rebuked those  
 “ who wept, for not thinking, that a wound was better to him than  
 “ any old age. So that the ambassies sent after his death, were all  
 “ his right. And the reason, why the (r) Achemenidae for the fu-  
 “ ture

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P. 25.

Aesculapius at Aegis in Cilicia. This temple, according to Eusebius, vit. Constantin. i. 3. c. 56. and Sozomen, l. 2. c. 5 was destroyed by Constantin. Libanius is here supposed to ascribe it to Constantius. But I do not think it necessary so to understand him. It is sufficient for his argument, if some of those, to whom Constantius had made presents of sacred things, or some of their descendents, went in vain to this place, by whomsoever the temple there was destroyed.

(o) *Julian.*

(p) Libanius intimates, that Julian was killed by some Christian, one of his own soldiers.

(q) Gothofred observes, (p. 57.) that here, and in some other places, Libanius affirms, or intimates, that Julian had actually overcome the Persians: Persas jam devictos a Juliano Imp. cum is percussus fuit, asserit hic Libanius, ut et Oratione in *Juliani necem.* p. 303. et 308. Legatosque a Persis pacis oratum jam decretos : idque omnibus notum esse : quod et ipsum duobus aliis locis prodit : puta, *Orat. in Juliani necem.* p. 303. et *de vita sua.* p. 45.

(r) Another name for the Persians, so called again by Libanius. *Orat. in Juliani necem.* p. 268. *Gothofred.* p. 57.

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“ ture made use of entreaties instead of arms, was, that the fear of  
 “ him still possessed their minds. Such an one was he, who resto-  
 “ red to us the temples of the Gods: who did things too good to  
 “ be forgotten, himself above all oblivion. But I thought, that (s)  
 “ he who reigned lately would pull down, and burn the temples of  
 “ those who were of the opposite sentiment, as he knew how to de-  
 “ spise the gods. But he was better than expectation, sparing the  
 “ temples of the enemies, and not disdaining to run some hazards  
 “ for preserving those of his own dominions, which had been long  
 “ since erected with much labour, and at vast expense. For if ci-  
 “ ties are to be preserved every where, and some cities outshine o-  
 “ thers, by means of their temples, and these are their chief orna-  
 “ ments, next to the Emperours palaces: how is it, that no care  
 “ must be taken of these, nor any endeavours used to preserve them  
 “ in the body of the cities?”

P. 26.

“ But it is said : *There will be other edifices, though there should be*  
 “ *no temples.* But (t) I think, tribute to be of importance to the trea-  
 “ surie. Let these stand then, and be taxed. Do we think it a  
 “ cruel thing to cut off a man’s hand, and a small matter to pluck  
 “ out the eyes of cities? And do we not lament the ruins made  
 “ by earthquakes? and when there are no earthquakes, nor other  
 “ accidents, shall we ourselves do what they are wont to effect?  
 “ Are (u) not the Temples the possession of the Emperours, as well  
 “ as other things? Is it the part of wise men to sink their own goods?  
 “ Does not every one suppose him to be distracted, who throws his  
 “ purse

(s) *Valens.*

(t) Secundum hoc paganorum argu-  
 mentum, quo sub Christianis Imperatori-  
 bus persuadere conabantur, ne Templum  
 excinderentur, ab *utilitate* desumptum  
 est: nempe quod vectigalia ex locatione  
 Templorum colligi possent, eaque in alios  
 usus transferri. &c. *Gothofred. p. 58.*

(u) That is, as Gothofred supposes, the

Temples, when diverted from their sa-  
 cred use, and brought into the public  
 treasure, come under the same laws with  
 other things, belonging to the Empe-  
 rour’s revenue. Temples, semel religioni  
 vel superstitioni detracta, fiscoque delata,  
 pari jure, quo ceteras res fiscales haberi  
 definit Libanius. *Goth. p. 58.*

“ purse into the sea? or, if the master of a ship should cut those  
 “ ropes, which are of use to the ship: or, if any one should order  
 “ a mariner to throw away his oar, would you think it an absurdity?  
 “ ty? And yet think it proper for a magistrate, to deprive a city of  
 “ such a part of it? What reason is there for destroying that, the  
 “ use of which may be changed? Would it not be shamefull for an  
 “ armie to fight against it's own walls? and for a General to excite  
 “ them against what they have raised with great labour: the finishing  
 “ of which was a festival for them who then reigned? Let no  
 “ man think, Emperour, that this is a charge brought against You.  
 “ For there lies in ruins, in the Persian borders, a (x) Temple, to  
 “ which there is none like, as may be learned from them who saw  
 “ it, so magnificent the stone-work, and in compass equal to the  
 “ city. Therefore in time of war the citizens thought their enemies  
 “ would gain nothing by taking the town, since they could not take  
 “ that likewise, as the strength of it's fortifications bid defiance to  
 “ all their attacks. . . . At length, however, it was attacked, and  
 “ with a fury equal to that of the greatest enemies, animated by the  
 “ hopes of the richest plunder. I have heard it disputed by some,  
 “ in which state it was the greatest wonder: whether now that it is  
 “ no more, or when it had suffered nothing of this kind, like the  
 “ temple of Serapis. But that Temple, so magnificent and so large,  
 “ not to mention the wonderfull structure of the roof, and the many  
 “ brass statues, now hid in darknesse out of the light of the sun,  
 “ is quite perished: a lamentation to them who have seen it, a pleasure  
 “ to them who never saw it. For the eyes and ears are not alike  
 “ affected with these things. Or rather to those who have not seen  
 “ it, it is both sorrow and pleasure: the one, because of it's fall,  
 “ the other, because their eyes never saw it. Nevertheless, if it be  
 “ rightly

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P. 28.

(x) It is uncertain, what Temple our think, it was the Temple at Aedessa. Goth.  
 Author means. Gothofred is inclined to p. 59.

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“ rightly considered, this work is not yours, but the work of a man  
 “ (y) who has deceived You : a profane wretch, an enemy of the  
 “ Gods, base, covetous, ungrateful to the earth that received him  
 “ when born, advanced without merit, and abusing his greatness,  
 “ when advanced, a slave to his wife, gratifying her in any thing,  
 “ and esteeming her all things : in perfect subjection to them (z)  
 “ who direct these things : whose only virtue lies in wearing the  
 “ habit of mourners : but especially to those of them, who also weave  
 “ coarse garments. This (a) work-house deluded, imposed upon him,  
 “ and misled him. [And it is said, that (b) many Gods have been de-  
 “ ceived by Gods :] for they gave out, *that the Priests sacrificed, and*  
 “ *so near them, that the smoke reached their noses :* and after the man-  
 “ ner of some simple people, they enlarge and heighten matters,  
 “ and vaunt themselves, as if they thought nothing was above their  
 “ power. By such fiction, (c) and contrivance, and artful stories,  
 “ proper

(y) Gothofred, p. 59. supposeth the person, against whom Libanius here rails so heartily, to be *Cynegius*, Prefect of the Praetorium in the East, or the Emperour's Lieutenant, from 384. to 388.

(z) Monks, who wove Garments for themselves, and for the use of poor people. For which reason he also presently afterwards calls their monastrie a *work-house*.

(a) Ταῦτον ἐργασήριον ἠπάτησεν, ἐξέναντι-  
 σεν, ἐπηγάγετο, παρακρίσατο. p. 28. M.

(b) Upon this place Dr. Ward observed as follows. “ Here seems to be a com-  
 “ pliment designed upon the Emperour,  
 “ to soften the charge of his being im-  
 “ posed upon : since it was not an unusual  
 “ thing for the Gods to impose upon one  
 “ another. So Juno in Homer calls Jupi-  
 “ ter δολομήτης. *Il. a ver.* 540. And  
 “ Horace, speaking of Mercurie.

“ Voce dum terret, viduus pharetrâ,  
 “ Risit Apollo.

*Car. i. ode 10.*

“ And Virgil, referring to Juno.  
 “ Adnuit, atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.

*Aen. iv. ver. 128.”*

(c) He insinuates, that the Monks scrupled not to say any thing against the Gen-  
 tils,



“ proper to excite displeasure, they persuaded the mildest (d) father  
 “ [of his people] among the Emperours. For these were really his  
 “ virtues, humanity, tenderesse, compassion, mildnesse, equity;  
 “ who (e) had rather save than destroy. But there were those who  
 “ gave juster counsel: that if such a thing had been done, the (f)  
 “ attempt should be punished, and care taken to prevent the like  
 “ for time to come. Yet he who thought he ought to have a (g)  
 “ Cadmean victorie, carried on his conquest. But after he had ta-  
 “ ken his own pleasures, he should have provided for his people,  
 “ and not have desired to appear great to those, who shun the la-  
 “ bours of the countrey, and converse in the (h) mountains, as they  
 “ say, with the former of all things. But let Your actions appear  
 “ excellent and praiseworthy to all men. There are at this time  
 “ many, so far friends, as to receive and empty your treasures, and  
 “ to whom Your empire is dearer than their own souls. But when  
 “ the time comes, that good counsel and real services are wanted,  
 “ they have no concern upon them, but to take care of themselves.  
 “ And if any one comes to them, and inquires, *what this means*,  
 “ they excuse themselves as free from all fault. They disown what  
 “ they have done, or pretend, *that they have obeyed the Emperour’s*  
 “ *order. And if there is any blame, he must see to it.* Such things  
 “ they say, when it is they who are guilty, who can give no account  
 “ of their actions. For what account can be given of such mis-

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 P. 29.

P. 30.

X 2

“ chiefs ?

tils, to incense the Emperours: charging them with conspiracies, and treasonable designs

(d) Gothofred supposeth, our author to intend *Valens*. *Got.* p. 61.

(e) Τὸ σῶζεν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολλύναι.

(f) Gothofred p. 61. supposes, *Libanius* to refer to the consultations of the Heathen magicians and soothsayers about a successor to *Valens*: of which there are accounts in divers authors. *Ammianus M.* l. 29. *Zosi-*

*mus.* l. 4. *Sozom.* l. 6. c. 35. lex 8. *C. Th. de Maleficiis.* Tom. 3. p. 127. And see hereafter in this volume the *State of Gentilism*, &c. *Seet.* ii.

(g) By a *Cadmean victorie* is to be understood a victorie, prejudicial to the Conquerour.

(h) The monasteries were generally at some distance from cities, in solitarie places. He particularly refers to the Monks, not far from *Antioch*.

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“ chiefs ? These men before others deny this to be their own work.  
“ But when they address You alone, without witnesses, they say,  
“ *they have been in this war serving Your familie.* They would de-  
“ liver your house from those who by land and sea, endeavor to de-  
“ fend your person : than which there is nothing greater You can  
“ receive from them. For these men under the name of friends,  
“ and protectors, telling stories of those, by whom they say they  
“ have been injured, improve your credulity into an occasion of do-  
“ ing more mischief.”

P. 31.

“ But I return to them, to demonstrate their injustice by what  
“ they have said : Say then, for what reason you destroyed that great  
“ Temple ? Not, because the Emperour approved the doing it.  
“ They who pull down a Temple, have done no wrong, if the Em-  
“ perour has ordered it to be done. Therefore they who pulled it  
“ down did not do wrong by doing what the Emperour approved  
“ of. But he who does that which is not approved by the Empe-  
“ rour, does wrong. Does he not ? You then are the men, who  
“ have nothing of this to say for what You have done. Tell me,  
“ why (i) this Temple of Fortune is safe, and the temple of Jupiter,  
“ and of Minerva, and of (k) Bacchus ? Is it, because You would  
“ have them remain ? No. but because no one has given you pow-  
“ er over them : which nevertheless you have assumed against those,  
“ which you have destroyed. How, then, are you not liable to  
“ punishment ? or, how can you pretend, that what you have done  
“ is right, when the sufferers have done no harm ? Of which charge  
“ there would have been some appearance, if You, o Emperour, had  
“ published an edict to this purpose : *Let no man within my Empire*  
“ *believe in the Gods, nor worship them, nor ask any good thing of*  
“ *them;*

(i) Ἐπει μὲν μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τετο-  
σῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ τῷ Διὶ, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς,  
καὶ τὸ τῷ Διονύσῳ· ἅρ' ὅτι βίλοισθ' ἐν αὐτὰ μέ-  
νειν ; Ὁυ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέ-  
δωκεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν. κ. λ. p. 31. in.

(k) These were Heathen Temples at An-  
tioch. Therefore this passage affords a good  
argument, that this Oration was composed in  
that city.

“ them, neither for himself, nor for his children, unless it be done in  
 “ silence and privately : But let all present themselves at the places where  
 “ I worship, and joyn in the rites there performed. And let them offer  
 “ the same prayers, which they do, and bow the head at (l) the hand of  
 “ him, who directs the multitude. Whoever transgresses this law, shall  
 “ be put to death. It was easie for You to publish such a law as  
 “ this. But (m) You have not done it. Nor have You in this mat-  
 “ ter laid a yoke upon the souls of men. But though You think  
 “ one way better than the other, yet You do not judge that other  
 “ to be an impiety, for which a man may be justly punished. Nor P. 32.  
 “ have You excluded those of that sentiment from honours, but (n)  
 “ have conferred upon them the highest offices, and have given  
 “ them access to Your table, to eat and drink with You. This You  
 “ have done formerly, and at this time, beside others, You have as-  
 “ sociated to Yourself (thinking it advantageous to Your government)  
 “ a man, who (o) swears by the Gods, both before others, and be-  
 “ fore Yourself : And You are not offended at it. Nor do You  
 “ think Yourself injured by those oaths : nor do You account him  
 “ a wicked man, who placeth his best hopes in the Gods. When  
 “ therefore You do not reject us, as neither did he who subdued the  
 “ Persians by arms, reject those of his subjects who differed from  
 “ him

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(l) The Deacons directed, and regu-  
 lated the behaviour of the people in Chri-  
 stian assemblies. See *Bingham's Antiqui-  
 ties*, &c. B. 15. ch. i. Vol. 6. p. 574. oc-  
 tavo edition, and elsewhere. At Heathen  
 Sacrifices there was a person, who had a  
 like office To this Libanius here alludes.  
 Gothofred's note, p. 63. is different. But  
 I think not so right.

(m) 'Ου μὴν ἡζιώσας γε, εὖ δ' ἐπέστησας ζυ-  
 γὸν ἐνταῦθα ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς. p.  
 31.

(n) . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὰς δέδωκας, καὶ συν-  
 σίτες ἐπέστησας.

(o) A man, who swears by the Gods, be-  
 fore others, and before Yourself.] What  
 Libanius says here, is very true This  
 passage itself may be reckoned one instance  
 of that freedom. I shall here allege ano-  
 ther from another Oration to the same  
 Theodosius, where he swears by Jupiter,  
 and all the Gods. Δακρύεις, ὦ βασιλεῦ.  
 Πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ σοι γένοιτο διὰ τὴν ἄγαν χρη-  
 σότητο' καὶ ἔγωγε, καὶ τὸν Δία, καὶ πάντας τὰς  
 Θεοὺς, τὸτ' ὀφείσθαι προσεδόκων. *De Vinea-*  
*tis*. p. 57. *Genevae*. 1631.

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“ him in this matter, what pretense have these to reject us? How  
 “ can these men reject their fellow-subjects, differing from them  
 “ in this matter? By what right do they make these incursions?  
 “ How do they seize other mens goods with the indignations of the  
 “ countreys? How do they destroy some things, and carry off o-  
 “ thers? adding to the injurie of their actions the insolence of glo-  
 “ rying in them. We, o Emperour, if You approve, and permit  
 “ these things, will bear them: not without grief indeed: but yet we  
 “ will shew, that we have learned to obey. But if You give them  
 “ no power, and yet they come, and invade our small remaining  
 “ substance, or our walls: know, that the owners of the countreys  
 “ will defend themselves.”

That is the whole Oration of this learned Sophist, *for the Tem-  
 ples, that they may be preserved.* And it may be considered as a la-  
 bored Apologie for Gentilism.

The translation has been made with the utmost care. And it has  
 been a difficult task. And though I have had the assistance of a  
 learned friend: I hardly dare to be positive, that it is right every  
 where. There are some ambiguous expressions, about which learn-  
 ed critics may hesitate, which is the true meaning. However, I  
 hope, the translation is generally exact and right.

*Conclud-  
 ing obser-  
 vations  
 upon this  
 Oration.*

V. It is very fit, that some remarks should now be made upon  
 this Oration. But it is not necessarie to observe particularly, what  
 confirmation Libanius affords to the accounts given by Christian Ec-  
 clestiaical Historians, in his agreement with them about the succe-  
 sion of the Roman Emperours, from Constantin to that time, whom,  
 though Libanius has not expressly named them, he has sufficiently  
 distinguished by some characters. The great aversion for *Constantin*,  
 the first Christian Emperour, and the affection for *Julian* upon ac-  
 count of his Gentilism, are apparent. The credulity and supersti-  
 tion of our learned author, even to old age, and the last period of  
 life, are also obvious. Nor will any omit to observe the great free-  
 dom



dom of speech, used with a Christian Emperour throughout the Oration. There are however several things, of which I would remind the reader, and put them together briefly, in the following order.

1. In this Oration we see the state of Christianity and Gentilism. Christianity was the prevailing religion. Heathenism was declining, and under many disadvantages and discouragements. Sacrifices were generally forbidden, and allowed of in but few places: though incense, and other rites, were not totally prohibited.

2. Libanius mentions a general title and character of Christian Bishops, who by his account had the highest office among them. They were called *Pastours*. And he particularly mentions *Flavianus*, at that time Bishop of Antioch.

3. Here is much discourse of a sort of people, who were called *Monks* by the Christians. According to our Author's account, they were numerous in the Eastern part of the Empire, which we also know very well otherwise. They were distinguished from other Christians by a black, or sad-coloured garment, by their fastings and abstemiousness, by singing hymns or prayers in their worship. They dwelt in distinct societies, in the mountains, or other places, at some distance from cities. They sometimes laboured with their hands, particularly, in weaving garments, probably for themselves, and other poor people. Here is a hint, that they had their support, partly at least, from the charitable contributions of others, as an encouragement and recompense for their extraordinarie devotions: and that upon account of their reputation for piety, they had a good deal of power and influence: but nevertheless were subject to the Bishop, or Pastour of the neighboring city, which was next to their dwellings: to whom application was made by those, who had any complaints against them.

4. About this time there were some Heathen Temples demolished, and some other offenses offered to the Heathens by these people, whom Libanius particularly describes by their *black garments*, or the  
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*habit of mourners.* Undoubtedly, this conduct is not to be justified. They ought not to have demolished temples without the Emperour's order. Such a thing could hardly be done by virtue of an Imperial Edict, but it would occasion some tumults and disturbances, much more, if they acted in this matter without authority. And if they plundered the Heathen people of any of their goods upon false pretences, that is another thing, for which they were justly blamable. It may be reasonably supposed, that Libanius aggravates things. But at the same time, it is to be feared, that they, whose zeal outran the laws in demolishing temples, did not rigorously observe the rules of justice and equity in other matters.

5. Libanius considers several arguments of the Christians for destroying the Temples, and offers divers things by way of answer : *That the Heathen people sacrificed in them, contrarie to law.* Which he denies. *That they killed oxen in the countreys, at the festivals :* in which he denies, that they did any thing contrarie to law. *That by destroying the Temples many had been converted to Christianity, and more would be so, if all the Temples were destroyed.* In answer to which, he denies, that any sincere converts were made by that method. *That it was for the benefit of mankind, that the Temples should be destroyed, and that if there were an end put to Heathen sacrifices, and all their rites, it would conduce to the prosperity of the Empire.* Which he not only denies, but affirms, that the grandeur and prosperity of the Roman Empire were owing to the worship of the Gods : and that all late calamities, which had befallen the Empire, were owing to the neglect of them.

6. In his answer to those arguments of the Christians, and in the course of his Oration, he offers a variety of arguments for the preservation of the Temples. That in them, and the rites belonging to them, consisted the prosperity and safety of the people, the countreys, the cities, and the stability of the Empire : That they who had destroyed any temples, or deprived them of their ornaments, and applied them to other uses, had been punished in themselves,

or

or their posterity: That the Temples at least might be saved, and applied to other uses: That they were some of the greatest ornaments of the cities: That to destroy them, and forbid the rites belonging to them, was persecution: which is unreasonable in itself, and contrarie to the Christian doctrine: Finally, that the Christians themselves were sensible of the benefit of Temples, and the sacrifices performed in them: particularly, that they were beneficial at Rome, and at Alexandria in Egypt: insomuch that they dared not to destroy the Temples in those cities. Consequently, they ought to allow them to be beneficial every where, and therefore they ought to be preserved.

It is not necessarie for me to inquire into the validity of these arguments. But in the notes, at the bottom of the pages, some observations have been made, especially upon the argument last mentioned.

7. And I would here farther observe concerning one of these arguments, that it seems to be weakly, and imprudently insisted upon at this time: *That the Christians were sensible, the Temples were beneficial in some places, and that they dared not to destroy them, fearing the bad consequences of it, as to the prosperity of the Empire, and the fruitfulness of the earth.* For, as this was certainly a mistake, so the open pleading of this argument would, in all probability, hasten the ruin of the temples. And the zealous Christians would hereupon endeavor to persuade the Emperour to grant effectual orders for destroying them, as necessarie to shew, they despised their deities: and as the only means of removing a pretense, by which the Heathen people were supported and encouraged in their erroneous and absurd superstition.

8. Libanius condemns force and compulsion in matters of religion. It had been well, if Heathen people had been always of this opinion. But time was, when the best arguments for moderation and toleration were rejected by them. And they not only denied Christians the use of their temples, but compelled them to worship



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the Gods, though contrarie to their consciences, by the terrour of the greatest evils, and inflicting upon them pains and punishments, disgracefull to the Roman government, and contrarie to all the principles of reason, and the sentiments of humanity.

9. Libanius owns, that the Christians also condemned persecuti-  
on: He says, *it was not permitted by their own laws, which commend persuasion, and condemn (\*) compulsion.* That is a proof, it was their avowed sentiment. Libanius seems not much to have studied the books of the New Testament. He took his notion of the Christian lawes, and the Christian Religion, from the professors and teachers of them.

And it might be easily shewn, that the Christians of old had alleged the same reasons and arguments against persecution, with those now made use of by this learned Sophist. They argued, that compulsion did not make real converts, but hypocrites only. So said Lactantius, (*p*) whom I shall transcribe, briefly, below.

10. The moderation of the Christian Emperours, of *Theodosius* in particular ought to be observed. That Emperour advanced several, yea many Heathens to governments and magistracies. And shewed favour to our *Libanius*, though he was so open in his zeal for Gentilism.

11. We may observe what we have seen upon many occasions in many others, that our Orator displays that popular argument, taken from the successes and victories of Rome, whilst a worshiper of the Gods. This was an argument, very proper to work upon the pas-  
sions.

(\*) See above. p. 146.

(*p*) “ Res est enim praeter ceteras voluntaria, nec imponi cuiquam necessitas potest, ut colat, quod non vult. Potest aliquis forsitan simulare, non potest velle. Denique cum metu tormentorum aliqui aut cruciatibus victi ad execranda sacrificia consenserint, numquam ultro faciunt,

quod necessitate fecerunt: sed data rursus facultate, ac reddita libertate, referunt se ad Deum, eumque et precibus et lachrymis placant. . . . Quid ergo promovet, qui corpus inquinat, quando immutare non potest voluntatem?” *Lactant. Epist. cap. 54.*



sions. The greatness of the Roman Empire had been attained, before the rise of the Christian Religion. It was easie to insinuate the danger of innovation, and to terrify men with the apprehension of the consequences of it. Doubtless this argument had a great influence upon many. But there were those, who were so far influenced by reason, as to believe, that the world had been in all times governed by the providence of the one God, creator of the heavens and the earth, not by inanimate images, or demons. These were the Christians. And upon the ground of this most just and reasonable persuasion, they stood the charge of their Heathen neighbours, and bore all the hatred, which they loaded them with, as enemies to the welfare of the Empire, and of the world in general, by forsaking the ancient worship of the Gods.

12. Nor has Libanius omitted the old and common reflexion upon the Christians, as if they had been all mean and ignorant mechanics. This reflexion had been always false and unjust, because there were in all times among the professors of Christianity some men of learning and good condition. But this argument should have been dropt, before this time. It might be turned against the Heathens. The Emperours themselves were now Christians, and had been so for some while, except *Julian*. Governours and Magistrates were now generally Christians. And there were many eminent wits, philosophers, and orators, among the Bishops and Christian people. To this greatness and splendour had the Christian Church attained, from mean and small beginnings indeed, by the force of truth, and a rational evidence, without, and against worldly terrours and allurements. A greater wonder this, and a work of greater power, as well as of more virtue, than the magnificence of Rome, and the grandeur of her Empire!

## C H A P. L.

## E U T R O P I U S.

- I. *His Work, and Time.* II. *His Character of Constantin, with Remarks.* III. *His Character of Julian.*

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*His Work  
and Time.*

I. EUTROPIUS (*a*) is called by Suidas (*b*) an Italian Sophist. He says, “he wrote an Abridgement, or Summarie of the Roman Historie, in the Latin tongue, and other things.” That (*c*) Summarie of the Roman Historie, from the foundation of Rome to the death of Jovian, is still exstant. He served under Julian in the Persian expedition, as he says (*d*) himself.

His Summarie was writ in the time of Valentinian and Valens. But it is inscribed to Valens only, and must have been writ about the year 370.

Our writers of Universal Ancient Historie say, after Tillemont: “He (*e*) seems to have been of the Senatorial order. For at the “head of his work he is distinguished with the title of *Clarissimus*, “which

(*a*) *Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. lib. 2. cap. viii. Fabr. Bib. Lat. lib. 3. cap. ix. Tom. 2. p. 576. &c. Tillem. Valens. art. 24.*

(*b*) Εὐτρόπιος Ἰταλὸς, σοφιστής· τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπιτομικῶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν γωνῇ ἔγραψε· καὶ ἄλλα. *Suid.*

(*c*) *Historiae Romanae Breviarium.*

(*d*) Hinc Julianus rerum potitus est, ingentique apparatu Parthis intulit bellum: cui expeditioni ego quoque interfui. *Brev. l. 10. cap. xvi.*

(*e*) *Univ. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 352.*

“ which was peculiar to Senators.” Nevertheless I do not see that title in any of the editions of his work, which I have: nor in the Greek paraphrase of *Paeanius*, though I have two editions of it.

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He is generally reckoned a Heathen. I think he must be so esteemed. If he had been a Christian, there would have appeared some intimations of it in the historie of Diocletian, and Constantin: especially when it is considered, that he wrote in the time of Christian Emperours.

II. Eutropius enlargeth in the historie and character of Constantin: but without taking any notice of his Christianity. He says, “ that (*f*) Constantin had a great and aspiring mind. He aimed at “ no less than to be sole Governour of the whole world. He blames “ him for his wars with *Licinius*, though he was related to him by “ marriage. And then censures him for putting *Licinius* to death, “ after he had overcome him, though he had promised him his life “ with the solemnity of an oath. He adds; that for a while Constantin’s reign was mild, and generally acceptable. But the long “ continuance of prosperity in some measure perverted him. And “ he then put to death several of his own relations, one an excellent “ man, [*meaning his son Crispus*] and his sister’s son, a hopefull youth, “ [*meaning Licinianus, or young Licinius*] then his wife, and after “ that many of his friends.”

*His Character of Constantin.*

With regard to all which it will be readily allowed, that we do not aim to justify any bad actions of Constantin. When I formerly wrote

(*f*) Constantinus tamen, vir ingens, et omnia efficere nitens quae animo praeparasset, simul principatum totius orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit: quamvis necessitudo illi et affinitas cum eo esset. Nam soror ejus Constantia, nupta Licinio erat. Varia deinceps inter eos bella, et pax reconciliata ruptaque est. Postremo *Licinius* navali et terrestri proelio victus apud

Nicomediam se dedit, et contra religionem sacramenti Thessalonicae privatus occisus . . . Verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum, et sororis filium, commodae indolis juvenem, interfecit, post numerosos amicos. *Eutrop. Brev. l. 10. cap. v. vi.*

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wrote the historie of this (g) Emperour, all these things were particularly considered. And I also alleged the judgements of divers learned men, some favorable, others less favorable to him.

The case of Licinius is there (b) particularly considered, and the judgements of divers learned men produced. I now add here the judgement of Mr. *Mosheim*. Who (i) first gives an account of the wars between Constantin and Licinius, and the event of them. And then in a note refers to Julian's Cæsars. And he observes, "that (k) Julian himself, than whom no man was less favourable to Constantin, has represented Licinius, as a great tyrant, and a very vicious man." Mr. *Mosheim* is also of opinion, that (l) Aurelius Victor has referred to Licinius's persecution of the Christians, and severely condemned the cruelty of it: I place his words below, that the curious and learned reader may the better consider the justness of his observation.

And I shall now refer to a place in Pagi, which also was omitted formerly. He is very particular in his answers to the several complaints

(g) See *Credib. P. 2 chap. 70. vol. 7. p. 403. . . 420.*

(b) p. 407. . . 409.

(i) *Vid. Inſt. S. 4. P. i. cap. i. § x. p. 145. 146.*

(k) Ipse Julianus, quo nemo iniquior fuit in Constantinum, non potuit, quin Licinium infamem tyrannum, vitiisque et sceleribus obrutum, diceret. *Mosheim. ibid.*

I think it best for me to transcribe here the passages of Julian, in his own original language. Λικίνιον δὲ μέχρι τῶν προθύρων ἐλθόντα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα πλημμελῶντα. ταχέως ὁ Μίνως ἐξήλασεν. *Julian. Cæs. p. 315. ed. Spanhem.*

Δύο γὰρ τυράννοι [Maxentium et Licinium.]

(ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθεῖ φάσαι) καθιρήκει: τὸν μὲν ἀπὸλερόν τε καὶ μαλακόν· τὸν δὲ, ἄθλόν τε, καὶ διὰ τὸ γήρας, ἀμερότερον δὲ θεῶς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐχθρίσω. *Id. ib. p. 329.*

(l) Liceat mihi hic observare, quod neglectum esse adhuc video, Aurelium Victorem, libro de Cæsaribus cap 41. Liciniane hujus vexationis mentionem his fecisse verbis. *Licinio ne infantium quidem ac nobilium philosophorum servili more cruciatus adhibiti modum fecere.* Philosophi, quos hic excruciasse Licinius dicitur, Christiani sine dubio sunt: quos multi, disciplinae nostrae parum gnari, Philosophorum sectam esse, opinati sunt. Intactum dimiserunt hunc locum Aurelii interpretes. *Mosheim. ibid.*



plaints before mentioned. “We (*m*) know not, he says, the reason, “why young *Licinius* was put to death: but possibly he was an “accomplice with his father. In the death of *Crispus*, Constantin “may have been rather unhappy, than criminal. *Fausta* may have “been condemned by a just sentence. As for *his many friends*, Eu- “tropius has named none. But some of them may at length have “been brought to condign punishment for having abused the Em- “perour’s credulity by their malicious accusations of others. Nor “has any one been named, who suffered from him for not being a “Christian, or that had one hair of his head touched upon that ac- “count.”

So Pagi, whom I have transcribed below in his own words, that they who please may attend to these observations. Undoubtedly, Heathen people in general were much prejudiced against Constantin, the first Roman Emperour, who made an open profession of Christianity. And we may be allowed to apologize for him, so far as can be done upon good foundations.

I may not omit to observe, that after all that has been already transcribed from him, Eutropius adds, still speaking of Constantin:

“For

(*m*) Et hæc quidem Eusebius [*lib. 4. cap. 54. de Vita Constantini.*] universim de cunctis, in quibus Constantinus ut cumque culpabilis videbatur aliquibus. De caedibus autem, si rationem in particulari reddere voluisset, dixisset forsitan cum ipso Baronio, Licinium juniorem ex favore Constantiæ natum, etsi causâ vulgo ignoraretur, verosimiliter tamen complicem patri suo fuisse: in Crispo filio infelicem magis quam reum: in Fausta conjugem etiam justum judicem appellandum. Numerosos amicos, quos successive interfectos scribit Eutropius. lib. 10. . . . credendum, plerosque id commeritos, quod:

nimiâ principis credulitate tandem deprehenderentur fuisse abusi ob suam exuberantem malitiam, ut loquitur Eusebius, et insatiabilem cupiditatem, qualis proculdubio fuit Sopater ille philosophus, tandem Abalabio agente interfectus: idque iuxta Dei dispensationem, quia Constantinum conatus a vera religione abalienare. . . . Et si plures quam alias tunc fuissent, quid hoc ad Fidem Christianam spectat, impingendumque Constantino nomen persecutoris, quamdiu nec unus quidem nominatur, cui ea de causâ vel pilus capitis tactus fuerit? Pagi ann. 324. n. xii.

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- A. D. 370. “ For (*n*) the former part of his reign he deserves to be reckoned  
 “ among the best princes, and for the later part he must be ranked  
 “ with those of a middle sort. He was distinguished by many good  
 “ qualities of body and mind. He was especially desirous of mili-  
 “ tary honour : and indeed was prosperous in his wars. Nor was  
 “ his success therein beyond the merit of his abilities.”

That is the judgement of *Eutropius*, whom I take to be rather a military man, than a Sophist. In his opinion Constantine was a great man, and no bad prince.

*His Character of Julian.*

- III. In his character of Julian, beside other things, he says, “ he  
 “ (*o*) was very ambitious of glory and honour : an enemy to the  
 “ Christian Religion : however, so as to abstain from blood.”

In some editions there is a word denoting that Julian, was *too great* an enemy to the Christians. But some learned editors are of opinion, that that word is an interpolation. And, probably, it is so. Without it, it is here implied, that Julian in his enmity to the Christian Religion bore hard upon the Christians, and incommoded them in divers respects, though he did not put them to death, as some other Emperors had done.

This is all I think needful to take from *Eutropius*. I should have been well pleased to find more in a work, which is so filled with a variety of events in many reigns, some since the rise of Christianity, and others before it.

(*n*) Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. Innumerae in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt : militaris gloriae appetentissimus, fortuna in bellis prospera fuit : verum ita, ut non superaret industriam. *Id. ib. l. 10. cap. vii.*

(*o*) Gloriam avidus, ac per eam animi plerumque immodici : nimis religionis Christianae infectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abstineret. *Lib. 10. cap. xvi.*

## C H A P. LI.

## AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

I. *His Time, and Work, and Character.* II. *Extracts from him.*

I. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (*a*) was a Greek, of a good familie at Antioch, who lived under Constantius, and the following Emperours, to the reign of Theodosius, and near the end of the fourth centurie. He had early a militarie post, called *Domestic Protector* : which is reckoned to be an argument, that he was of a good familie. From the year 350. to 359. he served in divers places under *Ursicinus*, Master of the Horse to Constantius. He was with Julian in his Persian expedition in 363. After which he seems to have continued in the East, and to have lived pretty much at Antioch, in which he was born. Which place he did not leave before the year 374. when he went to Rome, where he wrote his Historie, as appears from several parts of his work. Which is the  
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*His Time,  
and Work.*

(*a*) *Vile Auctorem ipsum.* Voss. *de Hist.* 181. Tillemont *H. E. Valens.* art. 23. *Latin.* lib. 2. cap. ix. Vales. *Praef. Fabric.* Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 612. et T. 3. p. 113. Pope Blount *Censura Auctorum.* p. xvi. p. 351. 352. Bayle *Dictiō. Hist. Crit. Marcellin.* The *Writers of Universal Ancient Historie.* vol.

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historie of the Roman affairs from Nerva to the death of Valens in 378.

This Historie consisted of one and thirty books, the first thirteen of which are lost, and the last eighteen only remaining : which begin at the 17. year of Constantius, of our Lord 353.

His stile is remarkably rough. But it is not strange, that the stile of a soldier, and a Greek, writing in Latin, should have some faults. Which however are fully compensated by his faithfullnesse and impartiality.

Some have thought him a Christian. But that is evidently a mistake, and they have had very few followers. They who have any doubts about this matter, may do well to consult the preface of (b) *Aarian Valesius* to his edition of this Author, and (c) Mr. *Bayle's* Dictionarie. As he wrote under Christian Emperours, he might not judge it proper to profess his religion unseasonably, and might think fit to be somewhat cautious in his reflexions upon Christianity.

Says Tillemont, " It (d) is manifest, that he is zealous for idols, and for such as worshiped them : and particularly for Julian the Apostate, whom he makes his hero, and on the contrarie he appears to be a great enemy to Constantius. Nevertheless he often speaks with some equity both of one and the other." \* \* \*

He

(b) Sed qui attente legerit, quae praeter cetera in fine libri xiv. de Adrastia et Nemese, quae in libro xvi. de Mercurio, quae in libro xxi. de numine Themidis, de Haruspicina, de Auguriis, variisque artibus futura praenoscendi, veteres Theologos suos et Phisicos ac Mysticos secutus scripsit : profecto fateri cogetur, eum cultui Deorum addictum ac devotum fuisse. *A. Vales. Praef.*

(c) See *Ammian. Marcellin. note (B)*.

(d) *L'Emp. Valens. art. 23.*

\* \* \* The late learned and excellent Mr. Mosheim was of opinion that *Marcellinus*, and some other learned men about this time, were a sort of neutrals. They neither rejected the Christian religion, nor forsook the religion of their ancestors. His argument may be seen quoted above. Vol. 3. p. 195. 196. Which appears to me a particularity in that great man. To me it seems, that *Ammianus* was as much a Heathen, as he would have been, if Christianity had never appeared



He is plainly an admirer of Julian. Nevertheless, he deserves, in my opinion, the character, which he gives of himself at the conclusion of his work (*f*) of a faithfull Historian. If I should have occasion to complain of some instances of partiality, I shall take the liberty to mention them.

Says Sueur: (*g*) “Ammianus Marcellinus is a celebrated Historian, who was in divers honourable militarie offices in the reigns of several Emperours. He speaks as an eye-witnesse of many things, of which he writes, and oftentimes of having a part in them. Though he was a Pagan, he shews no animosity against the Christian Religion, but expresth himself with a great deal of modestie, and represents things faithfully, and equitably, with great care, and in good order.”

As it appears from some things said in the work itself, that it was not finished before the year of Christ 390. I have placed him no earlier, than 380. though he had then flourished a great while: as is evident from what has been just said of him.

II. Having given this account of the Author himself, and his work, I now proceed to make extracts from him.

1. Ammianus informs us, “that (*b*) Constantin, desirous to know

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“ex-

peared in the world. I refer to a quotation of Valesius at p. 169. note (*b*) and particularly to Ammianus’s defense and recommendation of Heathen Augurie, and other like methods of investigating futurities, which are at the beginning of the 21. book of his Historie. And there are many other places, proper to support the same judgement concerning him.

(*f*) Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus, a principatu Nervae exorsus, ad usque Valentis interitum, pro virium expli-

cavi mensura: opus veritatis professum nunquam, (ut arbitror,) sciens silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. *Ammian. l. 31. cap. xvi. sub fin.*

(*g*) *Hist. de l’Eglise et de l’Empire. A. 384. p. 446.*

(*b*) Domitiano crudeli morte consumpto, Musonius ejus successor Orientem Praetoriani regebat potestate Praefecti, sacundiâ sermonis utriusque clarus: unde sublimius quam sperabatur eluxit. Constantinus enim, cum limatius superstitionum

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“ exactly the opinions of several sects, the Manicheans in particular,  
“ and the like, and not finding any one fit for that purpose, he ac-  
“ cepted, and employed *Strategius*, who had been recommended to  
“ him. And he discharged that office so much to satisfaction, that  
“ the Emperour ordered, that for the future he should be called *Mu-*  
“ *sonianus*.”

That must be reckoned a curious passage: though we are not acquainted with the report made after inquiry. Nor do I know, that this is mentioned any where else by any other ancient writer now extant.

*Strategius*, who now approved himself to Constantin, was afterwards in several high offices. In the reign of Constantius he was for a while Proconsul of Achaia, and in the year 354. was made by the same Emperour, Prefect of the Praetorium in the East.

I transcribe in the margin more of this paragraph of Ammianus, than I have translated. He says, that *Strategius* was noted for his skill in both languages, meaning Greek and Latin. And he commends him for the moderation; and mildness, with which he governed the people of the provinces, who had been committed to his care. As does also (i) Libanius. I must likewise refer to (k) Gothofred.

2. In the historie of affairs in the year 355. he says, “ that (l) *Le-*  
“ *ontius*,

num quaereret sectas, Manichaeorum, et  
similium, nec interpres inveniretur idone-  
us, hunc igitur commendatum, ut suffi-  
cientem elegit: quem officio functum pe-  
rite, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante  
*Strategium* dictitatum. Et ex eo percur-  
sis honorum gradibus multis ascendit ad  
praefecturam: prudens alia, tolerabilisque  
provinciis, et mitis, et blandus. &c. *Am-*  
*mian. l. 15 cap. xiii.*

(i) *Liban. de Vita sua p. 29. C. D.*

(k) *Vid. Musonianus. in Prosopogr. Cod. Theodos.*

(l) Hoc administrante Leontio, Liberius, Christianae legis antistes, a Constantio ad Comitatum mitti praeceptus est, tamquam Imperatoris iussis, et plurimorum sui consortium decretis obsequens, in re, quam brevi textu percurram Athanasium episcopum eo tempore apud Alexandriam, ultra professionem altius se effectentem, sciscitantiq; conatum externa, ut  
pro-

" *ontius*, who was then Prefect of Rome, having performed an act of  
 " justice becoming his office, he received an order from Constantius,  
 " to send to him, at Milan, *Liberius*, a Priest of the Christian law,  
 " [*Bishop of Rome*] as having been disobedient to the commands of  
 " the Emperour, and the decrees of many of his brethren. And I  
 " shall give a short account of the affair. *Athanasius*, Bishop of A-  
 " lexandria at that time, taking more upon him, than became his  
 " character, as was confidently reported, was deposed by a nume-  
 " rous assemblie, which they called a synod. For by his great skill  
 " in the augurie of birds, and other arts of prognostication, he was  
 " said to have often foretold future things. He was also charged  
 " with other things contrarie to the Christian law. When *Libe-*  
 " *rius* was desired by the Emperour to assent to the rest, and to sub-  
 " scribe to the sentence for removing him [*Athanasius*] from the Sacer-  
 " dotal See; he obstinately refused to comply, again and again declar-  
 " ing, that it was the height of wickednesse to condemn a man un-  
 " seen and unheard: thus openly withstanding the Emperour's will  
 " and pleasure. For he being ever averse to *Athanasius*, though he  
 " knew the thing was already done effectually, yet he was very de-  
 " sirous to have it confirmed by the authority also of that superior  
 " power, which belongs to the Bishops of the eternal City. *Liberius*  
 " not complying, he was sent for to come to the Court. And was at  
 " length

prodidere rumores assidui, caetus in unum  
 quaesitus ejusdem loci multorum (synodus  
 ut appellant) removit a sacramento quod  
 obtinebat. Dicebatur enim satidicarum  
 sortium fidem, quaeve augurales portende-  
 rent alites, scientissime callens, aliquoties  
 praedixisse futura. Super his intendeban-  
 tur ei alia quoque a proposito legis abhor-  
 rentia, cui praesidebat. Hunc per sub-  
 scriptionem abjicere sede Sacerdotali, pa-  
 ria sentiens ceteris, jubente Principe. *Li-*  
*berius* monitus perseveranter renitebatur,

nec visum hominem, nec auditum dam-  
 nare, nefas ultimum saepe exclamans, a-  
 perte scilicet recalcitrans Imperatoris arbi-  
 trio. Id enim ille, *Athanasio* semper in-  
 festus, licet seiret impletum, tamen auc-  
 toritate quoque, quâ potiores aeternae  
 Urbis Episcopi, firmari desiderio niteba-  
 tur ardenti. Quo non impetrato, *Liberi-*  
*us* aegre populi metu, qui ejus amore  
 flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis  
 medio potuit absportari. *Lib. 15. cap.*  
*vii.*

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“ length carried away [to Milan] under a strong guard in the night  
“ time, for fear of the people, by whom he was dearly beloved.”

So writes Ammianus, representing this part of the conduct of Liberius, not disagreeably to the accounts of our Ecclesiastical (*m*) writers. Liberius however was not always steady. But there is no necessity, that I should now concern my self any farther in his history.

3. We must take another passage concerning Constantius. In his character of this Emperour, at the end of his reign, Ammianus says :  
“ The (*n*) Christian Religion, which in itself is plain and simple,  
“ he adulterated with a childish superstition. For studying it with  
“ a vain curiosity, instead of sober modestie, he raised many dissen-  
“ sions, which when caused, he cherished, and encreased by a strife  
“ about words. And the public carriages were even worn out by  
“ the troops of Priests galloping from all quarters to their synods,  
“ as they call them, to bring the whole sect to their particular opi-  
“ nion.”

Most persons will allow this to be a judicious passage. *First*, he calls the Christian Religion *a plain and simple religion*. They who best understand the New Testament, will most admire the justnesse of this observation. *Secondly*, the *strife about words*, very probably has a reference to those two words, *homoïusius*, and *komoioïusius*, of the *same*, and *the like substance*, which caused so much disturbance among Christians in the fourth centurie. *Thirdly*, we plainly see, that the Arians rendred themselves ridiculous, and exposed the Christian

(*m*) *Id. Theodoret. l. 2. cap. 16. Sozom. l. 4. cap. 9. Athanas. Hist. Arian. ad Monachos. p. 364. . . . 368. edit. Bened. Ruffin H. E. l. i. cap. 20. Sulp. Sever. Hist. l. 2. cap. 39. al. cap. 55. et 56.*

(*n*) Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens: in qua scrutanda perplexius, quam

componenda gravius, excitavit discidia plurima: quæ progressa fufius aluit concertatione verborum: ut catervis Antistitum iumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus per synodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur arbitrium, rei vehiculariæ succideret nervos. *Amm. M. l. 21. cap. xvi. seu ult.*



stian Religion, by the multitude of their synods in this (o) reign. Nor were the Heathen people only, but the Catholicks likewise were concerned for the poor post-horses: as appears from a passage of Hilarie (p) observed by Valesius in his notes upon this place of Ammianus. I shall also transcribe below a part of the conference at Milan between Liberius, and the Emperour Constantius, and Eusebius, his great Chamberlain, as it stands in (q) Theodoret. *Fourthly*, the design of these Councils was impertinent, namely, to bring all Christians to an agreement in some words and phrases, which were the invention of a vain and eager curiosity: when it was sufficient for Christians to agree in the main things of religion. *Lastly*, take away the additions of human invention, and Christians might agree, and be of one mind. Which is a very desirable thing, and is the command and earnest request of Christ, and his Apostles. But till that is done, unity is in vain expected, and Christianity will be reproached.

4. In the year 355. Constantius made Julian Cesar, and sent him into Gaul. “ When (r) he came to Vienne, he was received with  
“ great rejoycings. And, says Ammianus, at that time an old wo-  
“ man, who had lost her sight, asked, who it was, that was then  
“ making his entrance into the city. And being informed, that it  
“ was *Julian, the Cesar*, she cried out: *This man will repair the*  
“ *temples of the Gods.*”

5. Am-

(o) Some notice was taken of their numerous creeds, and synods, formerly. *Credib. vol. vii. ch. 69. §. vi. p. 273. . . . 276.* Where also this same passage of Ammianus is quoted.

(p) *Cursusque ipse publicus attritus ad nihilum reducitur. Hilar. Fragmentum iii. p. 1320. C. Paris. 1693.*

(q) *Επίκλητος ἐπίσκοπος ἔπεν. Αλλ' ὁ δρόμος τῶν δημοσίων ὅχι ὑποσέσεται τῶν χρημάτων τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων παρίδας. Λιβέριος· ε*

*χρήσαν ἔχει τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ καὶ δημοσίου δρόμος. κ. λ. Theod. l. 2. cap. xvi p. 94. B.*

(r) Cumque Viennam venisset, ingredientem optatum quidem et impetrabilem [al. *Imperatorem*] honorifice susceptura omnis aetas concurrebat et dignitas. . . . Tunc acrius quaedam orba luminibus, cum percontando quinam esset ingressus, Julianum Caesarem comperisset, exclamavit, hunc Deorum templa reparaturum. *Id. l. 15. cap. viii. fin.*

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5. Ammianus gives this account of Julian's dissimulation of his real sentiments, even after he was declared Emperour and Augustus by the soldiers at Paris, and after he had accepted of those titles. It is in the historie of affairs at the begining of the year 361. Julian was then marching toward Constantinople, and was got as far as Vienne in Gaul.

" In (s) the mean time, says Ammianus, making no alteration in  
 " the present state of things, but with a sedate and composed mind  
 " disposing matters according as incidents led him, and by degrees  
 " confirming his authority, that the encrease of his power might be  
 " proportionable to the encrease of his dignity. And that he might  
 " secure the affections of all, he pretended to be still a Christian,  
 " though he had for some good while before secretly forsaken that  
 " religion, and practised southsaying, and augurie, and other things,  
 " which are always performed by the worshipers of the Gods. But  
 " those things were done privatly, and were known to a very few  
 " only, who were acquainted with all his secrets. And that this  
 " change might be still concealed for a while, on a holiday, which  
 " the Christians keep in the month of Januarie, and call the Epi-  
 " phanie, he went to their church, and publicly worshiped the De-  
 " ity, according to their custom."

By Zonarus the same storie is told in this manner. " Though  
 " (t) Julian had long since renounced Christianity, fearing the sol-  
 " diers,

(s) Agebat itaque nihil interim de statu rerum praesentium mutans, sed animo tranquillo et quieto incidentia cuncta disponens, paulatimque se corroborans, ut dignitas augmento virium quoque congruerent incrementa. Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhaerere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desierat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinae, auguriis-

que intentus, et ceteris, quae Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut haec interim celarentur, feriarum die, quern celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. L. 21. cap. ii. fin.

(t) Ἦσαν δὲ τὴν εἰς χριστὸν ἐξομολόγησιν, ἐυλαβήτο διὰ τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐιδως ἡγεῖν ζυμπάντας χριστιανὸς ὄντας. Διδ-  
 ους-

“ diers, whom he knew to be almost all Christians, the better to  
 “ cover his wickedness, he gave leave to all to follow their own re-  
 “ ligious rites. And on the day of our Saviour’s nativity he went  
 “ to church, and worshiped, that he might seem to agree with the  
 “ soldiers.” Zonarus calls that *our Saviour’s nativity*, which Am-  
 mianus calls *the Epiphany*. They mean the same day, the sixth of  
 Januarie, on which many Christians in the East celebrated both our  
 Saviour’s nativity and baptism.

6. He gives this account of Julian’s conduct in matters of reli-  
 gion, after the death of Constantius, and after his entrance into Con-  
 stantinople.

“ And (u) though from his early youth he had been inclined to  
 “ the worship of the Gods, as he grew up, his affection for it was  
 “ greatly encreased. But being full of fears, he performed only  
 “ some of the rites belonging to it, and with the utmost secrecy.  
 “ But when the causes of his fears were removed, and he found,  
 “ the time was come that he could freely do what he pleased, he  
 “ discovered the secrets of his mind : and by plain and express e-  
 “ dicts he ordered the temples to be opened, and sacrifices to  
 “ be offered in the worship of the Gods. And that he might the  
 “ better

συσιάζων τὴν ἐαυτοῦ κακίαν, ἕκαστον ἐκέλευε  
 ἑρπύκενεν ὡς βέλαιτο. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς γενεθλίας  
 τῆ σωτήρος ἡμέρας ἐρεσσηκίας ἐισήλθεν εἰς τὸν  
 ναὸν, καὶ προσκυνήσας, ἐν ὁμόδοξοι τοῖς στρατιώ-  
 ταις δοκῇ, ἀπαγγέλλεν. Zonar.

(u) Et quamquam a rudimentis pueri-  
 tiae primis inclinatio erat erga numinum  
 cultum, paulatimque adulescens desiderio  
 rei flagrabat, multa metuens tamen agita-  
 bat quaedam ad id pertinētia, quantum  
 fieri poterat occultissime. Ubi vero abo-  
 litis quae verebatur, adesse sibi liberum  
 tempus faciendi quae vellet, advertit, sui  
 pectoris patefecit arcana : et planis abso-

lutisque decretis aperiri templa, arisque  
 hostias admoveri ad Deorum statuit cul-  
 tum. Utque dispositorum roboraret ef-  
 fectum, dissidentes Christianorum Antisti-  
 tes cum plebe discissa in palatium intro-  
 missos monebat, ut civilibus discordiis  
 confopitis quisque nullo vetante religi-  
 onis suae ferviret intrepidus. Quod age-  
 re ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augere li-  
 centia, non timeret unanimantem postea  
 plebem : nullas infestas hominibus bestias,  
 ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum,  
 expertus. L. 22. cap. v.

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“ better secure the successe of his designs, having sent for the disagreeing Bishops of the Christians, together with the divided people, and they being introduced into his palace: he told them, that all civil discord being laid aside, every one might practise his own religious rites without fear or molestation. Which he did with this view, that liberty encreasing their dissensions, he might have nothing to fear from their unanimity among themselves. For he had observed, that no beasts were so cruel to men, as the generality of Christians are to one another.”

7. Having (x) commended Julian for some alterations for the better in proceedings at law, he adds: “ But that was an unmercifull law, and to be forever buried in silence, which forbid the Christians to teach grammar or rhetorick.”

He speaks again of this law in his general character of Julian after his death. “ His (y) laws he says, were generally right, and commendable for their plainnesse and perspicuity, whether they commanded, or forbid the doing any thing, except a few only. Among which must be reckoned that unmercifull law, which forbid the Christian Professors of Rhetorick and Grammar, to teach, unless they came over to the worship of the Gods.”

Of this we said something formerly in the chapter of Julian: to which place therefore, the reader is now (z) referred.

8. Soon after the first of those two passages he relates the murder of George, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, by the Heathen people of that place. Which must have happened near the end of the year

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(x) Post multa enim etiam jura quaedam correxerat in melius, ambagibus circumcisiss, indicentia liquide, quid juberent fieri, vel vetarent. Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros Rhetoricos et Grammaticos, ritus Christiani cultores. *Lib. 22. cap. x. fin.*

(y) Namque et jura condidit non modesta, absolute quaedam jubentia fieri, vel arcentia, praeter pauca. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros Grammaticos Christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum. *Lib. 25. cap. v.*

(z) See before, p. 40. 41.



362. In this account I may omit some particulars, for the sake of brevity. By (\*) Julian's order, Artemius, Duke, or Governour of Egypt, had been put to death. This seems to have been very acceptable to the Heathen people of that city. "When (a) they "heard of that, as Ammianus says, they turned their rage against "George the Bishop, who had often abused them, and, as I may

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say,

(\*) *Of Artemius may be seen Theodoret. H. E. l. 3. cap. 18. And compare Basnag. Ann. 362. num. xi.*

(a) Cumque tempus interstetisset exiguum, Alexandrini Artemii comperto interitu, quem verebantur ne cum potestate reversus (id enim minatus est) multos laederet ut offensus, iram in Georgium verterunt Episcopum, vipereis, ut ita dixerim, morsibus ab eo saepius appetiti. In fullonio natus, ut ferebatur, apud Epiphaniam Ciliciae oppidum, auctusque in damna complurium, contra utilitatem suam, reique communis, Episcopus Alexandriae est ordinatus, in civitate, quae suoapte motu, et ubi causae non suppetunt, seditionibus crebris agitur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides. His effertis hominum mentibus Georgius quoque ipse grave accesserat incentivum, apud patulas aures Constantii multos exinde incusans, ut ejus recalcitrantes imperiis: professionisque suae oblitus, quae nihil nisi justum suadet et lene, ad delatorum ausa feralia desciscebant. . . . Ad haec mala id quoque addiderat, unde paullo post trusus est in exitum praeceps. Reversus ex comitatu Principis, cum transferret per speciosum Genii templum, multitudo stipatus ex more, flexibus ad aedem ipsam luminibus, *Quamdiu*, inquit, *sepulchrum hoc stabit?* Quo audito velut

fulmine multi perculsi, metuentesque ne illud quoque tentaret evertere, quicquid poterant, in ejus perniciem clandestinis insidiis concitabant. Ecce autem repente perlato laetabili nuntio, indicante extinctum Artemium, plebs omnis elata gaudio insperato vocibus horrendis infrendens, Georgium petit: raptimque diversis mulcandi generibus proterens et conculcans: divaricatis pedibus. . . . Quo non contenta multitudo immanis dilaniata cadavera peremptorum camelis imposita vexit ad littus: iisdemque subdito igne crematis, cineres projecit in mare, id metuens, ut clamabat, ne collectis supreniis, aedes illis exstruerentur, ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, peritule cruciabiles poenas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc Martyres appellantur. Poterantque miserandi homines ad crudele supplicium ducti, Christianorum adjumento defendi, ni Georgii odio omnes indiscrete flagrabant. Hoc comperto, Imperator ad vindicandum facinus nefandum erectus, jamque expetiturus poenas a noxiis ultimas, mitigatus est lenientibus proximis. Mitoque edicto, acri oratione scelus detestabatur admissum, minatus extrema, si deinde teneum fuerit aliquid, quod justitia vetet et leges. *lib. 22. cap. xi.*

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“ say, with viparous malice : a man born, as it was said, in a ful-  
 “ ling mill, at Epiphania, a town in Cilicia, and who had grown  
 “ great to the ruin of many. And at length neither for his own,  
 “ nor for the public good, was ordained Bishop of Alexandria; a  
 “ place, as is well known, very apt to go into sedition. To those  
 “ turbulent and exasperated spirits George himself added fuel, often  
 “ accusing people to Constantius, whose ears were too open to such  
 “ things, as disaffected to his government. Thus forgetting the  
 “ office of his profession, which recommends nothing but justice and  
 “ lenity, he went into the vile methods of informers. . . . To all  
 “ these provocations he added this also, which soon hastened his  
 “ ruin. Being returned home from the Imperial Court, as he was  
 “ passing by the beautifull temple of Genius, accompanied with a  
 “ numerous attendance, as usual, turning his eyes to the temple it-  
 “ self, *How long*, says he, *shall this sepulchre stand?* Being greatly  
 “ enraged, they fell upon George, and some others, and killed  
 “ them. The mad multitude not content with that, took the man-  
 “ gled bodies of those whom they had killed, and placing them up-  
 “ on the backs of camels, they carried them to the sea-side : and  
 “ having burnt them, threw the ashes into the sea, least, as they  
 “ said, if their reliques were gathered up, they should have tem-  
 “ ples built to their honour, as had been done for others : who when  
 “ required to renounce their religion, had suffered the most cruel  
 “ torments, and even a most glorious death, with unshaken con-  
 “ stance, and are now called Martyrs. Those unhappy men, who  
 “ were thus destroyed, might have been saved with the assistance of  
 “ the Christians : [*meaning, I suppose, the Catholics, friends of Atha-*  
 “ *nasius :*] but that all in general, without exception, were filled  
 “ with hatred of George. The Emperour, when he heard of this  
 “ transaction, was much provoked, and intended to inflict an exem-  
 “ plarie punishment. But his displeasure was moderated by those  
 “ who were about him. Whereupon he sent an edict to the Alex-  
 “ andrians, severely reprovng them for this cutrage, and threaten-  
 “ ing.

“ ing the heaviest penalties, if they should again do any thing contrarie to justice and the laws ”

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Of this transaction we took some notice before, in the life (*b*) of Julian, and observed, that the Letter, or Edict, here mentioned, as sent upon this occasion, is still extant. However, I have thought it best to bring up this storie again, as related by Ammianus.

And upon this account of our Heathen Author, we may observe, that Ammianus knew very well, *that the office of a Christian Bishop taught him nothing but justice and lenity.* Farther, he was acquainted with the sufferings of Christians in former times. And though they are here mentioned by the by only, if I do not misunderstand him, he appears to have had a high opinion of their fidelity, and fortitude, in patiently enduring the most exquisite tortures, rather than do any thing contrarie to the conviction of their own minds. And he esteemed their death *glorious*, and honorable to themselves.

It seems to me very probable, that if we still had remaining the first books of this work of Ammianus, which are now irrecoverably lost; we should have seen many things relating to Christian affairs, that would have been instructive, and entertaining.

9. Whilst Julian was at Antioch, in his way to the Persian war, the temple of Apollo at Daphne, near that city, was suddenly burnt down on the 22. day of October 362. “ By (*c*) which sudden and terrible accident, says Ammianus, the Emperour’s displeasure was greatly raised : so that he commanded a more than ordinarie strict inquirie to be made by tortures into the cause of it, and ordered  
“ the

(*b*) p. 97.

(*c*) Eodem tempore die xi. Kalend. Novembrium amplissimum Daphnaci Apollinis sanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus Rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulachrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti equiparans magnitudinem, subita vi flammarum exustum est. Quo tam

atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque Imperatorem ira provexit, ut quaestiones agitari juberet solito acriores; et majorem ecclesiam Antiochiae claudi. Suspicabatur enim id Christianos egisse stimulos invidia, quod idem templum inviti videbant ambitioso circumdari peristylis. L. 22. cap. xiii.

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“ the great Church at Antioch to be shut up. For he suspected,  
“ that the Christians out of envie had set fire to the temple, because  
“ it was surrounded by a magnificent colonnade.”

10. The passage to be next taken would be this Author's account of Julian's design to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. But that has been already quoted in the chapter of (*d*) Julian, and nothing farther needs to be now said about it.

11. Of Jovian who succeeded Julian, Ammianus says, he (*e*) was a zealous Christian.

12. Liberius, Bishop of Rome, before mentioned, having died in September, 366. the third year of Valentinian and Valens, there was a warm contention for his place between *Damasus*, and *Ursinus*, who was deacon in that church. Ammianus speaks of this matter at the year 367.

“ *Damasus* (*f*) and *Ursinus*, says he, heated with an extravagant  
“ ambition for the Episcopal seat, were so fierce in their con-  
“ tention,

(*d*) See above, p. 53.

(*e*) Christianae legis idem studiosus . . .  
*L. 25. cap. x. sub fin.*

(*f*) *Damasus* et *Ursinus* supra humanum modum ad rapiendam Episcopatus sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflabantur, adusque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis : quae nec corrigere sufficiens Juventius nec mollire, coactus vi magna cessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat *Damasus*, parte quae ei favebat instante. Constatque in basilica Sicinnini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum : effertamque diu plebem aegre postea delentam. Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem

rerum considerans Urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt, omni contentione laterum jurgari debere : cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut dentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspicte vestiti, epulas curantes profundas, adeo ut earum convivia regales superent mensas. Qui esse poterant beati revera, si magnitudine Urbis despecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem Antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent : quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos. *L. 27. cap. iii. fin.*



“ tention, that on each side the quarrel proceeded to wounds, and  
 “ even to death. *Juventius* [Prefect of Rome] not being able to  
 “ stop, nor to compose the difference, was compelled to retire into  
 “ the suburbs. *Damasus* overcame in the contest, the party that  
 “ was with him prevailing. It is certain, that in the basilick of Si-  
 “ cinnius, where was an assemblie of the Christians, an hundred and  
 “ seven and thirty were killed in one day. And it was a good while,  
 “ before the exasperated multitude were brought to good temper.  
 “ Nor do I deny, considering the pomp and wealth of the City,  
 “ that they who are desirous of such things, are in the right to con-  
 “ tend with all their might for what they are fond of: since having  
 “ obtained it, they are sure of being enriched with the offerings  
 “ of matrons, and will ride in chariots, and be delicatly clad, and  
 “ may make profuse entertainments, surpassing the tables of princes.  
 “ But they might be happy indeed, if despising the grandeur of the  
 “ City, which they allege as an excuse for their luxurie, they would  
 “ imitate the life of some countrey-Bishops, who by their tempe-  
 “ rance in eating and drinking, by the plainnesse of their habit, and  
 “ the modestie of their whole behaviour, approve themselves to the  
 “ eternal Deity, and his true worshippers, as men of virtue and  
 “ piety.”

Under the year 368, he greatly commends *PRAETEXTATUS*, who had succeeded *Juventius*, as Prefect of Rome, and says, “ that (g) by his wisdom and good conduct, the disturbance was composed, which the quarrels of the Christians had occasioned, and *Ursinus* having been banished, tranquillity was restored.”

What *Ammianus* here writes, is very true. *Damasus* was Bishop of Rome after *Liberius*. And *Socrates* says, that (h) in the conten-  
 tion

(g) Cujus auctoritate justisque veritatibus suffragiis tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum jurgia concitarunt, pulsoque *Ursino*, alta quies parva, proposito civium Romanorum apertissima. *Lib. 27. cap. ix.*

(h) Ψαρίαζον ἔν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, οὐ διό τινα πείσιν ἢ ὀφείσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶ μὲνον τίς ὀρέλει τὸ ἐπιστοπικὴ ἐρεῖ ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι. *Socrat. H. E. l. 4. cap. xxix.*

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tion between Damasus and Ursinus many were killed. And he observes, "that the ground of the contention was not any heresie, or difference of opinion, but only which of them should be Bishop." And Sozomen, in the very words of Ammianus, says, this (*i*) contention proceeded to wounds and death.

It is plain from Ammianus, that at that time the Bishops of Rome lived in great splendour, and that this contention about the Bishoprick was a scandalous thing. There were, however, some countrey-bishops, who not having the temptation of riches, were humble and modest, as became their profession. In short, it was the opinion of *Ammianus*, that a man may be a good Bishop without being rich: and that piety and modestie do more recommend religion, than a great deal of state and splendour. Once more, in the opinion of this Heathen author, a Christian Bishop, who despises grandeur, may be a more happy man, than he who enjoys the grandeur even of the city of Rome, is enriched with the presents of Ladies, rides in a coach, is delicatly clad, and is able to give more than princely entertainments.

13. As we have seen in Ammianus some notice taken of the splendour of the Bishop of Rome at that time; I may add a short storie from Jerome concerning PRAETEXTATUS, just mentioned, who was a very eminent man, and was well acquainted with Damasus, and as may be supposed, saw, how he lived. Jerome then tells us, "that (*k*) *Praetextatus*, in conversation with Damasus, would "sometimes pleasantly say to him: *Make me Bishop of Rome, and I "will presently be a Christian."*

14. Ammianus relates several cruelties of Valentinian. As Christianity is mentioned in some of them, I am likewise obliged to ob-  
serve

(*i*) ὡς μέχρι καὶ τραυμάτων καὶ θανάτου κα-  
κὸν προελθεῖν. Soz. l. 6. cap. xxiii. p.  
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(*k*) Misericordis Praetextatus, qui desig-  
natus Consul est mortuus. Homo sacri-

legus, et idolorum cultor, solebat ludens  
beato Papae Damaso dicere: *Facite me  
Romanae Urbis Episcopum, et ero protinus  
Christianus.* Hieron. Ep. 38. al. 61. Tom.  
4. p. 310. fin.

serve these passages. “ Among (*m*) his cruelties, says he, that were  
 “ much observed, this was one. Diodorus, who had been his  
 “ steward, and three Sergeants of the Vicar of the Prefect of Italie,  
 “ were cruelly put to death by him upon the complaint of a cer-  
 “ tain Count, whom Diodorus had judicially summoned to appear  
 “ before the Vicar, and to whom the Sergeants by orders of the  
 “ Vicar, had delivered the summons. Whose memorie, says Am-  
 “ mianus, is still honoured by the Christians at Milan, who call the  
 “ place where they were buried, *The Innocents*. Then also in the  
 “ case of one Maxentius, when on account of a sentence legally  
 “ pronounced, he ordered the officers of three towns to be put to  
 “ death. Whereupon Eupraxius, the Quæstor, interceded in this  
 “ manner: *Be more moderate, o most pious of Princes. For they,*  
 “ *whom you command to be put to death as guilty, the Christian religion*  
 “ *reverenceth as Martyrs, that is, men acceptable to the Deity.*”

15. Ammianus (*n*) speaks afterwards of another cruelty of Valen-  
 tinian, in putting to death a Presbyter of the Christian Religion up-  
 on account of Octavianus, formerly Proconsul. But the passage is  
 defective, some words being wanting. It is supplied by Valesius in

H

(*m*) Eminuit tamen per id tempus inter  
 alias humilium neces, mors Dioclis, ex  
 Comite Largitionum Illyrici, quem ob  
 delicta levia flammis iussit exuri: et Dio-  
 dori ex Agente in rebus, triumque Ap-  
 paritorum potestatis Vicariæ per Italiani,  
 ob id necatorum atrociter, quod apud eum  
 questus est Comes, Diodorum quidem ad-  
 versus se civiliter implorasse juris auxili-  
 um, officiales vero iussu judicis aulos mo-  
 nere proficiscentem, ut responderet ex le-  
 ge. Quorum memoriam apud Mediola-  
 num colentes nunc usque Christiani, lo-  
 cum ubi sepulti sunt. *Ad Innocentes appel-*

lañt. Dein cum in negotio Maxenti et  
 iustdam Pannonii ob executionem recte  
 maturari praeceptum tunc opus eorum  
 ordines mactari iussisset, interpellavit Eu-  
 praxius tunc Quæstor: et, *Parcius, in-*  
*quit, agito, Piiſſime Principum. Hos enim,*  
*quos interfici tamquam noxios jubes, ut Mar-*  
*tyras, id est, Divinitati acceptos, colit reli-*  
*gio Christiana. Lib. 27. cap. vii.*

(*n*) Epifoten aliquem ritus Christiani  
 Presbyterum . . . . tam Octavianum ex  
 proconsule . . . offerentium auctore licet  
 tardius ad sua redire permissio. *Amm. l. 29.*  
*cap. iii. p. 614.*

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his notes upon Ammianus, to be the same thing, which is inserted by Jerome in his Chronicle, at the year of Christ 372. who says: "In (*n*) this year a Presbyter of Sirmium was most unjustly beheaded, because he did not discover Octavianus, formerly Proconsul, who lay concealed at his house."

16. In his character of Valentinian, at the end of his reign, Ammianus says: "Lastly (*o*) he was remarkable for the moderation of his government, that he stood neuter between all the diversities of religion, and was troublesome to none, nor did he require any to follow either this, or that. Nor did he strive by severe edicts to bend the necks of his subjects to his own way of worship, but left matters untouched in the condition he found them."

Socrates says, "that (*p*) Valentinian was favorable to the men of his own opinion, [*meaning the Homœisians*], without being troublesome to the Arians." Which is very true. But the observation of Ammianus is more extensive, including moderation toward Hellenists, as well as Christians. An instance of this may be hereafter taken notice of by us from (*q*) Zosimus, and perhaps from some other writers also.

Having alleged the principal passages of Ammianus, I shall now put down some others, though out of the order of time, as being of some use.

17. In the affairs of Gallus Cesar, in the reign of Constantius, at the year 553. he speaks of one (*r*) Maras, a Deacon, as the Christians call it.

18. Sil-

(*n*) Presbyter Sirmii nequissime decollatur, quod Octavianum ex proconsule apud se latitantem prodere noluisse. *Hieron. Chr* p 187.

(*o*) Postremo hoc moderamine Principatus sui inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur impetravit, aut illud: nec interdictis minacibus

subjectorum cervicem ad id quod ipse co-luit inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit. *Lib. 30. cap. ix.*

(*p*) *Socr. l. 4. c. i. p. 211. B.*

(*q*) *Zos. l. 4. sub. in.*

(*r*) . . . Maras quidam nomine inductus est (ut appellant Christiani) diaconus. *L. 14 cap. ix.*



18. Silvanus, Master of the horse to Constantius, who had performed many services for him, and for his father, Constantin, fell under suspicions of disaffection to the government. Whereby he was in a manner obliged for his own safety to rebell, and take the imperial purple at Cologne, where he then was, in the year 355. "The soldiers of Ursicinus got into that city, and killed the guards, "and soon after Silvanus himself, Ammianus says, as (s) he was "fleeing to a conventicle of the Christians." That was the end of Silvanus, in about a month after he had assumed the title of Emperour.

19. When Saporess, King of Persia, had gained some advantages over the Romans, in the time of Constantius, "and (t) had taken some virgins, after the Christian manner devoted to God, as "Ammianus says, he gave orders, that no man should hurt them, "and that they should be permitted to perform their religious worship in their own way, without molestation."

20. "He (u) also speaks of a Bishop of the Christian Law, in a  
B b 2 "castle

(s) Firmato itaque negotio per sequestres quosdam gregarios, obscuritate ipsa ad id patrandum idoneos, praemiorum expectatione accensos, solis ortu jam rutilo subitus armorum globus erupit: atque ut solet in dubiis rebus audentior, caesis custodibus, regia penetrata, Sylvanum, extractum aedicula, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritus Christiani tendentem, densis gladiatorum ictibus trucidarunt. *Lib. 15. cap. v. p. 92.*

(t) Inventas tamen alias quoque virgines Christiano ritu cultui divino sacratas, custodiri intactas, et religioni servire solito more, nullo vetante, praecepit. *Lib. 18. cap. x. fin.*

(u) Verum secuto die otio communi adfensu post aerumnas multiplices attributo,

cum magnus terror circumfisteret muros, Persaeque paria formidarent: Christianae legis Antistes exire se velle gestibus ostendebat et nutu: acceptaque fide, quod redire permetteretur incolumis, adusque tentoria Regis accessit. Ubi data copia dicendi quae vellet, suadebat placido sermone discedere Persas ad sua . . . Sed persistebat incassum haec multaque similia differendo, efferata vesania Regis obstante, non ante castrorum excidium digredi pertinaciter adjurantis. Perstinxit tamen suspicio vana quadam, Episcopum, ut opinor, licet asseveratione vulgata multorum, quod clandestino colloquio Saporem docuerit, quae maxime appetere membra ut fragilia intrinsecus et invalida. *L. 20. cap. vii.*

A. D. 380. “ castle besieged by Saporess, who went out to the King to persuade  
 “ him to desist from his design upon the place. But he was sus-  
 “ pected of informing the King, where the castle was weakest, and  
 “ might be attacked to the best advantage.”

21. In the begining of the reign of Valentinian, “ Antonianus (x)  
 “ Prefect of Rome, condemned a person to death for the practise of  
 “ some magical arts. But the executioner, as Ammianus says, losing  
 “ his hold, the criminal fled to a chaple of the Christian rite. But  
 “ being presently taken thence, had his head cut off.”

22. In the year 367. or 368. in the time of Valentinian, “ a (y)  
 “ German Prince, named *Rando*, surprised the city of Mentz, then  
 “ without a garrison. And, as Ammianus says, finding the people  
 “ engaged in celebrating a feast of the Christian rite, he plundered  
 “ the place, and carried off without resistance the people of both  
 “ sexes, and of every condition, with all their effects.”

23. “ Palladius, Notarie, or Secretarie of State, had been taken  
 “ up by order of Valentinian for some offenses. And (z) says Am-  
 “ mianus,

(x) Dum hæc in Oriente volubiles fa-  
 torum explicant sortes, Apronianus regens  
 Urbem æternam, iudex integer et seve-  
 rus, inter curarum præcipua, quibus  
 hæc Præfectura sæpe sollicitatur, id pri-  
 mum operâ curabat enixâ, ut veneficos,  
 qui tunc rarecebant, captos, . . . indicatis  
 consiliis morte multaret . . . Denique . . .  
 Hilarinum aurigam convictum atque con-  
 fessum . . . capitali animadversione dam-  
 navit : qui, laxius retinente carnifice, su-  
 bito lapsus confugit ad ritus Christiani sa-  
 crarium, abstractusque exinde illico ab-  
 scissa cervice consumptus est. *Lib. 26.*  
*cap. iii. p. 488.*

(y) Sub idem fere tempus Valentinia-  
 no ad expeditionem caute ut rebatur pro-  
 fecto, Alimannus Regalis Rando nomi-

ne, diu præstruens quod cogitabat, mo-  
 guntiacum præsidii vacuum cum expedi-  
 tis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepsit. Et  
 quoniam casu Christiani ritus invenit ce-  
 lebrari solemnitate, impræpedite cujus-  
 quemodi fortune virile et muliebre secus  
 cum suppellectili non parva indefensum  
 abduxit. *Lib. 27. cap. x. p. 542.*

(z) His literis ad Comitatum missis et  
 lectis, Valentiniani jussu Meterius raptus  
 suam esse confitetur epistolam : ideoque  
 Palladius exhiberi præceptus, cogitans  
 quas criminum coxerit moles, in statione  
 primis tenebris observatâ custodum absen-  
 tiâ, qui festo die Christiani ritus in Ec-  
 clesia pernoctabant, innodato gutture la-  
 quei nexibus interiit. *Lib. 28. cap. vi.*  
*p. 593.*

“ mianus, sensible of his guilt, early in the evening, when his keep-  
“ ers were absent, being gone to spend the night in a neighboring  
“ church on a festival of the Christian rite, he hanged himself.”  
Tillemont (*a*) thinks, it might be the Eve of Easter in 374.

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24. I have now transcribed a great deal from *Ammianus*. Nevertheless I hope, not too much. Many of the passages are important, as well as entertaining. Some are curious. If any others are less material, they are still of some use. They serve to shew, that Christian people were then of some consequence. A Heathen historian, writing of public affairs, could not decline to take notice of them. And for the most part he speaks civilly of them, and with marks of moderation.

(*a*) See *L'Emp. Valentinien*, art. xxvii. Tom. v. p. 196.



## C H A P. LII.

## V E G E T I U S.

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390.

**F**LAVIUS VEGETIUS RENATUS (*a*) wrote a treatise in five books, of the Art of War, dedicated to an Emperour, by whose order it was composed. In most copies it is inscribed to *Valentinian* the Second: though some think, it was rather dedicated to *Theodosius* the First. *Fabricius* (*b*) is inclined to think him a Christian. As that is only a doubtful point, I suppose I ought to quote him among Heathen writers, and at the year 390. which is some while before the death of *Valentinian* the Second, and five years before the death of *Theodosius*.

He gives this account of the oath taken at that time by soldiers, when enlisted into the Legions. “ They (*c*) swear, says he, by God, “ and by Christ, and by the Holy Spirit, and by the Emperour’s “ Majesty, who is to be loved and honoured by mankind in the “ next place after God.”

(*a*) *Fabric. Bib. Lat. L. 3. cap. xii. T. i. p. 616. Tillen. H. Emp. Theodof. i. art. 92.*

(*b*) *Fl. Vegetius Renatus videtur fuisse Christianus. Fabr. Bib. Lat. T. 3 p. 132. Hamb. 1722.*

(*c*) *Jurant autem per Deum, et per*

*Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, et per Majestatem Imperatoris, quae secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda. Veget. Institutio Rei Militaris. l. 2. cap. v. Quemadmodum Legio constituitur.*



## C H A P. LIII.

## E U N A P I U S.

- I. *His Time, and Works.* II. *Extraëts from his Historie of the Roman Emperours.* III. *Extraëts from his Lives of the Sophists and Philosophers.* IV. *Remarks upon the foregoing Extraëts.*

I. **E**UNAPIUS (*a*) was a native of Sardis in Lydia. He came from Asia to Athens, when he (*b*) was about 16 years of age, in the year of Christ 363. or 364. and (*c*) therefore not till after the death of Julian: when likewise Proaeresius, the Christian Sophist, was returned to his chair, and had resumed his lectures. Under that celebrated Sophist Eunapius (*d*) studied  
five

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*His Time,  
and Works*

(*a*) Nec multo hoc junior Eunapius fuit. Nam Valentiniani, Valentis, et Gratiani temporibus vixit: Sophista, idem Medicus, ac historicus insignis, magni illius Proaeresii discipulus, affinis nobilis sophistae Chrysanthii: quippe qui Eunapii consobrinam duxisset uxorem. *Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. xviii. Vid. et Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 232. &c. Tillem. Theod. i. art. 95.*

(*b*) *Eunap. in Vita Proaer. p. 102 et 126.*

(*c*) Il quitta l'Asie, et vint à Athenes âgé de 16 ans, au mois d'Octobre, vers le temps de Julien, mais apparemment, lorsqu'il estoit mort, et que Proerese avoit repris ses leçons. Ainsi c'éstait en 363. ou 364. *Tillem. ubi supra.*

(*d*) See Eunapius, as before, note (*b*).

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five years. He wrote a book with this title, The (*e*) Lives of Philosophers, and Sophists, which was not finished, till near the end of the fourth centurie. For which reason I place him at the year 396. In that (*f*) work he speaks of his having writ the Historie of the Roman Emperours, and that he should write the same historie again. That historie, in the second edition of it, reached to the year 404. as it began at the year 268. with the reign of Claudius the Second, who succeeded Gallien. This may suffice for the historie of this writer, and his works.

*Extracts  
from his  
Historie  
of the  
Roman  
Empe-  
rours.*

II. I begin my extracts with the Historie of the Emperours, of which we have remaining some fragments only. Photius in his Bibliotheque gives this account of it. “ We (*g*) have read, says he, “ the Chronical Historie of Eunapius, in the new edition, in four- “ teen books. He begins his Historie with the reign of Claudius, “ where Dexippus’s Historie concludes. And he ends with the “ reigns of Honorius and Arcadius, sons of Theodosius, about the “ time that the wife of Arcadius died. [meaning Eudoxia.] This “ Eunapius was of Sardis in Lydia. As (*h*) to religion, he is im- “ pious, and a great admirer of the Greek customs. In his Hi- “ storie he asperseth those who adorned the Empire by their piety, “ and especially the great Constantin. But he commends the im- “ pious, and above all the rest Julian the Apostate. So that he “ seems to have writ his historie with the view of making an en- “ comium upon him. [*He then commends his stile, making however  
some exceptions.*] He composed two works containing the same “ historie, the first and the second. In (*i*) the first he has inserted “ many

(*e*) Βίοι φιλοσόφων καὶ σοφιστῶν.

(*f*) *Vid. Vit. Max.* p. 75.

(*g*) Ανεγνώθην Ευνάπιου χρονικῆς ἱστορίας, τῆς μετὰ Δεξιππου νέας ἐκδόσεως. . . *Ph.* p. 169.

(*h*) Δυσσεβὴς δὲ τὴν θρησκευτὴν ἂν, τὰ ἑλληνί-

νων γὰρ ἑτίμα. Τὸς μὲν εὐσεβέα τὴν βασι-  
λέαν κοσμήσαντας, παντὶ τρόπῳ, καὶ ὀνειδὴν  
κακίζων διασύρει, καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ τὸν μέγαν  
Κωνσταντῖνον. p. 169. m.

(*i*) *Ibid.*

“ many blasphemies against our holy Christian religion, and extolls  
 “ the Greek superstition, and often reproacheth the pious Empe-  
 “ rours. But in the second, which he also calls a new edition, he  
 “ omits a great deal of the reproachful language, which he had  
 “ before uttered against our religion. Nevertheless he has still left  
 “ sufficient marks of his enmity to us.” So wrote *Photius* in the  
 ninth centurie.

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If that work of *Eunapius* were now extant, undoubtedly, we should find in it a good deal of railing. But the losse of it is the less regretted by those learned men, who have a curiosity to know what he had said, because it is supposed, that (*k*) *Zosimus* has copied a good deal out of him. And moreover, we shall see a good deal of the temper of *Eunapius*, in his *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, which remain.

III. To that work therefore I now proceed ††. And I intend

*Extracts  
 from his  
 Lives of  
 the So-  
 phists.*

“ to

(*k*) Impulsu hujus Chrysanthii scripsit de Vitis Sophistarum opus elegans ac venustum: sed in quo passim prodatur, quam Christiano nomini fuerit infestus. Idem res gestas Caesarum, exinde orsus, ubi defierat Herodianus, ad sua usque tempora produxit. . . . Eo ex opere solum De Legationibus fragmentum, beneficio Andreæ Schotti, lucem vidit. Reliqua exstare dicuntur in Bibliotheca Veneta. Eo autem æquiori animo istis caremus, quod *Zosimus* habemus. Nam easdem res *Eunapius* et *Zosimus* tractarunt, et ita tractarunt, ut *Zosimus* *Eunapium* prope descripsisse, visus sit. &c. *Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. 18.*

other, *Coloniae Allobrogum, apud Sam. Crispinum. 1616.* J. A. Fabricius seems sometimes to refer to an edition of *Eunapius*, made by himself. *Porphyrii vitam composuit e veteribus Eunapius, ad quem nonnulla annotavi. Bib. Gr. Tom. 4. p. 181.* But from the learned *Reimar, de Vita et scriptis J. A. Fabricii. p. 209.* we learn, that though Fabricius had begun an edition of this Author, it was never finished. *Eunapii vitæ Philosophorum ac Sophistarum Collatae cum vi. Codd. Mss. a Marquardo Gudio, Graece et Latine, cum notis Fabricii. . . .* Tria hujus folia, usque ad pag. 48. typis exscripta sunt in 8. sed typographo moras neciente, quarum vel maxime impatiens erat vir excitati ingenii, editionem abruptit, nec ipsum opus perfecit. I several years agoe was informed,

†† I know not of any good edition of that work. I have two: One, *Antverpiae, ex officina Chr. Plantini, 1568.* the

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to take those passages, which contain any express mention of the Christians, or any material references to their affairs: in which will be many proofs of that zeal for Gentilism, which Photius observed in his Historie of the Emperours.

1. This work begins with the Life of *Plotinus*. The next is that of *Porphyrie*. After whom follows *Jamblichus*, then *Aedesius*, in all three and twenty.

*Aedesius*.

2. In his Life of *Aedesius*, who was a Cappadocian, he writes to this purpose: "At (*l*) length, says he, *Aedesius* became little inferior to his master *Jamblichus*, setting aside the inspiration, which belonged to *Jamblichus*. For of that I have nothing to write, perhaps, because *Aedesius* concealed it, by reason of the times. For then *Constantin* was Emperour, who threw down the most celebrated temples, and set up the structures of the Christians. For this reason it is likely, the chief of his scholars (*that is, of the scholars of Jamblichus*) might affect a kind of mysterious silence, and priestly taciturnity. Whence it came to pass, that the writer of this, who from his youth was a scholar of *Chrysanthius*, spent well nigh twenty years with him, before he was acquainted with the true doctrine. So difficult a matter has it been to bring down to our time the philosophie of *Jamblichus*!"

*Sopater*.

3. After which he proceeds, in the same Life, to give an account of the death of *Sopater*, another celebrated Platonic Philosopher, who attended on *Constantin*, as *Eunapius* says, "to (*m*) check and govern by reason the warm temper of that Emperour, and who was for a considerable time in great favour with him, so as to excite the envie of many of the courtiers. At length by *Constantin's*

formed, that a learned German, whose name I do not remember, was preparing a new edition of *Eunapius*. In which I make no question there would be many valuable improvements. But I have not

yet heard, that it is finished. I therefore shall refer to the edition, before-mentioned, in 1616.

(*l*) *Eunap. Vit. Aedes. p. 33. 34.*

(*m*) *Ib. p. 34. m.*



“ tin’s order he was put to death.” Our Author imputes his death to *Ablabius*, Prefect of the Praetorium. It is not certain, when it happened. Tillemont (n) inclines to the year 333. Nor do we clearly discern, what (o) was the occasion of it. I may take some farther notice of this Sopater, hereafter, in my extracts from †† *Zosimus*.

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4. In the same Life he speaks of *Eustathius*, another scholar of *Jamblichus*, and intimate friend of *Aedesius*, whom he greatly commends upon divers accounts, and particularly, for his eloquence. “ Which, (p) as he says, was so charming, that the Emperour “ [Constantin] though fond of the books of the Christians, was desirous to see him.”

*Eustathius.*

“ *Eustathius* (q) married *Sosipatra*, who surpassed her husband, though he was so considerable.” “ She (r) left behind her three sons. “ The names of two of them need not to be mentioned. But the “ third, whose name was *Antenin*, was not unworthie of his parents.” “ He choosing for the place of his abode one of the mouths “ of the Nile, called *Canobus*, wholly applied himself to the learning there taught, and endeavoured to fulfill his mother’s prediction concerning him. And all the youth of sound judgement, and “ that were studious of philosophie, resorted to him. And the “ Temple was full of young priests. At that time he was not accounted more than a man, and conversed among men. Yet he “ foretold to all his disciples, that after his death there would be no “ temples, but that the magnificent and sacred temple of *Serapis* “ would be laid in ruinous heaps, and (s) that fabulous confusion, “ and unformed darknesse would tyrannize over the best parts of

C c 2

“ the

(n) *L’Emp. Constantin.* §. 71.

(o) See *Tillemont*, as before, and *Crevier’s Historie*, vol. x. p. 169. 170.

†† See here after my extracts from *Zosimus*, num. 7.

(p) *Vit. Aedes.* p. 44.

(q) *Ib* p. 48.

(r) *Ib* p. 59. 60.

(s) Κἀί τι μυθῶδες καὶ θεῶδες σκότος τυραννίσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς κάλλιστα. κ. λ. *P.* 60. π.

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“ the earth. All which things time has brought to pass, and his  
“ prediction has obtained the credit of an oracle.”

*Antonin.*

Afterwards of the same *Antonin*, he says. “ But (1) he made no  
“ show of divine converse, nor of any thing above the common  
“ apprehensions of men: suspecting, perhaps, the Emperour’s in-  
“ clinations, which lay another way.” “ But (u) that there was  
“ somewhat divine in him, was not long after made manifest. For  
“ he was no sooner departed out of this world, but the worship of  
“ the Gods at Alexandria was abolished, and the priests were dis-  
“ persed.” “ And not only the sacred worship was abolished, but the  
“ sacred fabricks were thrown down. And all things had the same  
“ end with the vanquished giants in the fables of the poets. And  
“ (x) the temples at Canobus underwent the same fate, *Theodosius*  
“ then reigning, *Theophilus* presiding over the affair, *Euetius* at the  
“ same time Governour of civil affairs, [or Prefect] and *Romanus*  
“ General of the foldierie: who having never so much as heard of  
“ war, vented all their anger against stones and statues, and levelled  
“ the temple of Serapis to the ground. And rifling away the con-  
“ secrated oblations, they gained a compleat, though never contested,  
“ and bloudless victorie. For they fought so valiantly with statues,  
“ and consecrated donatives, that they not only overcame them,  
“ but plundered them, and carried them away. And it was a part  
“ of their discipline, that whatever they stole, they kept concealed.  
“ They only carried not away the foundations of the temple, by  
“ reason of the weight of the stones, which rendred them not ea-  
“ sie to be removed. Thus these warlike and courageous champi-  
“ ons, overwhelming all things with confusion and disorder, and  
“ lifting up hands to heaven, not stained with blood indeed, but  
“ foully defiled with avarice, gave out, that they had overcome the  
“ Gods,

(1) Απεδείκνυτο μὲν γὰρ ἰδὲν θεουργόν, καὶ  
παράλογον ἐς τὴν φαινομένην αἴσθησιν, τὰς βα-  
σιλικὰς ἰσως ἱεμεὺς ὑποτάττοντες ἐτίθοντε σιδήρεας.  
p. 62.

(u) Ὅτι δὲ ἦν τι θειότερον τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν,  
ἐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπεισημάνθη. κ. λ. p. 63.  
(x) *Ibid.* p. 63. *fin.*

“ Gods, and boasted of their sacrilege and impiety. Then (y)  
 “ they introduced into the sacred places a sort of people, called  
 “ monks, men, it is true, as to their outward shape, but in their  
 “ lives swine, who openly suffered and did ten thousand wicked and  
 “ abominable things. Nevertheless to them it seemed to be an act of  
 “ piety to trample under foot the reverence due to the sacred places.  
 “ For every one that wore a black-coat, and was content to make  
 “ a fordid figure in publick, had a right to exercise a tyrannical au-  
 “ thority. Such a reputation for virtue had this sort of men attain-  
 “ ed. But (x) of these things I have already spoken in the Univer-  
 “ sal History. These monks also were settled at Canobus, who in-  
 “ stead of deities, conceived in our minds, compelled men to wor-  
 “ ship slaves, and those not of the better sort neither. For pick-  
 “ ing up, and salting the bones and skulls of those, whom for ma-  
 “ ny crimes justice had put to death, they carried them up and  
 “ down, and shewed them for Gods, and kneeled before them, and  
 “ lay prostrate at their tombs, covered over with filth and dust.  
 “ These (a) were some of them called Martyrs, and Ministers, and  
 “ Intercessors with the Gods, slaves, that had served dishonestly,  
 “ and been beaten with whips, and still bore in their corpses the  
 “ scars of their villanies. And yet the earth brings forth such Gods,  
 “ as these. This highly advanced the reputation of *Antonin’s* fore-  
 “ sight: forasmuch as he had told every body, that the temples  
 “ would be turned into sepulchres.”

So writes Eunapius, with great freedom, as all will allow, under a Christian Emperour.

However, there are some other remarks, which may be not im-  
 properly made here.

The

(y) Ἐπειτα ἐπεσηῶγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τόποις τὰς  
 καλεμένους Μοναχούς, ἀνθρώπους μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔ-  
 ρος, ὁ δὲ βίος αὐτοῖς συνώδης, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς  
 ἐπαρχύντε, καὶ ἐπὶ οὐκ μυρία, κακὰ καὶ ἄφραστα.  
 κ. λ. *Vit. Aedef.* 64. et 65.

(x) p. 65.

(a) Μάρτυρες γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ διάκονοι τινὲς,  
 καὶ πρέσβεις τῶν αἰτίσεων παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, κ. λ.  
 p. 65. *ead. vit.*

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The demolition of the temples, which Eunapius here speaks of, was made by order of the Emperour Theodosius the First, in the year 389, as some (*b*) think: or as others (*c*) in the year 391. Eunapius says, that *Theophilus* presided in this affair. Which (*d*) is very agreeable to what Socrates says of Theophilus, then Bishop of Alexandria. At his request the Emperour's edict was obtained. And he was also entrusted with the execution of it. And instead of *Eutitius* Governour of civil affairs, or Prefect of Egypt, it has been observed, that (*e*) Eunapius should have said *Euagrius*.

*Proaeresius*.

5. In the Life of *Proaeresius* he says, "When (*f*) Julian was Emperour, being excluded from the schools, because he seemed to be a Christian, he applied to Hierophantes, [or the High-Priest of Eleusinium] who had a skill of discerning futurity, that he might inquire of the Gods, whether this state of things would last. And understanding, that they would not, he was the more easie."

By Jerome (*g*) in his Chronicle we are informed, that *Proaeresius* was an Athenian Sophist: and that when Julian's edict was published, forbidding Christians to teach the polite arts, *Proaeresius* resigned his chair at Athens, though Julian was willing to allow him by a special privilege, to continue there.

For

(*b*) *Vid. Tillem. Theodof. i. art. 51. et note 40. Pagi ann. 389. num. xv.*

(*c*) *Bosniag ann. 391. num. ix. x. Vid. et Pagi ann. 389. num. xii*

(*d*) *Socrat. l. 5. cap. xvi. p. 274. C. Conf. Sozom. l. 7. cap. xv.*

(*e*) *Secundo, loco horum verborum: Ευεπίε δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντωντος, legendum Ευαγρίε: ac vertendum, Evagrius res civiles administrante. Evagrius itaque non Praefectus Urbi, ut perperam vertit Junius, sed Praefectus Augustalis, &c. Pagi ann. 389. num. xiv.*

(*f*) *Ἰουλιανὸν δὲ βασιλεύοντος, τόπων τῷ παιδένειν ἐξεργόμενος, ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι Χριστιανὸς, συνορῶν τὸν ἱεροφάντην ὥσπερ δέλφικόν τινα τρίποδα πρὸς τὴν τὰ μέλλοντος πρόνοιαν πόσι τοῖς δευράνοις ἀνακείμενον, σιφία τινὶ περιήλθε ξένη τὴν πρόγνωσιν. . . Ὁ δὲ Προαίρεσιος ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βεβία μένει τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. Ως δὲ ἀπέφασαν, ὁ μὲν ἔβου το παραχθισόμενον, καὶ ἦν ἐυθυμέτερος. Vita Proaeres. p. 126.*

(*g*) *Chron. p. 185. Jerome's words are cited above at p. 41.*



For certain therefore Proaeresius was a Christian. Nor does the expression of Eunapius, *because he seemed to be a Christian*, imply any doubt of it. The truth therefore of his making any inquiry of the gods concerning futurity may be questioned. Tillemont (b) was of opinion that this story needs not to be received.

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6. In this place Eunapius tells us, “ that (i) when he was sixteen years of age, he came to Athens, and entered himself among the scholars of *Proaeresius*, who loved him, as if he had been his own son. With him Eunapius stayed five years, and then returned to Lydia, soon after which *Proaeresius* died,” as may be supposed, in the year 368. when he was about 92 years of age. For, when Eunapius came to be with him, he was (k) in the 87. year of his age. And as *Proaeresius* resigned the chair of Rhetorick in the time of Julian, it must be supposed, that he resumed it, after the death of that Emperour, in 363. about which time our Eunapius came to Athens, and studied five years under him. There is extant (l) a letter of Julian to *Proaeresius*, filled with high compliments upon his eloquence. And I would observe here, in favour of Eunapius, that though he was a zealous Gentil, he has once and again spoken very honorably of *Proaeresius*, as (m) a very amiable, as well as eloquent man, and in great reputation upon that account. Eunapius therefore, notwithstanding his bigotry, was not wholly destitute of candour.

Eunapius.

7. *Chrysanthius*, as we have seen above, was one of Eunapius’s (n) masters. He was descended of a good familie, and was much respected by Julian, who (o) by letters several times sent to him to come to Court, which *Chrysanthius* always declined. However, in that reign he was made High-Priest of Lydia. Of which event

Chrysan-  
thius.

Eunapius,

(b) *L’Emp. Julien. art. 33.*(i) *Vita Proaeres. p. 126.*(k) *Ibid. p. 102.*(l) *Julian. Epist. ii. ap. Spanhem. p.*(m) *Ubi supr. p. 102. et p. 126. 127.**et alibi.*(n) *Vit Chryf. p. 144.*(o) *Eunap. ibid. p. 148. et Suid. V.**Χρυσανθιος.*

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Eunapius, in his Life, writes in this manner. “ Chrysanthius, (*p*)  
“ then, receiving the High-Priesthood of the whole nation, and  
“ well knowing what would come to pass, he was far from being  
“ troublesome in the exercise of his authority, not erecting new tem-  
“ ples, as almost all men earnestly importuned him to do, nor ex-  
“ tremely vexatious to any of the Christians. But such was the  
“ simplicity of his behaviour, that the restoration of the sacred rites  
“ in Lydia was hardly perceived. So that though formerly things  
“ had been managed after another manner; yet now there seemed  
“ not to be any innovation, nor was there any thing surprizing, or  
“ tumultuous in the alteration, but all things tended to calmness  
“ and serenity. And he only was admired, whilst all others were  
“ tossed in a storm.”

Here again, as seems to me, Eunapius shews moderation. He approves of the mildness and gentleness of *Chrysanthius*. At the same time, there is an intimation, that in Julian's time, the proceedings were more violent and tumultuous in many other places.

*Anatolius*. 8. In the Life of Proaeresius (\*) Eunapius tells a long storie of *Anatolius*, in the time of Constantius, which is very proper to be inserted here. But I think it best first of all to give some account of *Anatolius* from other writers.

Says Photius: “ We (*q*) read the work of *Vindanius Anatolius* of  
“ *Berytus*, concerning Agriculture. It is a collection out of several  
“ writers

(*p*) Ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τῷ  
παντὸς ἔθνους λαβὼν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐξεπιστάμενος  
σαφῶς, ἐ βαρὺς ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἕτε τὸς  
νεὸς ἐγείρων, ὥσπερ ἅπαντες θερμῶς καὶ περικα-  
ῶς, ἐς ταῦτα συνέθεν· ἕτε λυπῶν τινὸς τῶν  
Χριστιανῶν περιττῶς· ὁλλὰ τούτῃ τις ἦν ἀ-  
πλότης τῇ ἡθῆς, ὥς κατὰ Λυδίαν μικρὰ καὶ ἑλα-  
θεν ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπανέρθῃσι· κ. λ. *Vit. Chry-*  
*sant.* 148. 149.

(\*) *p.* 117. ἔσς.

(*q*) Αἰγνώσθι· Οὐίδανιε Ἀνατολίε Βηρυτίε  
συναγωγῇ γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. . . .  
Ἐχέει δ' ὅμως ἑνία καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον βιβλίον τερατώδη  
καὶ ἄπειρα, καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς πλοῖα· ὑπόπλα· ὁ  
δὲ τὸν εὐσεβεῖν γηπύον ἐκτρεπόμενον, τῶν λοι-  
πῶν συλλέγειν τὰ χροίσιμα. κ. λ. *Phot. Cod.*  
163. *p.* 349.

“ writers upon the same subject, such as *Democritus*, and *Africanus*,  
 “ and *Tarantinus*, *Apuleius* also, and *Florentius*, *Valens*, *Leon*, and  
 “ *Pamphilus*, and likewise from the *Paradoxes of Diaphones*. The  
 “ work consists of twelve books or sections. It contains many use-  
 “ full directions for agriculture, and husbandmen. And may be  
 “ reckoned one of the best books, that have been writ upon the  
 “ subject. At the same time here are inserted many strange and  
 “ incredible things, favouring of the error of Gentilism. But a  
 “ pious husbandman may let those things alone, and select only what  
 “ is usefull.”

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Several learned men (r) and particularly Valesius, are of opinion, that this is the same Anatolius, who having passed through other high offices in the State, came at length to be Prefect of Illyricum, in 358. as appears from (s) Ammianus Marcellinus, in which office he died (t) in 360. Valesius's note upon Ammianus, who has distinctly mentioned his prefecture of Illyricum in the time of Constantius, is so clear and instructive, that (u) I shall transcribe a part of it below for the use of attentive readers.

Several

(r) Vide Gothofredi *Prosopograph. Cod. Theodos. et Tillemont. L'Emp. Constance. art. 50. T. 4. p. 840. 841. art. 66. p. 903.*

(s) . . . gemina consideratione alacrior, [Constantius] . . . quodque Anatolio regente per Illyricum Praefecturam, necessaria cuncta vel ante tempus coacta, sine ullius dispendiis adfluebant. *Amm. l. 19 c. xi. p. 243.*

(t) Habita est iisdem diebus etiam Florentii ratio . . . et Anatolio recens mortuo Praefecto Praetorio per Illyricum, ad ejus mittitur locum. *Id. l. 21. cap. vi. p. 296.*

(u) Anatolius Syrus Beryto oriundus, cum scientiam juris civilis in patria didicisset, Romam profectus admissusque in palatium, per omnes honorum gradus ad Praefecturae culmen adscendit. Vir etiam inimicorum judicio admirabilis, ut scribit Eunapius in Proaeresio, quem jucundum erit legere. Erat autem sacrificiis et Graecanae Religioni inprimis adiectus, teste ibidem Eunapio. Unde ferre adducor, ut credam eum ipsum esse, quem Photius in Bibliotheca Vindanium Anatolium appellat, Berytium, qui de Re Rustica scripsit, cultu Ethnicum, ut Photius testatur. . . . Ejus porro industri-

am,

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Several of the letters of Libanius are writ to Anatolius, and in divers of them notice is taken of his prefecture of Illyricum, which was a station of great honour. In one of them he says: "He (x) could not but be greatly pleased, that he was advanced to that dignity, which is superior to all others. For, says he, we Syrians are proud, when we can give a man to the Romans, who is able to direct the affairs of the state." In another letter to Anatolius, he tells him, that (y) "he had been informed by a person who was present, that beside other commendable things, he said to the Emperour, when he was going away to the government of the province, to which he was appointed: *Henceforward no dignity shall protect an offender from punishment: Let him be one of the Judges, or a military man, if he transgress the laws, he shall be called to an account for it.*" In another letter to Anatolius, he celebrates (z) his great mind, his integrity, his eloquence.

We have evidently discerned from Ammianus, that Anatolius was Prefect of Illyricum under Constantius in 358. and 359. Some think, he (a) had been put into that office by Constans in the year 348. and that Eunapius says as much.

I shall now transcribe a good part of what Eunapius says of Anatolius in his Life of Proaeresius.

"Anatolius (b) he says, was of Berytus in Phenicia, a man studious of eloquence, which also he attained, well skilled in the laws, and a great patron of learning, and so prosperous in his de-  
" signs,

am, vigilantiam, integritatem, magnitudinem animi, et eloquentiam magnopere commendat Libanius in epistola 15. [18. ad. Wolf.] Qui cum Praefecturae codicillis donatus, jamque in Illyricum profecturus Imperatori valediceret, haec inter cetera dixisse fertur: Posthaec, Imperator, neminem nocentem dignitas a supplicio liberabit. &c. *Valef. ad Ammian. l. 19. cap. xi. p. 243.*

(x) *Liban. ep. 394. p. 201. Wolf. edit. an. 1738.*

(y) *Liban. ep. 466. p. 233.*

(z) *Ep. 18. p. 5. &c.*

(a) *See Tillem. L'Emp. Constance. art. 13. p. 701. et note xv. p. 1103. 1104*

(b) *Eunap. Vita. Proaeres p. 117. &c.*



“ signs, that going to Rome, and being well received in the Em-  
 “ perour’s palace, he passed through several high offices of the state  
 “ with the applause even of his enemies, till at length he was ad-  
 “ vanced by the Emperour to the prefecture of Illyricum. And (c)  
 “ being a lover of sacrificing, and extremely zealous of Hellenism,  
 “ though at that time the stream ran another way, and having by  
 “ virtue of his high office a privilege of visiting the best parts of the  
 “ Empire, and of directing things as he pleased, he was seized with  
 “ a certain golden phrensy of seeing Greece. But before he went  
 “ thither, he sent a problem to be considered by the Sophists there,  
 “ and desiring them to exert themselves, and to give the best solu-  
 “ tion they were able.” “ According to Eunapius, the Sophists  
 “ there fell into vexatious disputes about the state of the question,  
 “ and the best method of solving it. One of them, as he says, was  
 “ *Himerius* the Sophist, of Bithynia. At length *Anatolius* came to  
 “ Athens. Upon his arrival he offered sacrifices in a splendid man-  
 “ ner, and visited the temples, as the sacred institution required. He  
 “ then called for the Sophists, and invited them to produce their  
 “ arguments. But, as Eunapius says, they shewed so much self-  
 “ love, and vanity, and such ambition to be preferred each one a-  
 “ bove the other, that *Anatolius* despised them, and pityed the pa-  
 “ rents, whose children were under the care of such instructors.  
 “ *Proaeresius* then was called for, who was the only one, that had  
 “ not yet appeared. He spoke to the point in question with so much  
 “ perspicuity, as to give *Anatolius* compleat satisfaction. And, as  
 “ Eunapius assures us, *Proaeresius* (d) was greatly honoured by *Ana-*  
 “ *tolius* :

D d 2

(c) Καὶ φιλαβύτης ὦν, καὶ διαφερόντως ἑλ-  
 λην· καίτοι γε ἡ κοινὴ κίνησις πρὸς ἑτέρας ἔφερε  
 ῥοπὰς, ἔξον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν κἀριαν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλ-  
 θεῖν, καὶ διοικεῖν ἑκάστα πρὸς ὁ βόλοιτο. Ὁ δὲ  
 χρυσῆς τινὸς αὐτὸν μανίας ὑπολαβίσσης ἰδὲν  
 τὴν ἑλλάδα. . . Ὁ δὲ *Ανατόλιος* ἐγγύθεν, καὶ  
 εἰσεδήμησεν Ἀθήνας. Οὕτως δὲ θαρσαλέως,

καὶ περιελθὼν τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, ἡ θεομὸς ἰσοῖς ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν, ἐξετάλει τὰς σοφιστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα.  
 κ. λ. *Eunap. in Proaeresio. p. 117. . .*  
 120.

(d) Τιμήσας ἔν εκένον διαφερόντως φάνεταί,  
 καίτοι γε τὰς ἄλλας μόλις ἀξιάσας τῆς ἐκρυγῆς  
 τραπέζης. *Ibid. p. 120.*

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“tolius: the rest he hardly thought worthie to set at his table.”

This storie cannot be read without making some reflexions.

1.) It is easie from this temper of *Anatolius*, as well as from many other things that come before us, to perceive, how great was the affection of many for ancient Gentilism, and how difficult it was to persuade men to alter the sentiments, in which they had been educated.

2.) Secondly we see here, in Eunapius himself, an acknowledgment of the defects of education at Athens, a thing insisted on by Gregorie Nazianzen (*d*) whose accounts are here confirmed.

3.) Once more, I reckon, that we here see an instance of the candour of Anatolius, in the respect, which he shewed to Proaeressius, who was a Christian. He allowed him to have a superior excellence above the other Sophists at Athens. In short, Anatolius, though a Gentil, was a man of great learning, good judgement, and much candour. He was also a faithfull subject, and able officer under the Emperour Constantius. Indeed, he is commended by all, who have had occasion to speak of him.

One of the orations of *Himerius* is in praise of *the Prefect Anatolius*. Photius (*e*) has made some extracts out of it. But as there are not in them any historical facts, I transcribe nothing from them.

Anatolius is likewise commended by (*f*) Aurelius Victor, and for the same usefull public services, which are mentioned to his honour by (*g*) Ammianus Marcellinus.

*Justus.*

9. There is another like storie in the Life of Chrysanthius. The exact time of it does not appear to me. But, probably, it might be  
“ in

(*d*) *Gr. Naz. Or.* 20. p. 327. 328.

(*e*) . . . ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἀνατόλιον ὑπαρχον.  
*Phot. Cod.* 243. p. 1139.

(*f*) Simul noscendis ocyus, quae ubique e Rep. gerebantur, admota media publici cursus. Quod equidem munus

fatis utile, in pestem orbis Romani vertit posteriorum avaritia, in solentiaque: nisi quod his annis suffectae vires Illyrico sunt, Praefecto medente Anatolio. *Aur. Viñ. de Caesar in Trajano. cap.* 13.

(*g*) *Ammian. l.* 19. *cap.* xi. p. 243.

in the time of Valentinian, and Valens. “ But (*h*) says Eunapius, “ the businesse of the Christians prevailing, and spreading itself far “ and wide, there came so far as from Rome a Prefect of Asia, “ whose name was *Justus*. He was now considerably advanced in “ years, but of a generous and noble disposition, and one who had “ not relinquished the ancient rites and ceremonies of his countrey : “ but was a professor of that blessed and happy way of life : and “ was continually in the sacred offices of religion, and fond of all “ sorts of divination, highly valuing himself likewise upon this temper of mind, and the right performance of these things. He “ crossing from Constantinople to Asia, and finding a Governour in “ the countrey to his heart’s desire, whose name was *Hilarius*, he “ erected some extempore altars : (for there were none there :) and “ if he found any ruins of a temple, he set his hands to repair it. “ Having appointed a public sacrifice, he sent an invitation to all “ who were of note in those parts for learning to come to him. “ Thereupon great numbers soon resorted to him. And *Justus* sacrificed in the presence of the writer of this work, and others.” It appears from what follows, that (*i*) *Chrysanthius* also was there.

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So writes Eunapius with an exquisite relish for Hellenism.

10. In the Life of *Maximus*, which is the fifth in order, Eunapius has several times mentioned *Julian*, and refers (*k*) to the fuller account, which he had given of him, in his Historie of the Roman Emperours. He says, particularly, “ the (*l*) familie of Constantin “ failing,

*Julian.*

(*h*) Τὸ δὲ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐννικῶντος ἔργον, θύμῃσέ τε καὶ κατόρθωσεν. κ. λ. *Vita Chrysf.*  
κατέχοντος ἅπαντα, διὰ μακρὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς p. 153 154.  
ῥάμης ἐσεφύττισεν ἄρχων τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἰῦσος ἐ-  
νομάζετο· πρεσβύτερος μὲν ἦδ' ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· γενναῖος καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἦθος, καὶ ἀρχαίας  
(*i*) *Vid. p. 155.*  
καὶ πατρίᾳ πολυτάτας ἐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος· ἀλλὰ  
(*k*) *Vita Maximi. p. 68. in.*  
τὸν ἐνδράμιονα καὶ μακρόριον ἐκείνων ἐξηλατῶς  
(*l*) Καὶ Ψιλαθέντος τὸ γένος, Ἰουλιανὸς σε-  
ριελείβετο μόνος. . . Εὐνῶχοι δὲ ὁμῶς αὐτὸν αἰ-  
φερόλευον βασιλικῇ, καὶ παρατίλακαί τινες  
ἦσαν, ὅπως εἴη Χριστιανὸς βέβαιος p. 68.  
κρέματο πάσης, μίγα φρονῶν, ὅτι τέταν ἐπι-

A. D. 396. “ failing, Julian only was left: who by reason of his tender age, “ and mildness of temper, was much despised. Yet he was wait- “ ed on by the Emperour’s eunuchs, and others, who were placed “ about him as spies, to see that he continued to be a good Chri- “ stian.” He goes on to extoll Julian’s ready wit, and uncommon memorie. “ So swift progress he made in learning, as to cause un- “ easiness even to his masters: who had nothing more that they “ could teach him. And Constantius was well enough pleased to “ see him study philosophic, instead of minding the affairs of state.” He adds, “ that (m) Julian was old, when young:” meaning, that he was old in wisdom and science, when young in years.”

In the same Life he says, “ that (n) Julian was sent into Gaul “ with the title of Cesar, not so much that he might rule there, but “ rather with hopes, that so difficult a government would prove his “ ruin. But, contrarie to all expectation, through the good provi- “ dence of the gods, he carried all before him: at (\*) which time “ it was unknown, that he was a worshiper of the Gods.”

It is not unlikely, that here we see some things transferred from his Historie of the Roman Emperours into this work, of the Lives of Sophists and Philosophers.

*Oribasius.* II. *Oribasius*, a friend of Julian, is one of the Sophists or Philo- sophers, whose Lives are writ in this work. He has therefore a dis- tinct chapter for him, but it is not long. It may be worth our while to take a part of it.

“ *Oribasius*, says (o) *Eunapius*, was born at Pergamus, and was “ descended from parents of good condition. He made a quick pro- “ gress in the liberal arts, which greatly conduce to virtue. He “ studied under the great *Zeno*, at the same time with *Magnus*, “ whom

(m) ‘Ο κς ἐν μέρακι πρεσβύτης Ιουλιανός.  
p. 68. m.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 76.

(\*) ... πάντας μὲν λανθάνουν, ὅτι θερά-  
πειεθεύς. *Ibid.*

(o) *Eunap. De Vit. Sophist.* p. 139.  
140.



“ whom he greatly excelled. Indeed he hastened to the summit of  
 “ the medical art, imitating his country-god, as far as it is possi-  
 “ ble for man to imitate divinity. [*I suppose he means Aesculapius,*  
 “ *who had an ancient temple at Pergamus.*] Being in great reputa-  
 “ tion, even in early life, Julian, when he was made Cesar, took  
 “ him to be with him, as his Physician. He also excelled in other  
 “ qualifications, insomuch (*p*) that he raised Julian to the Empire,  
 “ as is shewn by us in our Historie of his reign. But afterwards he  
 “ felt the strokes of envie. And because of his great fame, the  
 “ Emperours, who succeeded Julian, stript him of all he had. And  
 “ after deliberating, whether they should put him to death, they  
 “ sent him into banishment among cruel Barbarians. [*Eunapius does*  
 “ *not say, who those Barbarians were.*] In that hostile country he  
 “ exhibited proofs of his abilities, restoring some to health from  
 “ long and grievous sicknesses, and recovering others from the very  
 “ gates of death. Whereby, in a short time, he gained great esteem  
 “ with the Barbarian Kings, and was revered with almost divine ho-  
 “ nours. The Romans then were desirous of his presence with them.  
 “ And the Emperours, changing their former counsels, gave him  
 “ leave to return. Which he was very willing to do, out of regard  
 “ to his native country. He then married a wife with a large for-  
 “ tune, and of an honourable descent. By whom he had four sons  
 “ still living. And may they long be so! He is also still living at  
 “ my time of writing this. And may he long continue so! He also  
 “ had his estate restored to him out of the public treasure, the Em-  
 “ perours revoking their former sentence against him, as unjust.”

This, I think, is very honourable to the Christian Emperours of  
 that time. It hence appears, that Oribasius reached to a good old  
 age. If Eunapius wrote at about the year of Christ 400. . . . it was  
 now more than forty years, since Oribasius went with Julian into  
 Gaul, in the character of his Physician. And Oribasius and his fa-  
 milie

(p) ὥστε καὶ βασιλεία τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπέθρονε. P. 140. in.

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milie lived very comfortably. If he met with some difficulties, as Eunapius intimates, they could not be of any long duration. And the rest of his life, in particular the later part of it, was easy and prosperous.

Oribasius, as (*q*) Philostorge says, attended Julian in his Persian expedition. And it has been observed by some, that he was not able to cure the Emperour. But that is no reflexion upon his skill, as Julian's wound was mortal. He likewise attended (*r*) Chrysanthius in his last sickness, without healing him. But neither is that any just reflexion upon him, since Chrysanthius was then of a great age: and under his indispositions he was relieved and comforted by the mollifying medicines, prescribed by Oribasius.

There is still extant (*s*) a letter of Julian to Oribasius, supposed to have been writ in 358. Tillemont says, it (*t*) contains marks of their mutual confidence, and of their idolatrous sentiments.

Eunapius gives no particular account of the works of Oribasius. But Suidas, who, as well as Philostorge, says he was of Sardis, and calls him (*u*) "friend of Julian the Apostate," mentions these following: "Concerning the doubts and difficulties of Physicians, in four books: To Julian the Emperour, a work in seventy two books: an Epitome of them in nine books, to his son Eustathius: of (*x*) Royalty, and of the passions or maladies."

Photius (*y*) has four articles of the works of Oribasius. And in the introduction to his account of them says: "he had writ four books, comprizing the art of medicine, and seven others of a like sort."

The

(*q*) *Ἰατρῶν μέντοι γέγραπτος ὁ Λυσδὸς Οριβάσιος αὐτῷ συνῆν, ὃ ἐκ Σάρδεων ἀλλ' ἢ πλινγὴ πᾶσαν χλευάζουσα θεωρεῖαν. . . ἀπαλλάττει τῆ βίῃ.* *Philost* l. 7. p. 510. B.

(*r*) *Eunap.* p. 160.

(*s*) *Ep.* xvii. p. 384.

(*t*) *Tillem. Julien. art.* 34.

(*u*) Ὀρεβόσιος, Σαρδιανὸς, γυνάριμος Ἰουλιανῷ παραβίτῃ. *Suidas.*

(*x*) . . . καὶ περὶ βασιλείας, καὶ περὶ παθῶν.

(*y*) *Cod.* ccxvi. ccxvii. ccxviii. ccxix. p. 556. . . 565.

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The first of the four was an abridgement of the works of Galen, in several books. The second contained the sentiments of other Physicians, as well as Galen's, in seventy books, according to Photius, or seventy two, as Suidas says. These two works were inscribed to Julian, and the prefaces or dedications are preserved in Photius: In the preface to the second, Oribasius reminds Julian, that (z) the former work had been composed, at his command, when they were in Gaul, in the Western part of the Empire. And the stile of it is very particular, addressing Julian, as a deity. Julian therefore was now sole Emperour, and he is expressly stiled *Emperour* in this second preface. The third work was an abridgement of the other two, and was inscribed by Oribasius to his son *Eustathius*, in nine books. The fourth was another compendious representation of the principles of medicine, in four books, inscribed to *Eunapius*, at whose desire also it was composed, whom he qualifies with the character of a man of great eloquence, probably, meaning our Eunapius, writer of these Lives of Sophists, and among them the Life of Oribasius himself.

I add no more. If any are desirous of a farther account of the works of Oribasius, and the merit of them severally, and what parts of them are still exstant, they may consult (a) others.

Some may be of opinion, that this article is needless, and might have been omitted. Nevertheless I think it to be of use, for shewing the state of Gentilism under Christian Emperours. Oribasius was at first designed to be put by me in another place in this volume.

(z) Τὰς προσαχθείσας ἐπιτομὰς παρὰ τῆς  
σῆς θεότητος, Αυτοκράτορ Ιουλιανὲ, πρότερον,  
ἡνίκα διετρίβομεν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ἑσπεραν,  
εἰς τέλος ἤγαγον. κ. λ. Phot. Cod. 217. p.  
557.

(a) See Tillemont. *L'Emp. Julien. art.*  
34 and the *Universal Ancient History.*  
*Vol. xvi. p. 374. &c.*

A. D. 396. lume. But now I have brought him in here, in the chapter of Eunapius, who was his great admirer, and by whom we are informed of some things concerning him, which cannot be met with elsewhere.

I make here no more extracts from this work of Eunapius. But he will be quoted again hereafter.

*Remarks  
upon the  
foregoing  
Extracts.*

IV. We may now make some general observations upon these extracts.

1. We have seen many proofs of great zeal for Gentilism in divers persons.

2. Though the majority of the people of the Roman Empire were now Christians, and the laws were favourable to them, and adverse to the Gentils: yet these last enjoyed many privileges, and a great deal of liberty. We see many evidences of this. The writer of this work openly professeth great zeal for Gentilism, and expresseth himself with great freedom concerning things and persons. Here is mention made of divers men of distinction, who were zealous Gentils, and were in some of the highest offices of the Empire. *Anatolius* Prefect of Illyricum, *Iustus*, President of Asia, *Hilarius* also Governour of a province. *Anatolius*, and these other great men, here mentioned, sacrificed, and performed all the peculiar rites of Gentilism, in the presence of many others. And the chairs of Rhetorick and Philosophie at Athens were filled, chiefly, with Professors, who were zealous for Gentilism.

3. Doubtless my readers have also observed the indignation, with which Eunapius speaks of the *Monks*. And it is a just indignation. They were too numerous. They were in too much credit, and had too much influence, and heaped up riches beyond measure. Eunapius is likewise offended at the respect given to Christian Martyrs. And we may well allow, that it was excessive and unreasonable. And we may wish, that the remonstrances made against it by learn-

ed



ed Gentils, and some learned and discerning Christians, had prevailed to check and controll it. But popular things will have their course, as was observed by us *(b)* long agoe, in the historie of Gregorie of Neocesarea, called Thaumaturgus. We see proofs of it in every age.

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390.

*(b) See the Credib. P. 2. Vol. iv. p. 549.*



## C H A P. LIV.

## CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS:

O R

## C L A U D I A N.

- I. *His Time, and Works.* II. *His Testimonie to Theodosius's Victorie over Arbogastes and Eugenius in the year 394.*

A. D. 396.  
*His Time,  
and Works*

I. CLAUDIAN has been already quoted, as bearing witness to the wonderfull deliverance of Mark Antonin and his armie in (a) Germanie. He is now to be quoted again upon another like occasion. And he may be quoted again hereafter.

Accounts of him, and his works, may be seen in several (b) authors. I refer particularly to (c) Tillemont, and our Writers of Ancient Universal (d) Historie.

Says

(a) See Vol. 2. p. 240.

(b) See the *Life of Claudian*, and the testimonies to him, prefixed to the edition of his works in Usun Delphini. Pope Blount's *Censura Auctorum*. p. 185. Cave H. L. Tom. i. p. 348. Fabric. *Bib. Lat.* l. 3.

cap. 13. p. 624. &c. Tom. i. p. 148. &c. Tom. 3. Rollin. *Hist. ancienne*, p. 172. T. xii.

(c) Tillem. *L'Emp. Honoré*. art. 66.

(d) Vol. xvi. p. 533. 534.

Says Suidas : “ Claudian (*e*) of Alexandria, a late heroic Poet.  
“ He flourished in the times of the Emperours Arcadius and Hono-  
“ rius.”

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In Blount's *Censura Auctorum* he is placed at the year 385. by Cave at the year 395. in the Consulship of Olybrius and Probinus, which he celebrated in an excellent poem, and was his first Latin poem. I place him in 396. because I shall largely quote his Pannegyrick upon the third Consulship of Honorius, writ in that year.

It appears to me somewhat extraordinarie, that a native of Egypt, at the end of the fourth, and the begining of the fifth centurie, should so excell in Latin verse, as to approach the best writers of the Augustan age in purity and elegance.

As Orosius calls Claudian *an obdurate Pagan*, Cave (*f*) thought it might be reasonably argued, that he had writ against the Christian Religion : though there are no traces of it in any of his writings, now extant. Fabricius (*g*) says, that the words of Orosius afford no ground for such an apprehension. But I presume, that Cave did not intend to say, that such a conclusion could be certainly made. However, it may be reckoned somewhat remarkable, that a learned man, a devout worshiper of all the gods, a wit, and a poet, and author of many works, should never say any thing disrespectful to Christianity. Nevertheless nothing of that kind has been observed in his writings, that I know of. Undoubtedly, the Christian poems, which have been ascribed to him, are spurious.

It might have been worth the while, and would have been very proper

(*e*) Κλαυδιανός, Αλεξανδρεὺς, ἐποποιὸς πενιχέτερος· γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀρκασίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου βασιλέων. nulla vestigia deprehenduntur. *Cav. p.*  
348.

(*f*) Immo *paganum perveracissimum* vocat. Orosius. Unde jure quis inferre possit, ipsum scriptis editis fidem Christianam oppugnasse, etiamsi in iis quæ supersunt, (*g*) Sed argumentum hoc ab Orosii verbis petitum levius videtur, quam ut eo facile duci se quis patiatur. *Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 624.*

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396.

proper for me, to give some account of an eminent Heathen Poet, who flourished under Christian Emperours, in the fourth and fifth centuries, though there had been nothing in him relating to Christian affairs. But there is something of that kind well deserving our notice. It was occasioned by some remarkable events, which must be first related from Christian authors.

*His Te-  
simonie  
to Theodo-  
sius's Vic-  
torie in  
394.*

II. Valentinian the second died in the year (b) 392. on the fifteenth day of May, when he was somewhat more than twenty years old, after having born the title of Augustus sixteen years, and almost six months, though he cannot be said to have reigned till after the death of Gratian, that is, eight years, and nine months.

*Arbogastes*, a General of great authority and influence, having been provoked by some treatment received from *Valentinian*, was the author, or at least the occasion of his death. For the manner of his death is differently related. It happened near Vienne in Gaul.

*Arbogastes* might have set up himself for Sovereign. But being desirous, as is supposed, to avoid the reproach of the crime, which he had been guilty of, he gave that title to *Eugenius*. “Who, as (i) “Socrates says, was originally a Grammarian, who had taught Latin with reputation. But (k) leaving that employment, obtained “a militarie post in the palace, and was made Master of the Desks “to the Emperour. After the death of the Emperour [*Valentinian*] “he assumed the supreme government of affairs in the western part “of the Empire. The Emperour *Theodosius*, hearing of these “things, was greatly disturbed in mind. Collecting his forces “therefore, and having appointed his son *Honorius* Augustus, when “himself was the third time Consul, together with *Abundantius*,  
“ [in

(b) *Vide Pagi. ann. 392. num. iii. iv. Tillm. L'Emp. Theodose. i. art. lxxix. et Conf. Basnag. ann. 392. iii. et iv. (i) Socrat. H. E. l 5. cap. 25.*

(k) . . . ἀφείλ τὰ παιδευτήρια, ἐν τοῖς βασιλείαις ἐσρατεύετο, καὶ ἀντιγραφῆος τοῦ βασιλέως καθίσταται. κ. λ. *Ib. p. 293. D.*



“ [in the year 393.] on the tenth day of the month of Januarie, he  
 “ set out in great haste for the western parts, leaving both his sons at  
 “ Constantinople. As he marched along to the war against Euge-  
 “ nius, many Barbarians, living beyond the Danube, joined him in  
 “ this expedition, voluntarily offering their assistance against the ty-  
 “ rant. In no long space of time he arrived in Gaul with a nume-  
 “ rous armie. For there the tyrant had put himself in a posture of  
 “ receiving him with a great force. They came to an engagement  
 “ near the river *Frigidus*, at the distance of six and thirty miles from  
 “ *Aquileia*. In that part of the armie, where Romans were engaged  
 “ with Romans, the battle was doubtfull. Where the Barbarians,  
 “ the Emperour’s auxiliaries, engaged, *Eugenius’s* forces had much  
 “ the better. When the Emperour saw the slaughter made of the  
 “ Barbarians, he was in great concern: and casting himself upon  
 “ the ground, he called upon God to afford him his aid. Nor  
 “ was his prayer rejected. For *Bacurius*, Prefect of the Praetori-  
 “ um, was greatly encouraged, and hastening with his van-guard  
 “ to the place, where the Barbarians were hard pressed, he broke  
 “ through the enemies ranks, and put to flight those who before were  
 “ pursuing. At (l) the same time happened somewhat deserving  
 “ admiration. A vehement wind arose on a sudden, which beat  
 “ back upon themselves the darts thrown by those with *Eugenius*,  
 “ and also carried with redoubled force upon the enemy those  
 “ thrown by the soldiers of *Theodosius*. So prevalent was the Em-  
 “ perour’s prayer! Thus the battle was turned, and the tyrant threw  
 “ himself at the Emperour’s feet, requesting, that his life might be  
 “ spared. But the soldiers beheaded him, as he lay prostrate upon  
 “ the ground. These things happened on the sixth day of the month  
 “ of

A. D.  
 396.

(l) Επιγίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο θαύματος ἄξιον· στρατοῦ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἔφερε κατ’ αὐτῶν. Το-  
 ῦτος γὰρ στρατὸς ἐπὶ πένεσας, τὰ πεμπόμενα σῆτον ἵχυσεν ἢ τῷ βασιλέως ἰσχύϊ. Socrat.  
 βέλη παρὰ τῶν Ευγενίως, κατ’ αὐτῶν περιέτρε- ibid p. 294. D.  
 πον: ἢ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, μετὰ

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“ of September, in the third Consulship of *Arcadius*, and the second  
“ Consulship of *Honorius*. *Arbogastes*, who had been the cause of  
“ all these troubles, on the third day after the battle, finding, there  
“ were no hopes of safety, ran himself through with his own  
“ sword.”

I have taken Socrates's account, and have translated it very literally. *Rufinus*, who was contemporarie with the event, and from whom Socrates differs very little, says, “ that (*m*) when the Emperour saw  
“ the Barbarians, his auxiliaries, turning back, standing upon an  
“ eminence, where he might see, and be seen by both armies, lay-  
“ ing aside his weapons, he betook himself to his wonted resource,  
“ and falling down upon the ground, and lifting up his eyes to hea-  
“ ven, he said : O Almighty God, thou knowest, that in the name  
“ of thy Son Jesus Christ, I have undertaken this war, in the way  
“ of just vengeance, as it has appeared to me. And if it is not so,  
“ let thy vengeance fall upon me. But if upon good ground, and  
“ trusting in thy blessing, I came hither, do thou graciously afford  
“ thy assistance, that the Gentils may not say, Where is their God ?  
“ After which all his Generals were greatly animated, and especial-  
“ ly *Bacurius*, [who is here much commended] who fought with  
“ great

(*m*) Stetit aliquamdiu anceps victoria : fundebantur auxilia Barbarorum, terga jam hostibus dabant. . . . Tum ille, ut conversas suorum acies vidit, stans in edita rupe, unde et conspiciere et conspici ab utroque posset exercitu, projectis armis, ad solita se convertit auxilia, et prostratus in conspectu Dei : Tu, inquit, omnipotens Deus, nosti, quia in nomine Christi filii tui ultionis justae, ut puto praelia ista suscepi : si secus, in me vindica. Si vero cum causa probabili, et in te confusus, huc veni, porrige dextram tuam, ne forte dicant Gentes, ubi est Deus eorum ? Quam supplicationem pii principis, certi

a Deo esse susceptam, hi qui aderant duces, animantur ad coedem. . . . Etenim compertum est, quod post illam Imperatoris precem, quam Deo fuderat, ventus ita vehemens exortus est, ut tela hostium in eos qui jecerant, retorqueret. Cumque magna vi persistente vento, omne jaculum missum ab hostibus frustraretur, fracto adversariorum animo, seu potius divinitus repulso, Arbogasto duce nequicquam fortiter faciente, Eugenius ante Theodosii pedes, victis post terga manibus, adducitur. Ibique vitae ejus et certaminis finis fuit. *Rufin. H. E. l. 2. cap. 33.*

" great courage, and gained great advantages. At the same time  
 " there arose a vehement wind, which beat back the enemies darts  
 " upon themselves, and rendred them vain and fruitless. Thus the  
 " enemies were discouraged, and *Arbogastes*, though he fought va-  
 " liantly, was defeated. And *Eugenius* was brought bound to the  
 " Emperour, and there was an end put to his life and designs."

*Augustin* also has particularly related this event, and it's circum-  
 stances, in his work of the City of God, and says, he (*n*) had the  
 account from some of the soldiers, who were present in the battle,  
 and fought on the side of theemie.

*Orosius*, (*o*) though an historian, has described the storm very  
 oratorically. He also says, that it was attested by many witnesses  
 still living.

There are some fabulous stories relating to this event, in (*p*) *So-*  
*zomen*, and (*q*) *Theodoret*, which are taken notice of by (*r*) *Basnage*,  
 and

(*n*) . . . eoque, [Valentiniano] five  
 per insidias, five quo alio pacto, vel casu,  
 proxime extincto, alium tyrannum Euge-  
 nium, qui in illius imperatoris locum non  
 legitime fuerat subrogatus, accepto rursus  
 prophetico responso, fide certa oppressit,  
 [Theodosius,] contra cujus robustissimum  
 exercitum magis orando, quam feriendo,  
 pugnavit. Milites nobis qui aderant, re-  
 tulerunt, extorta sibi esse de manibus quae-  
 cunque jaculabantur, cum a Theodosii  
 partibus in adversarios vehemens ventus  
 irret, et non solum quaecunque in eos ja-  
 ciebantur, concitatissime raperet, verum  
 etiam in eorum corpora retorqueret. *Aug.*  
*De civ. Dei. l. v. cap. 26.*

(*o*) Historiam notam etiam oculis pluri-  
 morum, quam melius qui spectare no-  
 verunt, dilatari verbis non opus est . . .  
 At ubi ad contigua miscendae pugnae spa-

tia perventum est, continuo magnus ille et  
 ineffabilis turbo ventorum in ora hostium  
 ruit. Ferebantur per aëra spicula missa  
 nostrorum manu, atque ultra mensuram  
 humani jactus per magnum inane portata,  
 nusquam propemodum cadere, priusquam  
 impingerent, sinebantur. Porro autem  
 turbo continuus ora pectoraque hosti-  
 um nunc illis scutis everberabat, nunc  
 impressis pertinaciter obstructa claudebat,  
 nunc avulsis violenter destituta nudabat,  
 nunc oppositis jugiter in terga trudebat.  
 Tela etiam, quae ipsi vehementer intorse-  
 rant, excepta ventis impetu supinata, ac  
 retrorsum coacta ipsos infeliciter confige-  
 bant. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 35.*

(*p*) *Soz. l. 7. cap. 24.*

(*q*) *Theod. l. 5. cap. 24.*

(*r*) *Basnag. ann. 394. num. v.*

A. D.  
396.

and are rejected and exposed by him as becomes a good critic, and a genuine Christian, and Protestant.

I need not mention them. But that there was then a vehement storm of wind, which was favorable to Theodosius, and his armie, and adverse to the enemy, is attested by *Claudian*, in his Panegyrick upon the third Consulship of Honorius, in 396. writ about eighteen months afterwards. I shall give, as well as I can, a literal translation in prose, of what is elegantly expressed in verse.

“ Such (*s*) is your good fortune, that the victorie was speedily accomplished. Both fought. You by your destiny: your Father in person. For your sake even the Alps are easie to be seized. Nor was it of any advantage to a subtle enemy to be posted in a fortified place. The walls, in which he confides, fall down, and rocks are removed, and set open their hiding places. For your sake Boreas overwhelms the adverse forces with cold torrents, poured down from the mountains, and cast back their darts upon those who throw them, and blunts their spears. O [*Honorius*]  
“ highly

(*s*) . . . . . *Victoria velox*

Auspiciis effecta tuis. Pugnantis uterque :  
Tu fatis, genitorque manu. Te propter et Alpes  
Invadi faciles. Cauto nec profuit hosti  
Munitis hæsisse locis. Spes irrita valli  
Concidit, et scopulis patuerunt claustra revulsis.  
Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis  
Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela  
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit hastas.  
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris  
Æolus armatas hyemes : cui militat æther :  
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti !  
Alpinæ rubuere nives, et Frigidus amnis  
Mutatis sumavit aquis, turbæque cadentum  
Staret, ni rapidus juvisset flumina sanguis.

*Claudian. de tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti Panegyris. ver 87. . . . 101.*



“ highly favoured of God, for whose sake Aeolus sends out from  
 “ his caverns stormie winds : for whom heaven itself fights, and  
 “ the winds conspire to come at the call of your trumpet. The  
 “ snowy Alps are stained red, and the river Frigidus foams with dis-  
 “ coloured streams : and would be stopped with the heaps of the  
 “ slain, if the rapid blood did not strengthen the current.”

A. D.  
 396.

Here is every thing that can be desired, to confirm the Christian accounts of the storm, which favored the armie of Theodosius, “ nothing to be complained of, but that he flatters *Honorius*, and “ ascribes to the fate of the Son, who was yet but an infant, ten “ or eleven years old, what was due to the sole faith and piety of “ the Father.” Which is Tillemont’s (t) observation.

This testimonie of *Claudian* is alleged by *Orosius* and *Augustin*, in their accounts of this event. And do we not think, that the Christian writers of that time, and especially such of them as were engaged in the defense of the Christian Religion against Gentils, endeavoured to make an advantage of the remarkable victorie, which *Theodosius* gained over those enemies ? Yes, certainly, they did. *Orosius* harangues and triumphs in this manner. “ I (u) would not in-

F f 2

“ sult

(t) *L'Emp. Theodof. i. art. 80. at the end.*

(u) Non insulto obtrektoribus nostris. Unum aliquod ab initio Urbis conditae bellum proferant, tam pia necessitate susceptum, tam divina felicitate confectum, tam clementi benignitate sopitum : ubi nec pugna gravem coedem, nec victo-

ria cruentam exegerit ultionem : et fortasse concedam, ut non haec fidei Christiani ducis concessa videantur : quamvis ego hoc testimonio non laborem, quando unus ex ipsis, poeta quidem eximius, sed Paganus pervicacissimus hujusmodi versibus et Deo, et homini testimonium tulit, quibus ait :

O nimium dilecte Deo ! tibi militat Aether,  
 Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.

Ita coelitus judicatum est inter partem, etiam sine praesidio hominum de solo Deo humiliter sperantem, et partem arrogantissime de viribus suis, et de idolis praesu-

mentem. Theodosius autem, composita tranquillitate Reipublicae, apud Mediolanum constitutus diem obiit. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 35.*

A. D.  
396.

“sult those who revile us. But may I not ask, if since the founda-  
“tion of the City they can allege one war so justly undertaken, so  
“happily concluded by divine interposition, and quieted with so mer-  
“ciful benignity : where neither the battle was grievous for slaugh-  
“ter, nor the victorie followed with cruel revenge? And then per-  
“haps I may allow, that these advantages were not the reward of  
“the faith of the Christian Prince. Although indeed I need not la-  
“bor this point, since one of themselves, an excellent poet, though  
“obstinate Pagan, has bore testimonie to God and man, in these  
“lines :

“O beloved of God, for you the heavens fight. And the winds  
“conspire to come at the call of your trumpet !”

“Thus was the cause decided by heaven in favour of that side,  
“which without human aid humbly trusted in God alone against  
“that side, which arrogantly boasted of their own strength, and  
“their idols. Soon after which Theodosius having settled the pub-  
“lic tranquillity, went to Milan, where he died.”

*Augustin* likewise having mentioned the vehement storm, and the  
circumstances of it, so favourable to *Theodosius*, adds : “Hence (x)  
“also the poet *Claudian*, though alien from the name of Christ, ce-  
“lebrates his praises, saying : O beloved of God, for whose sake Ae-  
“olus sends out from his caverns stormie winds, for whom heaven  
“fights, and the winds conspire to come at the call of your trum-  
“pet :” thus quoting somewhat more of *Claudian*, than we find in  
*Orosius*.

Whether

(x) Unde et poeta Claudianus, quamvis a nomine Christi alienus, in ejus ta-  
men laudibus dixit :

O nimium dilecte Deo ! cui fundit ab antris  
Aeolus armatas hyemes, cui militat aether,  
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti !

*Aug. De Civ. Dei. l. 5. cap. 26.*

Whether the victorie of *Theodosius* was miraculous, as (y) some think, or not, it was a remarkable event, and very seasonable, and advantageous to the Christian cause. And this testimonie of *Claudian* well deserves our notice.

(y) *Claudian* mesme, qui se rendoit alors celebre par ses poesies, quoiqu'il fust payen, et tres fortement attaché à l'idolatrie, n'a peu s'empescher de rendre témoignage à la verité de ce miracle, par de tres beaux vers, qu'il fit 18 mois apres. *Tillem. L'Emp. Theodos. i. art. 80. à la fin. And see Colonia. Tom. i. ch. v. p. 157.*



## C H A P. LV.

## M A C R O B I U S.

- I. *His Name, Works, Time, Dignity.* II. *His religious Profession and Character.* III. *His Testimonie to Herod's Slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem.*

A. D.  
400.  
*His Time  
and Works*

I. **A**URELIUS THEODOSIUS AMBROSIUS MACROBIUS is an Author well known by name, and by some works, which are generally ascribed to him. Nevertheless the place of his nativity, his religious profession, and his time, are either unknown, or at least doubtfull and uncertain. Even his names are writ differently. *Macrobius* is generally put last, but there is a variety in the order, in which the others are placed.

He writes in Latin, but what was his native place, is unknown. For himself says, he (*a*) was born in a countrey, where the Latin tongue was not in use.

The

(*a*) . . . oratio sollertior, sermo incorruptior: nisi sicubi nos sub alio ortos coelo Latinae linguae vena non adjuvet. Quod ab his, si tamen quibusdam forte nonnumquam tempus voluntasque erit is-

ta cognoscere, petitum impetratumque volumus, ut aequi bonique consulant, si in nostro sermone nativa Romani oris elegantia desideretur. *Saturn. lib. i. in Pr.*



The works ascribed to him (*b*) are a Commentarie upon the dream of Scipio, as represented by Cicero, in two books : The Saturnalia, in seven books, and a grammatical treatise concerning the Differences and Agreements between the Greek and Latin languages.

At the head of his works he is qualified (*c*) with the title of *Illustrious*, which is proper to such as were advanced to some of the highest posts of the Empire. Concerning which (*d*) several learned men may be consulted. But it is generally supposed, that he was Vicar of Spain in 399. and 400. Proconsul of Africa in 410. and Grand-Chamberlain to Theodosius the Second in 422.

Tillemont (*e*) says, it may be well questioned, whether Theodosius the second would have a Pagan for Grand-Chamberlain, that is, for him who was nearest his person. However, upon the whole, Tillemont (*f*) thinks, “ that Macrobius lived under Theodosius the “ first, or rather a short time after him : for he acknowledgeth, that “ (*g*) he had put some persons into his Dialogues, who were lower “ in time than Praetextatus.” Let this suffice for his time (*b*).

II. As for his religious profession, some (*i*) have supposed him to have

*His religious Profession and Character*

(*b*) Commentarius ex Cicerone in Somnium Scipionis.

Convivia Saturnalia.

De Differentiis et Societatibus Graeci Latiniq; Verbi.

(*c*) *V. Cl. et Inbustris.*

(*d*) *Vid. Gathofredi Presop. Cod. Theodos. p. 370. and Tillemont L'Emp. Honoré. art. 68. at the beginning.*

(*e*) *As above, at p. 1381.*

(*f*) *Ibid p. 1382.*

(*g*) *Nec mihi fraudi sit, si uni aut alteri ex his, quos coetus coëgit, matura ac-*

*tas posterior seculo Praetextati sit. Macrobi. Saturn. l. i. cap. 1.*

(*b*) *There is a large account of Macrobius, and his work, in the xvi. vol. of the Ancient Universal History. p. 536. 537.*

(*i*) *Non minus incerta res de religione Macrobi. Christianis eum annumerat Barthius. Contra homo Ethnicus dicitur Spanhemio. Dub. Evang. T. i. p. 533. Cui ego assentiri malim. Ambigui haerent Grotius ad Matt. ii. 16. et Huet. Dem. Evang. p. 789. Fabr. Bib. Lat. lib. 3. cap. xii. Tom. i p. 620.*

A. D.  
400.

have been a Christian, others a Heathen, whilst others have doubted, and been in suspense. Tillemont is very clear. He (*k*) says, “every thing in the Saturnalia (*l*) is Pagan. *Symmachus*, *Flavianus*, *Praetextatus*, who appear in every part, were the most zealous patrons of Paganism: So that there can be no doubt, that the Author, and all those whom he makes speak, were of the same profession. Among them, beside those already mentioned, may be reckoned *Postumian*, a celebrated Advocate: *Eusebius*, Professor of Rhetorick, who was very learned in Greek and Latin, and *Servius* the Grammarian.”

But no one has treated this point more fully, than (*m*) Mr. *Mafson*, he having had a particular occasion for it. To him therefore I refer my readers, if they have any doubts about it. There, as I apprehend, they will find more than enough to satisfy them, that *Macrobius* was a sincere Gentil.

*His Testimonie to the Slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem*

III. I formerly (*n*) quoted this Author. Having alleged divers Christian writers, who have bore testimonie to the truth of St. Matthew's historie, in the second chapter of his Gospel, concerning the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, I added:

“There (*o*) is also a noted passage of *Macrobius*, a Heathen author, who flourished near the end of the fourth centurie, who among other jests of Augustus has this: When (*p*) he had  
“heard,

(*k*) *As before*, p. 1382. 1383.

(*l*) *Saturn. l. i. cap. 2. 3.*

(*m*) The Slaughter of the Children in Bethlehem, as an historical fact in St. Matthew's Gospel vindicated: and the suspected Christianity of Macrobius, who also mentions the same fact, disproved, &c. *At the End of the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield's Vindication of Christianity*, in 1728.

(*n*) *In the first Part of the Credibility of the Gospel History. B. 2. ch. 11. §. 1. published in 1727.*

(*o*) *Ibid* p. 198.

(*p*) Cum audisset inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes Rex Judaeorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: *Melius est Herodis percum esse quam filium.* Macrobi. Sat. l. 2. cap. iv. p. 332.

“ heard, that among the children within two years of age, which  
“ Herod King of the Jews commanded to be slain in Syria, his own  
“ son had been killed, he said : *It is better to be Herod's bog than his*  
“ *son.*”

Upon which I then said : “ I lay little or no stress upon this pas-  
“ sage, partly, because it comes too late, partly because there is rea-  
“ son to suppose, that Macrobius has been mistaken about the oc-  
“ casion of the jest. No early Christian writers have said any thing  
“ of Herod's having a young child of his own killed in the slaugh-  
“ ter at Bethlehem. If Augustus did pass this jest upon Herod, it  
“ might be occasioned by the death of *Antipater*, or rather of *Alex-*  
“ *ander* and *Arislobulus* (p).”

“ That (q) is what I said of this passage in the first edition. I  
“ would now add : It ought to be allowed, that Augustus did pass  
“ this jest on Herod upon some occasion, or other : and that *Ma-*  
“ *crobius* has given us the words of the jest. This passage also shews,  
“ that Herod's slaughter of the infants in Judea was a thing well  
“ known in the time of *Macrobius*, and was not contested by Hea-  
“ then people.”

“ If we could be assured, that Macrobius transcribed this whole  
“ passage, not only the jest itself, but the occasion of it likewise,  
“ from some more ancient author ; it would be a proof, that this  
“ event was known in that author's time also. And we should have  
“ a great deal of reason to suppose, that author to have been a Hea-  
“ then, because it is likely, that Macrobius, a bigoted Heathen him-  
“ self (r) did not much deal in Christian writers.”

“ But it is possible, that Macrobius found only the jest in his au-  
“ thor, and added the occasion, having collected it from the com-  
“ mon

(p) See Dr. *Whitby's Annotations upon*  
*Matt. ii. 16. 17.*

(q) So in the 2d edition of the first Part  
of the *Credibility*, at p 445. 446. and in  
the third edition, at p. 763. . . 765.

(r) “ This is very evident from his  
“ works. And the Reader may see a full  
“ proof of it in the Rev. Mr. *Mafion's*  
“ slaughter of the children at Bethlehem,  
“ as an historical fact, vindicated. §. 3.”

A. D.  
400.

“ mon discourse of the Christians in his time, who frequently spoke  
“ of this cruel action of Herod. There is some reason to suspect  
“ this, because it is very likely, that Augustus’s reflexion upon He-  
“ rod was occasioned by the death of one of those sons, whom Jo-  
“ sephus has mentioned : and that it has no relation at all to the  
“ slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem. This suspicion may be  
“ farther strengthened by the great agreement of Macrobius with St.  
“ Matthew, in the words, which he useth concerning the (s) chil-  
“ dren. Macrobius being ignorant of Herod’s story, and having  
“ heard of the slaughter of the infants ; when he met with this jest  
“ in some author, concluded, that there had been some young child  
“ of Herod put to death with them.”

“ I am content therefore to leave it a doubtfull point, whether  
“ *Macrobius* transcribed this whole passage, or the jest only, from  
“ some more ancient author.”

“ Upon the whole then, there lies no objection against this rela-  
“ tion of St. Matthew. There is nothing improbable in the thing  
“ itself, considering the jealous, cruel temper of Herod. The si-  
“ lence of Josephus, or of the ancient Greek and Roman historians,  
“ can be no difficulty with any reasonable person. This fact is  
“ confirmed by the express testimonie of very early Christian wri-  
“ ters, and by *Macrobius*, a Heathen author about the end of the  
“ fourth centurie : from whom it appears, that this event was not  
“ then contested, and that it was even better known, than the fate  
“ of those sons of Herod, whom Josephus says he put to death at  
“ man’s estate.”

• All this I wrote formerly. Nor am I now able to say any thing  
more pertinent, or more material.

However, I shall observe, that this jest of Augustus stands in a  
chapter of *Macrobius*, which (t) contains a collection of Augustus’s  
“ witty

(s) “ *Children within two years of age,*  
“ *which Herod King of the Jews command-*  
“ *ed to be slain.* So in *Macrobius*.”

(t) *De joci Augusti in alios, et alio-*  
*rum rursus in ipsum. Saturn. l. 2. cap.*  
*iv.*



witty sayings, or jests upon others, and the repartees, or smart sayings of others upon him. Which, as it seems, to his no small honour, he bore very (u) patiently. As they are all independent on each other, no elucidations can be brought in from the connexion. For there is none.

Pontanus, in his notes upon this place of Macrobius, says, “ (x) Scaliger wondered, that Augustus should make this reflexion upon Herod, since Augustus himself had confirmed the sentence of death upon the three sons of Herod.”

I do not find that place in Scaliger. But whoever wondered at it, it was without reason, in my opinion. For though Augustus complied with the requests, or proposals of Herod, and gave him leave to do with those sons as he pleased: the Emperour might still think it a strange thing, that any Prince should put so many of his own sons to death: and he might well say, alluding to the Jewish custom of forbearing to eat swine’s flesh, *It was better to be Herod’s hog, than his son.* Very probably, that was the occasion of the jest of Augustus. And therefore, as Whitby says: *It must be confessed, that Macrobius is mistaken about the circumstances of this story.*

(u) Soleo in Augusto magis mirari quos pertulit jocos, quam ipse quos protulit, quia major est patientiae quam facundiae laus: maxime cum aequanimiter aliqua etiam jocos mordaciora pertulerit. *Sat. l. 2. cap. 4. p. 335.*

(x) Miratur autem Scaliger ad Eusebium p. 163. Haec verba excidisse, cum ipse Augustus sententiam capitis in tres filios Herodis judicio suo probatam confirmaverit. *Pent. in loc.*

## C H A P. LVI.

## R U T I L I U S.

I. *His Time, and Character, and Work, and Extracts  
from Him.*A. D.  
418.

I. **C**LAUDIUS RUTILIUS NUMATIANUS, (*a*) whose father had bore several high offices in the Roman Empire, with great applause and acceptance, was a native of Gaul. He had himself been Prefect of the City, and Master of the Palace, and, as some say, Consul, and Prefect of the Praetorium, which I do not think to be certain. In the year 418. in the time of Theodosius the Younger, he made a visit to his native countrey, or returned to it, with a design to reside there. He has described his voyage thither from Rome in an elegant Latin poem, consisting of two books, the second of which is almost entirely lost.

II. In his voyage he touched at *Capraria*, a small island, lying between Leghorn and Corsica. “ This (*b*) island, says he, is full of  
“ men

(*a*) *Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 2. cap. 15. Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art. 67. Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 3. cap. 13. Tom. i. p. 630.*

(*b*) *Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit.  
Squallet lucifugis insula plena viris.  
Ipsi se monachos Grajo cognomine dicunt,*

“ men that shun the light. They call themselves Monks, a name  
 “ borrowed from the Greek language, because they choose to live  
 “ alone. They dread the gifts of Fortune, because they are not a-  
 “ ble to bear her frowns. And make themselves miserable, because  
 “ they are afraid of being so. What foolish distraction of mind : to  
 “ dread adversity, and yet not be able to bear prosperity ! He goes  
 “ on to ascribe their way of life to melancholie, ill-nature, and ha-  
 “ tred of mankind.”

A. D.  
 418.

III. Soon after, at *Gorgona* another small island, near *Pisa*, a-  
 mong the Hermites there, he met with a young Gentleman, of his  
 own acquaintance, whom he laments and banters, in the following  
 manner : “ And (c) here a Roman Citizen has buried himself among  
 “ the

Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.  
 Munera Fortunae metuunt, dum damna verentur.  
 Quisquam est sponte miser, ne miser esse queat.  
 Quænam perversi rabies tam stulta cerebri ?  
 Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati.  
 Sive suas repetunt ex fato ergastula poenas,  
 Tristia seu nigro viscera felle tument.  
 Sic nimiae bilis morbum assignavit Homerus  
 Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus.  
 Nam juveni offenso sævi post tela doloris  
 Dicitur humanum displicuisse genus.

*Rutilii Itinerarium, lib. i. ver. 439. . . . 452.*

(c) Assurgit ponti medio circumflua Gorgon,  
 Inter Pisanum Cyniacumque latus.  
 Adversus scopulos, damni monumenta recentis  
 Perditus hic vivo funere civis erat.  
 Noster enim nuper juvenis, majoribus amplis,  
 Nec censu inferior, conjugiove minor,  
 Impulsus furiis homines, divosque reliquit,  
 Et turpem latebram credulus oxul agit.  
 Infelix putat, illuvie coelestia passi,  
 Seque premit læsis sævior ipse Deis.  
 Non, rogo, deterior Circaeis secta venenis ?  
 Tunc mutabantur corpora, nunc animi.

*Ibid. ver. 515. . . . 526.*

A. D.  
418.

“ the rocks alive. For the young man, once our friend, of noble  
 “ parentage, and ample fortune, happy too in marriage, impelled  
 “ by the Furies, forsakes the society of Gods and men. The su-  
 “ perstitious fool hides himself in a dark hole. The unhappy wretch  
 “ believes, the celestial deities to be pleased with human miserie, and  
 “ plagues himself worse than the angrie Gods would do. What  
 “ new mischief do we see, worse than the sorceries of Circe? She  
 “ metamorphosed the bodies of men into the shape of swine. This  
 “ religion makes men brutes all over !”

IV. Hence it is apparent, that hermitages, and monasteries, which had their original in the East, were now got also into Europe. Other reflexions I forbear, as obvious, and easie to be made by all who are disposed to think.

V. Beside these two passages, more directly relating to Christian affairs, it may be observed, that at the port *Faleria*, when Rutilius went ashore, he found the Heathen people celebrating the feast of osiris. “ Here (*d*) he met with a Jew, who had some authority in  
 “ the

(*d*) Sed male pensavit requiem stationis amoenae  
 Hospite conductor durior Antiphate.  
 Namque loci querulus curam Judaeus agebat,  
 Humanis animal dissociabile cibus.  
 Vexatos frutices, pulsatas reputat algas.  
 Damnaque libatae grandia clamat aquae.  
 Reddimus obscenae convicia debita genti,  
 Quae genitale caput propudiosa metit.  
 Radix stultitiae, cui frigida sabbata cordi :  
 Sed cor frigidius religione sua est.  
 Septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno.  
 Tanquam lassati mollis imago Dei.  
 Caetera mendacis deliramenta catastae,  
 Nec pueros omnes credere posse reor.

Atque



“ the place. And he laments the conquest of Judea by *Pompey*,  
 “ and *Titus*, which had occasioned the spreading of the Jewish su-  
 “ perstition over the Empire.”

A. D.  
418.

I have thought this worth notice, because, possibly, here is a reference to the encrease of Christianity, which was derived from Judaism, and certainly had spread farther in the Roman Empire, than Judaism itself. I therefore put the verses in the margin. An exact translation is not needfull.

However, at the year 418. the year of this voyage of Rutilius, Pagi (*e*) has some curious observations upon the laws of the Empire at that time. He says, that (*f*) the Jews were then of great account.

This author is in (*g*) Colonia.

Atque utinam numquam Judaea subacta fuisset  
 Pompeii belli, imperioque Titi.  
 Latius excisae pestis contagia serpunt,  
 Victoresque suos natio victa premit.

*Ibid. ver. 381. . . 398.*

(*e*) *ann. 418. num. lxx.*

(*f*) *Judaeorum magna ratio hoc adhuc tempore habita. Id. ibid.*

(*g*) *Tom. 2. chap. vi. p. 205. &c.*

## C H A P. LVII.

## O L Y M P I O D O R U S.

*His Work, and Time, and Extracts from him.*

A. D. 425. *His Work, and Time.* I. **I** Begin immediatly with Photius's account of this (*a*) Author. " We read, says (*b*) Photius, the two and twenty books of OLYMPIODORUS. He begins his Historie at the seventh Consulship of Honorius, Emperour of Rome, and the second of Theodosius, and brings it down to the time that Valentinian, son of Placidia and Constantius, was declared Emperour of Rome. This (*c*) writer was of Thebes in Egypt, a Chemist by employment, as he says himself, and as to religion a Greek. He dedicates his Historie to the Emperour Theodosius, son of Arcadius, and nephew to Honorius and Placidia."

Hereby it appears, that the Historie of Olympiodorus began at the year 407. and reached to the year 425. when Valentinian the third was declared Emperour. The Historie was dedicated to Theodosius the Younger, who reigned from the year 408. to 450. As it reached to the reign of Valentinian, it must have been published between

(*a*) *Vid. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 468. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 5. T. 6. p. 237. Esc. et lib. v. cap. 38. T. 9. p. 400. Tillem. H. E. Honoré. art. 66. Voff de Histor. Gr. l. 2. cap. 20. Universal Ancient Historie. vol. xvi. p. 532.*

(*b*) *Cod. 80. p. 178.*

(*c*) "Ουτος ὁ συγγραφεὺς Θεβῶν μὲν ἐστίν, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Αἰγυπτου Θεβῶν τὸ γένος ποιεῖται, ὡς αὐτὸς εἰσι, τὸ ἐπιτίθευμα, ἕλλην τὴν θρησκείαν. Phot. p. 178. med.

between the year 425. and 450. I place him at the year 425. where he is placed by Cave.

A. D.  
425.

Photius says, the author's stile is clear. Nevertheless he passeth a censure upon his manner of writing. However Tillemont (*d*) says, "that the extract, which Photius has preserved, makes us regret, that we have no more of him. For, certainly, he would clear up many things. Zosimus (*e*) cites him by name, and appears to have borrowed several things from him, as well as Sozomen."

Cave (*f*) considers him as a very superstitious Gentil, and thinks he was partial in what he says of some Christians. Nevertheless, if his historie were now extant, I believe it would have been curious, and entertaining. But the bigotry of some people, who have destroyed works which they did not like, has deprived us of a great deal of pleasure, as well as instruction, which we might have had.

2. I shall transcribe a few things out of the extracts of Photius, which are all we now have of this Historie.

*Extracts  
from his  
Work.*

Olympiodorus gives a brief account of one *Constantin* (*g*) a common soldier, who was proclaimed Emperour by the Roman armie in Britain, out of respect to his name, in the reign of Honorius, A. D. 407. and was put to death in 411.

"Whilst (*b*) these things were transacting, says he, Constantius  
"and

(*d*) As before, *Honoré*, art. 66.

(*e*) *Zos.* l. 5. p. 803.

(*f*) In hac historia non modo superstitionum Gentilium ritus commendavit, sed et in Christianos clam invecus est, precipue in Olympium officiorum magistrum, quem ob pietatem vere Christianam miris effert laudibus Augustinus, cumque ut *avo-*

*στυργον* falso non minus quam invidiose traducit. *Cav. ib.* p. 468.

(*g*) Hujus loco Constantinus, ex infima militia, propter solam spem nominis, sine merito virtutis eligitur, qui continuo ut invasit imperium, in Gallias transit. *Oros.* l. 7. cap. 40. p. 576.<sup>1</sup>

(*b*) *Apud. Phot. ib.* p. 184.

A. D.  
425.

“ and Ulphilas are sent by Honorius against Constantin : who coming to Arles, where Constantin then was with his son, laid siege to it. And (i) Constantin taking refuge in a church, was ordained Presbyter, his life having been promised to him with the security of an oath. The gates of the city were then opened to the besiegers. And Constantin, with his son, was sent to Honorius. But the Emperour not being able to forgive the treatment of his cousins, †† whom Constantin had killed, contrarie to the oath that had been given, ordered them to be both put to death, when they were yet thirty miles off from Ravenna.”

3. I shall observe briefly another passage or two in the extracts of Photius.

“ This writer, says he, gives an account of a voyage he made to Athens, not without some danger. He (k) says, that by his interest *Leontius* was advanced to the sophistic chair, when he did not himself at all desire it. He likewise says, that none, especially strangers, might wear the cloak, without leave of the Sophists, and submitting to the ceremonies of initiation.” Which are there transcribed, and are ridiculous enough.

Upon occasion of this passage, Tillemont, and other learned men, refer to an oration of (l) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and observe, that the same fooleries were still practised at Athens, with regard to scholars newly arrived, which are described by *Gregorie* in his time. I think, we may also hence conclude, that *Gentilism* still prevailed very much at Athens, and that it was not restrained with much rigour and severity by Christian magistrates.

4. “ Once

(i) Καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος καταφυλὰν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, πρεσβύτερος τότε χειροτονεῖται, ὁρκων αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας δοθέντων. κ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 184.

†† He means *Didymus* and *Verinianus*. *Ibid.* *Sozom.* l. 9. cap. 4. et 13. et *Zosim.* l. 5. et 6.

(k) Λέγει δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας κατέραι, καὶ

τῇ αὐτῇ σπασῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ καὶ εἰς τὸν σοριστικὸν θρόνον ἀναχθῆναι Λέοντιον ἔπω θέλοντα. Λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ τρίβωνος, ὡς ἐκ ἐξῆν κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας περιπαλέσθαι αὐτόν τινα . . ὧ μὴ ἢ τῶν σοριστῶν γνώμῃ ἐπέτρεπε. . . κ. λ. *Ibid.* p. 189.

(l) *Or.* 20. p. 327.



4. "Once more, there is a storie told by this (*m*) writer, which  
"he had heard from a man of great note, of three silver images found  
"in the earth in Thrace. And when this treasure was inquired in-  
"to, it was found, that they had been hid by the people of the  
"countrey in a consecrated piece of ground, as a security against the  
"incurfions of Barbarians. The images lay with their faces toward  
"the north, the countrey of the Barbarians. And, as he fays, the  
"removal of them was soon followed by the incurfions of Goths, and  
"afterwards of Hions."

This storie is a proof of the writer's fuperftition and credulity:  
which, as I apprehend, were common difpofitions in Heathen peo-  
ple of all ranks, high and low, learned and unlearned. Indeed, we  
have feen many proofs of it.

(*m*) *Ap. Phot.* p. 188. 189.



## C H A P. LVIII.

## Z O S I M U S.

- I. *His Time, and Work.* II. *Extraëts from his Historie.* III. *Concluding Remarks upon the foregoing Extraëts.*

A. D.  
425.  
*His Time,  
and Work.*

I SHALL likewise begin the historie of this writer with the extraëts of Photius.

“ We (a) read, says Photius, the Historie of Zosimus, Count, and Ex-Advocate of the Treasurie, in six books. As to religion, he is impious, and often reviles the pious. His stile is concise, and perspicuous. He begins his historie at the time of Augustus, and runs through the several reigns to Diocletian, in a brief and hasty manner, mentioning little more than the successions of the Emperours. But after Diocletian he is more particular, writing their historie in five books : whereas the first alone comprehends all the rest from Augustus to (b) Diocletian. And the sixth book

“ con-

(a) Ανεγνώσθη ιστορικὸν λόγῳ ἐξ Ζωσίμου, κίμντος ἀπὸ φισκασυνηγόντος Ἐσι δὲ θρησκείαν ἀσεβὲς, καὶ πολλάκις ἐν πολλοῖς ὑλακτῶν κατὰ τῶν ἐυσεβῶν. κ. λ. *Phot. Cod.* 98. p. 269.

(b) In our present copies the later part of the first book is wanting. *Hodie postrema pars libri primi, ea nempe quae a Probo usque ad Diocletianum, desideratur. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 604.*

“concludes with Alarich’s second siege of Rome. Photius adds  
 “farther, that (c) Zosimus so nearly resembles Eunapius, that he  
 “may be said, to have transcribed him, rather than to have writ a  
 “new Historie, except that he is more concise, and does not rail  
 “at Stilicho. For the rest, his historie is much the same. And  
 “they agree in reviling the pious Emperours.”

So says Photius. But Zosimus has not mentioned Eunapius.

There needs little more to be said by way of a previous account of this writer. Cave (d) placeth him as flourishing about the year 425. And Euagrius says, he (e) lived in the time of Honorius and Arcadius, and afterwards. As he quotes Olympiodorus, he must have writ after him, if that passage be genuine. And some learned men are of opinion, that he plainly borrows some things from Olympiodorus, in the fifth and sixth books of his work. I shall place below (f) what Fabricius says concerning his time, not very disagreeably to what has been already observed.

Zosimus has been often blamed for his severe reflexions upon Constantin, and Theodosius the first, and has been defended by others. He is manifestly an enemy to the Christians, and in point of his own religion very superstitious, and credulous. I think it best for me to transcribe from him a good part of what he says directly, or indi-

(c) *Ib.* p. 271. m.

(d) *Hist. Lit. Tom. i.* p. 468.

(e) . . . ἡ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς γεγραμένος. *Euagr.* l. 3. cap. 41. p. 312. A.

(f) Scripsisse videri possit non post Eunapium modo, sed Olympiodorum Thebanum quoque (adeoque post A. C. 425.) quem libro v. cap. 27. allegat, ubi de Ravenna urbe differt quamquam locus iste glossēma videtur Lambecio. . . Ea vero, quae de Constantino Tyranno habet libro vi. et quae de Alaricho ac Stili-

chone scribit libro quinto, cuncta fere ex Olympiodoro, mutuatum esse notat Henr. Valesius ad Sozom. p. 170. Quoniam porro Olympiodorus Historiam suam usque ad Valentiniani iii. sive Placidi imperium produxit, quod coepit A. C. 425. hinc constat, Zosimum non ante id tempus Historiam suam composuisse. Post Arcadii et Honorii tempora rejicit etiam Euagrius. iii. 41. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l. 5. cap. v. T. 6.* p. 606. et 607.





“ Christian Princes were guilty of great faults, which a faithfull historian ought not to conceal.” So says Vossius. And I have thought it best, not to suppress his judgement.

A. D.  
425.

Vossius, as we have seen, supposed somewhat to be wanting at the end of the last book. But Fabricius, who has since considered that point, is of opinion, that (*b*) we have it entire.

I have not observed any where an account of the place of this writer's nativity, nor of his usual residence. He is called *Count*, which shews his dignity, and is said to have been Ex-Advocate of the *Treasurie*: which seems to shew, that he had for some time an honourable employment under the Emperour, in whose time he lived: but the Emperour is not named. Valesius, in his notes upon Euagrius, is inclined to place Zosimus much lower than is generally done. He thinks, he flourished in the time of the Emperour *Anastasi*us. And says, that (\*) the Character of Advocate of the *Treasurie*, differs little from that of Sophist.

## II. I now proceed to make extracts.

I. In his first book, in the reign of *Aurelian*, speaking of some superstitious customs of the *Palmyrens*, and the benefit of them:

*Extracts  
from his  
Work.*

“ But (*i*) these things, says he, I leave with the happiness of those men. For the present race has rejected the divine benefit.” And soon afterwards: “ Such (*k*) was the divine benevolence toward the

“ Ro-

(*b*) *Gesta haec sunt, in quibus definit Zosimi historia, anno Christi 410. Honorii Imp. 16 Theodosii Junioris 3. Atque ex isto Photii loco patet, Historiam Zosimi, quam ipse legit, non longius productam fuisse, quam in nostris codicibus exstat: quamquam Vossius . . . verisimile putavit paullo ulterius progressum.* Sc. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 6 p. 607.*

natur Zosimus, non multum abhorret a Sophisticâ. *Vales. Ann. ad Euagr. l. 3. cap. 41.*

(*i*) Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν αὐτῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίᾳ παρίημι, τῷ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ γένει ἀποστεινόμενόν τε ἀνθρώπων. *Zos. l. i. p. 660. A. ed. Sylburg. Francof. 1590.*

(*k*) Ἡ μὲν ἔν ἐς Παρμάδος εὐμένεια τῷ θεῷ, τῇς θεῆς ἀγίας φυλαττομένης, τοιαύτη. Ε-  
πειδὴν

(\*) Et Advocati fisci dignitas, quâ or-

A. D. “ Romans, so long as the sacred rites were observed. But when I  
425. “ shall come down to those times, in which the Roman Empire  
“ became in a manner barbarous, and very small, and that little cor-  
“ rupted ; I shall set down the causes of those misfortunes, and shall  
“ also endeavour to add, as I am able, those oracles, by which the  
“ unhappie event was foretold.”

These, and other like passages, may convince us, how strong the prejudices had always been in favour of Gentilism, and how much men were afraid of departing from ancient customs : least they should thereby bring down upon themselves, and the state, miserie and confusion. And it may enable us to conceive, in some measure, how great fortitude of mind must have been needfull, to enable the first Christians to bear up under all the reproaches, which they met with upon that account. They must have been persuaded, that they had good reason to act as they did, against the prevailing opinion. This observation we have had occasion to make several times.

2. In the second book of his Historie, having given a large and particular account of the Secular Games, and the manner of celebrating them, and the rites accompanying them, he says : “ Whilst (1) there-  
“ fore all these things were performed, according to the appointment  
“ of the oracle, and as they really ought to be done, the Roman Em-  
“ pire was safe, and they had in a manner the whole world in subjec-  
“ tion to them. But the festival having been neglected from the time  
“ that Diocletian abdicated, it has decayed, untill it is become almost  
“ barbarous. I shall put down the true account of the time. For from  
“ the Consulship of Cilo and Libo [*A. C.* 204.] in which Severus ce-  
“ lebrated the Secular Games, to the ninth Consulship of Diocletian,  
“ and the eighth of Maximian, [*A. C.* 304.] are an hundred and one  
“ years. But then Diocletian of an Emperour became a private  
“ man.

πειδὴ δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφίκωμαι τὰς χρόνους, ἐν  
δοῖς ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ βράχυν βαρβαρώδεις, ματος, καὶ τὰς χεισμὰς ὥς ὃν δίδωσι ὡ παραβή-  
εις ὀλίγον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ διαρθερὲν, περίεστι τι- σομαι, τὰς τὰ συνετεχθέντα μινύσαντας. *Ibid.*  
υκῶντα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παραστήσω τῷ δυσχρή- p. 660. fin.  
(1) *Lib.* 2. p. 671.

“ man. The same was the case of Maximian. In the third Con-  
 “ sulship of Constantin and Licinius [*A. C.* 313.] the time of a hun-  
 “ dred and ten years was compleat, when the festival ought to have  
 “ been observed according to custom. And not having been then  
 “ observed, there was a necessity, that affairs should sink into the  
 “ distresse and miserie, in which they now are.”

3. In the same book. “ At (*f*) that time [in 309. or thereabout]  
 “ there happened a fire at Rome, whether from the air, or from the  
 “ earth, is uncertain, and it took the temple of Fortune. When all  
 “ men ran to extinguish the fire, a soldier, who spoke some blas-  
 “ phemous words against the Deity, was killed by the multitude,  
 “ out of veneration for the Goddesse. This enflamed the soldiery in-  
 “ to a sedition. Which might have ruined the whole City, if Max-  
 “ entius had not interposed, and restrained their furie.”

4. “ But (*g*) when the whole Empire came to be in the hands of  
 “ Constantin alone (*meaning after the death of Licinius, in 323. or*  
 “ 324.) he no longer concealed his bad nature, but did every thing  
 “ as he pleased. Hitherto he had practised the sacred rites of his  
 “ countrey, not so much indeed out of real veneration for them,  
 “ as out of necessity. And he therefore gave credit to soothsayers,  
 “ as men expert in their art, and who had truly foretold his future  
 “ successes. And when he came to Rome, being exalted with pride  
 “ and arrogance, he began with exercising cruelty in his own fami-  
 “ lie.

(*f*) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ράμην ἐκπεσόντος πυρὸς, εἴτε ἐξ αἰέρος, εἴτε ἐκ γῆς (τὸτο γὰρ ἄδελφον) ὁ τῆς Τύχης ἐφλέχθη ναὸς. Πάντων δὲ σβέσαι τὴν πυρὸν συνδραμύτων, βλάστημα ῥήματα κατὰ τὴν θεὰ τῶν σρατιωτῶν τις ἀφείδ. κ. λ. *l.* 2. p. 675.

(*g*) Περιείσης δὲ τῆς πάσης εἰς μόνον Κωνσταντῖνον ὀφρχῆς, ἐκέτι λοιπὸν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἐνέσσαν αὐτῷ κακοήθειαν ἐκρυπτεν, ἀλλὰ ἐρεδί-

δε τῷ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἅπαντα πράττει. Ἐχρή- το δὲ ἔτι καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἱεροῖς, ὃ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, μᾶλλον δὲ χρέας· ἢ καὶ μόντεσιν ἐπέθετο πετραγμένοις ὡς ὀλιγῶν προσηπῶσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις αὐτῷ. Ἐπεί, δὲ εἰς Ράμην ἐφίκετο, μετὸς πάσης ὀλαζεν αὐ, ὅφ' ἐστία· ὥθ- θη δεῖν ὀρξασθαι τῆς ἀσεβείας. Κρίσπον γὰρ παῖδ' αὐτοῦ . . . κ. λ. *l.* 2. p. 685.

A. D. 425. “ lie. For he put to death his son Crispus, whom he had before  
 “ declared Cesar, upon a suspicion of unlawfull commerce with his  
 “ mother-in-law Fausta. Constantin’s mother Helena being ex-  
 “ tremely grieved for the death of the young man, as if he had  
 “ aimed to comfort her by adding one evil to another, he had Fausta  
 “ suffocated in a bath. Being (*b*) conscious to himself of these things,  
 “ and of his breaches of faith, he applied to the priests for some ex-  
 “ piatorie purifications of those crimes. They answered him, that  
 “ there were not delivered to them any purifications, which could  
 “ expiate such crimes as those were. At that time there came an  
 “ Egyptian to Rome from Spain. Who getting acquainted with  
 “ the women of the Court, and at length coming into Constantin’s  
 “ companie, he told him, that the Christian doctrine could wipe a-  
 “ way all offenses. For (*i*) it contained this assurance, that the wick-  
 “ ed who embraced it, should be immediatly freed from the guilt  
 “ of all sin. Constantin readily embracing that discourse, heark-  
 “ ened to the Egyptian, and forsaking the rites of his countrey, he  
 “ began his impiety with neglecting divination and augurie. And  
 “ at length he abolished such things. And when a day came, that  
 “ according to custom the armie should go up to the Capitol, Con-  
 “ stantin spoke slightly of that custom. And thus abandoning the  
 “ sacred rites, he lost the affections of the senate and people of  
 “ Rome. And not being able to endure the reproaches cast upon  
 “ him on that account, he then thought of choosing another city  
 “ for the seat of the Empire. At length he fixed upon the city of  
 “ Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople.”

This paragraph will certainly require some remarks. To me it  
 seems not at all strange, that such reflexions as these should be some-  
 times

(*b*) Ταῦτα συνεπισόμενος ἑαυτῷ, καὶ προσέτι  
 γε ὄρκαν καταφρονήσεις, προσήει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι  
 καθάρσια τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων αὐτῶν. . . p. 685.  
 in.

(*i*) Καὶ τὸτο ἔχεν ἐπάγγελμα, τὸ τὸς  
 ἀσεβεῖς μεταλαμβάνοντας αὐτῆς, πάσης ἁ-  
 μαρτίας ἔξω παραχρῆμα καθίσασθαι. p. 685.



times thrown upon Constantin, and the Christian Religion, by Heathen people. Sozomen, near the begining of his Ecclesiastical Historie, speaks to this purpose. “ I (*k*) am not ignorant, that the  
 “ Gentils are wont to say, that Constantin having put to death some  
 “ of his relations, and particularly, his son Crispus, and being sorry  
 “ for what he had done, he applied to *Sopater* the Philosopher, and  
 “ the chief master of the school of Plotinus at that time. And he  
 “ answering, that there were no expiations for such offenses, the  
 “ (*l*) Emperour then had recourse to the Christian Bishops, who  
 “ told him, that by repentance and baptism he might be cleansed  
 “ from all sin. With which doctrine, as they say, he was mightily  
 “ pleased. Whereupon he became a Christian himself, and requir-  
 “ ed his subjects to be so likewise. But, says Sozomen, (*and very*  
 “ *honestly,*) it (*m*) seems to me, that these stories have been invented  
 “ by those, who are desirous to reproach the Christian Religion.  
 “ For Crispus, upon whose account, as they say, Constantin needed  
 “ a purification, died in the 20. year of his father’s Empire. And  
 “ whilst he was yet living, having the second post in the govern-  
 “ ment, as being Cesar, he enacted many laws in favour of the  
 “ Christians, joyntly with his Father, as the laws still in being tes-  
 “ tify. He likewise says, (*following* (*n*) *Eusebius,*) that Constantin  
 “ embraced Christianity, before his war with *Maxentius*, and before  
 “ his coming to Rome, and into Italie. Nor is it probable, that  
 “ Sopater should have an opportunity of conversing with Constan-  
 “ tin in Britain, or Gaul.” So writes Sozomen.

That Constantin was no longer a Heathen, and idolater, but a Christian, may be concluded from his edict, published in favour of

I i 2

the

(*k*) *Sozom. H. E. l. i. cap. 5. p. 406.*(*m*) Εμὲ δὲ δοκεῖ, ταῦτα πεπλάσθαι

(*l*) ὁδημονῶντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐ-  
 παγορέψει, περιτυχεῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, οἱ  
 μετανοεῖν καὶ βαπτίσματι ὑπερχοῦτο, πόσης  
 αὐτὸν ἀμαρτίας καθαίρειν. *Ib.* 406. B.

τοῖς σπεδάζουσι τὴν Χριστιανὴν θρησκείαν κα-  
 κυχεῖν. *Ibid.*

(*n*) *Vid. Euseb. de Vita Constantini, l. i.*  
*cap. 26. . . 32.*

A. D. the Christians, in the year 313. soon after the defeat of *Maxentius*.  
425. Nevertheless his notions concerning the Christian Religion, and his knowledge of it, might be afterwards more full and clear.

That Constantin was a Christian before this time, is manifest from Zosimus himself. For as we saw just now, he complained, that the great festival of the secular games, which should have been celebrated in the year 313. was omitted by Constantin. Is not that a proof, that he was not then a Christian?

This may suffice for a general observation upon this paragraph. However, I shall take some farther notice of the several particulars of it.

1.) Zosimus insinuates, that for a long time Constantin practised divination.

With regard to this, it should be observed, that there are laws extant, two (*o*) passed by Constantin in the year 319. one directed to Maximus Prefect of Rome, the other to the People, and another (*p*) in 321. wherein the Senate of Rome, and others are allowed to consult

(*o*) Imp. Constantinus ad Maximum. Nulus aruspex limen alterius accedat, nec ob alteram causam, sed hujusmodi hominum, quamvis vetus, amicitia repellatur. Concremando illo haruspice, qui ad domum alienum accesserit: illo et qui eum suasionibus vel praemiis evocaverit, post redemptionem bonorum, in insulam detrudendo. Superstitioni enim suae servire cupientes poterunt publice ritum proprium exercere. Accusatorem enim hujus criminis non delatorem esse, sed dignum magis praemio arbitramur. *De Malefic. et Mathematicis. Cod Theod. l. 9. Tit. 16. l. i. Tom. 3. p. 114.*

Idem A. ad Populum. Haruspices, et eos qui huic ritui solent ministrare, ad pri-

vatam domum prohibemus accedere, vel sub praetextu amicitiae limen alterius ingredi, poenam contra eos propositam, si contemserit legem. Qui vero id vobis existimatis conducere, adite aras publicas adque delubra, et consuetudinis vestrae celebrate sollemnia. Neque enim prohibemus praeteritae usurpationis officia libera luce tractari. *Dat. Id. Maii. Constantino. Aug. V. et Licinio. Coss. Ibid. l. 2. Tom. 3. p. 115.*

(*p*) Si quid de Palatio nostro, aut ceteris operibus publicis degustatum de fulgore esse constiterit, retento more veteris observantiae, quid portendat, ab haruspibus requiratur, et diligentissime scriptura collecta ad nostram scientiam referatur.  
Ceteris

consult Southsayers, upon occasion of lightening, and thunder, or other surprizing events, provided it be done publicly, in the temples, and at the usual altars. At the same time Southsayers are strictly forbid to go to private houses.

I have put the laws below in their original language.

These laws have occasioned some reflexions upon Constantin. Baronius (*q*) was greatly offended, especially at the last of them, and exclaims against Constantin, as if he had for a while apostatised from Christianity. Other learned men, particularly (*r*) James Gothofred, in his notes upon these laws, and (*s*) Pagi, and (*t*) Basnage, and (*u*) Tillemont, argue, that the terms of these laws import not any approbation of southsaying, or any rites belonging to it, but rather a dislike of them. They are only permitted in condescension to the prejudices of Heathen people, and especially the people of Rome, who were extremely fond of haruspices.

The

Ceteris etiam usurpandae hujus consuetudinis licentiâ tribuendâ: dummodo sacrificiis domesticis abstineant, quae specialiter prohibita sunt. Eam autem denunciationem atque interpretationem, quae de tactu Amphitheatri scripta est, de quâ ad Heraclianum Tribunum, et magistrum officiorum scripseras, ad nos scias perlatum. *Dat. . . Crispo ii. et Constantino ii. Coss. De Paganis. &c. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 1. p. 257.*

(*q*) *Baron. Ann. 321. num. 18. &c.*

(*r*) Vice versa, sicut haruspicinam privatim exerceri Constantinus his legibus vetat, ita contra publice eam exerceri permittit. Publice, inquam, apud aras publicas, et delubra, et retento more veteris observantiae. . . Quin, et infra, *De Paganis*, haruspicinam in publicis quoque causis a Senatu urbicisque magistratibus Romae usurpari idem Constantinus concessit.

Sic tamen, ut ad se responsa haruspicum referri vellet. . . Et haec omnia non tanquam ipse haruspicinam probaret, vel ei obnoxius fieret, quod Zosimus credidisse videtur, et Baronius hinc colligit, verum quia evellendae e Gentilium animis haruspicinae par nondum erat, et Romae quidem, et per Italiam, quam haruspicinae nominatim fidem maximam habuisse scribit Herodianus, lib. 8 p. 612 Ideoque satis habuit Constantinus suae interim salutis et publicae quieti his legibus eâ quam dixi ratione consuluisse: prohibitis sacrificiis domesticis, et privatarum aedium ingressu haruspicibus interdicto. &c. *J. Gothofred. not. ad leg. i. et ii. de Maleficiis. &c. Tom. 3. p. 116.*

(*s*) *Pagi Ann. 319. num. xi. et 321. num. iv.*

(*t*) *Basn. ann. 321. num. v.*

(*u*) *L'Emp. Constantin, art. xlii.*

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The observations of those learned men seem to me to contain a proper vindication of Constantin. Nevertheless Mr. Mosheim (x) is not satisfied. He still thinks these laws a proof, that Constantin had not yet forsaken Gentilism, or acquiesced in the Christian, as the only true religion. I have put his words below. But I do not think his exceptions to be of any great weight.

As to what Zosimus says, *that Constantin still paid a regard to soothsayers, having experienced the truth of their predictions in his own successes.* Tillemont (y) says, we need not believe it upon his word alone. And it seems to be contrarie to what is said in the Panegyrick of an Uncertain Author, to Constantin himself, in the year 313. where he says, “that (z) in undertaking the war with Maxentius, Constantin had acted contrarie, not only to the advices of his friends, and Generals, but likewise contrarie to the admonitions of the haruspices.”

Upon the whole, I do not percieve any thing in those laws, which we are now considering, contrarie to the edict of Constantin and Licinius in favour of the Christians, in the year 313. There it is said: *We (a) publish this therefore, as our will and pleasure, and agreeable to right*

(x) Notae sunt leges ejus de tolerandis haruspiciibus, modo publice artem suam exerceant. . . Septimo et nono post debellatum Maxentium anno sancitae: quarum tametsi turpitudinem Gothofredus, Tillemontius, et alii extenuare student, haud tamen impediunt, quo minus ex illis pateat, nondum tum temporis Imperatorem prorsus a veteri Romanorum religione descivisse, atque in unius Christianae professione acquiescisse. Neque video, cur Zosimus mentiri putandus sit, qui Constantinum diu post firmatum imperium hariolis aures praebuisse, fidemque habuisse narrat lib. 2. p. 203 edit. Oxon. 1079. Mosheim. *De Reb. Christian.* ante C. M. p. 275.

(y) Mais pour ce qu'il ajoute, qu'il avoit souvent éprouvé dans ses heureux succès la vérité de leurs predictions, nous ne l'en croirons pas assurément sur sa parole. *Tillem. ib.*

(z) Quisnam te Deus, quae tam praesens hortata est majestas, ut, omnibus secrete tuis comitibus et ducibus non solum tacite mussitantibus, sed etiam aperte timentibus, contra consilia hominum, contra haruspicum monita, ipse per temet liberandae Urbis tempus venisse sentires. *Incerti Paneg. Const. Aug. cap. 2 p. 233.*

(a) See before, in vol. 3. p. 315.



*right reason, that leave should not be denied to any man whatever to follow and choose the constitution and worship of the Christians: and that leave be given to every one to betake himself to that religion, which is most agreeable to him.*

Those laws contain no enlargement of the privileges of Heathen people. They are rather a restriction of them. For all rites of soothsaying are here confined to public temples and altars: no haruspex, or soothsayer, is allowed to go into private houses. If any thing is done there privately, discovering the fact is encouraged. *Such shall not be reckoned Informers, or accusers, but shall be entitled to a reward.* And all answers, or determinations of haruspices, relating to the publick, are to be transmitted to the Emperour himself in writing.

Moreover, Zosimus himself says, that at the time, of which he is here speaking, *Constantin practised the rites of his countrey, not from any real veneration for them, but from necessity:* that is, in condescension to the sentiments of others, and that he might not too much offend and provoke Heathen people.

It is reasonable therefore to think, that none of those laws above-mentioned, or what is here imputed to Constantin by Zosimus, ought to be understood, as any impeachment of his Christianity at that time.

2.) With regard to the death of *Crispus*, and *Fausta*, it is to be said: that no Christians justify any bad actions of Constantin, or any other Christian Emperour. Such things, as have been reckoned blemishes in the reign of Constantin, with the occasions of them, were particularly considered (*b*) formerly. And since that, in the chapter of Eutropius (*c*) in this volume, I have proposed some additional observations. And therefore need not enlarge now.

3.) Here is a reflexion upon Christian Baptism, the like to which  
we

(*b*) See the *Credibility*, &c. P. 2. vol. vii. p. 405. . . 420.

(*c*) See here at p. 165. . . 167.

A. D. 425. we have met with already in (\*) Celsus and (\*\*) Julian. But there is no foundation for it. By Sozomen, this is represented after this manner, as we saw just now : that *Constantin met with some Christian Bishops, who told him, that by repentance and baptism he might be cleansed from all sin. With which doctrine the Emperour was mightily pleased.* And is there any absurdity in this ? Crimes are not to be expiated by sacrifices of animals, nor by bodily pains and mortifications. But they may be expiated by sincere repentance, and solemn engagements to universal virtue and piety for time to come, which are implied in baptism. This doctrine is reasonable in itself, and is agreeable to the declarations of the ancient Jewish Prophets, and of Jesus Christ, and his Apostles. It is a reasonable doctrine, and worthie of all acceptance. If God is not inexorable to his creatures, who have offended against him, and his laws ; how can they appease his displeasure, or recommend themselves to his favour, in any other, or better way than this ?

4.) Zosimus tells us, that when Constantin was under concern of mind, *there came an Egyptian to Rome from Spain, who first got acquaintance with the women of the Court, and then with Constantin himself, and taught him how he might obtain the expiation of his offenses and sins.*

All this is said without ground, so far as we know, and may all be the fiction of Zosimus, or of some other Gentil people before him. However, upon this (d) Tillemont remarks in the following manner : “ Eusebius has not told, us who they were whom God employed to inspire this Prince with the first principles of the truth. “ All that can be said, is, that Zosimus, amidst the falsities, which “ he relates concerning the conversion of Constantin, there inserts “ one thing, which may be true : that an Egyptian having come “ from Spain to the place where Constantin was, he was the cause “ of

(\*) See vol. 2. p. 332. &c.

(\*\*) See here p. 89. 90. &c.

(d) L'Emp. Constantin. §. xxiv.

“ of his abandoning the Roman religion. This seems to agree well  
 “ enough with the great *Osius* of Corduba in Spain, whom some af-  
 “ fairs may have brought to the Court of Constantin. He was at  
 “ that time famous in the quality of Confessor of the name of Je-  
 “ sus Christ. And we shall hereafter see him employed by Con-  
 “ stantin in the distribution of his alms, and in the greatest affairs  
 “ of the Church, as a man, for whom Constantin had a very parti-  
 “ cular respect and esteem.”

But that is mere conjecture. Nor do I know of any reason to believe, that *Osius* of *Corduba* was acquainted with Constantin at the time of his conversion, or very soon after it.

5.) Zosimus reflects upon Constantin for leaving Rome, and building Constantinople. But as this will come over again, I defer for the present to make the proper observations relating to that event. We therefore proceed.

5. Zosimus (*e*) finds great fault with Constantin for making alterations in the magistracie, and instead of two Prefects of the Praetorium appointing four with several districts. But I do not think it needful for me to transcribe him here at length, nor to make any remarks. I refer to (*f*) some learned modern historians and chronologers, where this new distribution of the several parts of the Empire is considered.

6. Having given an account of Constantin's enlarging the city of Byzantium, and calling it Constantinople, and having expatiated upon the expenses of that undertaking, and the consequences of it, he goes on : “ Indeed (*g*) Constantin mistook prodigality for magnificence. And moreover he imposed a tax of gold and silver  
 “ upon

(*e*) *Zof.* l. 2. p. 687. 688.

(*g*) *Lib.* 2. p. 691.

(*f*) *Vide Pagi ann.* 332. n. iv. *Basnag.*  
*ann.* 333. ii. *Tillem. L'Emp. Constantin.*  
*art.* 84.

A. D. 425. “ upon all merchants and traders, throughout the Empire, not excepting miserable prostitutes: insonmuch that upon the return of every fourth year, when the tax was to be collected, there was nothing to be heard but lamentations and complaints in every city: and whips and torments were inflicted upon those, who by reason of extreme poverty were not able to pay it. And mothers were forced to part with their children, and fathers prostituted their daughters, that they might satisfy the collectors of this gold and silver exaction.”

So says Zosimus. And I refer to (*b*) Gothofred, and (*i*) Pagi, and (*k*) others, who have vindicated Constantin from the scandal of this tax. They say, it was not new, not even the more infamous part of it: but had been in force in the time of Heathen Emperours. Some alterations, however, in all probability, were made (*l*) by Constantin. Possibly, he appointed the collecting it every fourth or fifth year. For which reason it is sometimes called the *Chrysargyral*, at other times the *Lustral tax*. Nor (*m*) are any ancient laws of Constantin, or any other Emperour, relating to it, now in being, all copies of them, and all papers concerning it, having been carefully destroyed (*n*) by Anastasius, who abolished this tax.

Some part of this tax was abrogated by Theodosius the Younger in the year 439. The rest was in force through the reigns of several

(*b*) Gothofred. in *Cod. Theod. lib. 13. Tit. i. De Lustrali Collatione. leg. 1. Tom. 5. p. i &c.*

(*i*) Pagi in *Baron. ann. 330. n. vi. ann. 491. num. xii.*

(*k*) *Baron. ann. 331. n. 33. &c. Bagn. ann. 449. num. i. Tillemont L'Emp. Constantin. §. 80. Bingham's Antiquities of the Church. B. v. chap. iii. §. 6.*

(*l*) Quare si quid hac parte a Constantino factum, forma tantum ejus mutata. Forte lustralis haec collatio ab eo facta,

seu τετραετηρία, quae antea annalis, vel ejusmodi erat: sic, ut pro facultatum incremento, totidem lustris augeretur. *Goth. ut supra. p. 4.*

(*m*) *Cod. Just. De Lustralis auri Collatione*: quo titulo absunt omnes hujus tituli constitutiones: utpote sublata hac collatione ab Anastasio, teste Eugagrio, et Zonara. *Gothof. ib. p. 1.*

(*n*) *Vid. Euagr. H. E. l. 3. cap. 41. Zonar. ann. T. 3. p. 45.*



ral Christian Emperours, till the eighth or ninth of Anastasius, in the year (o) 499. And that it was exacted with great rigour in the time of Julian, appears from an oration of Libanius to that Emperour, against Florentius, then Prefect of the Praetorium: "An (p) " unsufferable tax, he says, which fills all men with horror, at the " approach of the Lustral year, and especially labouring mechanicks, " who have nothing but the instruments of their trade. Whom I " have often seen, says Libanius, lifting up their eyes to heaven, " with an awle, or an axe in their hands, and professing, that they " had nothing else."

Undoubtedly the building and adorning Constantinople occasioned great expense. Jerome, in his Chronicle, says: "At (q) this " time Constantinople is built, and all other cities stript almost naked to enrich it."

But whatever reflexions may be made upon Constantine by Zosimus, or others, for enlarging Byzantium, his choice seems to have been approved in the end. For all succeeding Emperours made it the seat of the Eastern part of the Empire. And the Emperour Julian was exceeding fond of Constantinople, as being his native place: and conferred upon it many privileges, as we are assured (r) by Ammianus. Zosimus himself speaks to the like purpose. "Constantinople (s) was his native city, and he made their Senate equal to

K k 2

" that

(o) At lenonum quidem vectigal jam sustulerat Theodosius anno 439. . . Anastasius vero infame vectigal ubique locorum extinguere decrevit. *Bosn. ann. 499. num. i. Conf. Pagi ann. 330. num. vi.*

(p) *Liban. InveEt. in Florentium. ad Imp. Julian. T. 2. 427. 428.*

(q) Constantinopolis dedicatur pene omnium urbium nuditate. *Chron p. 181.*

(r) Antiochiam ire contendens reliquit Constantinopolim incrementis multis ful-

tam. Natus enim illic, diligebat eam ut genitalem patriam et colebat. *Ammian. l. 22. c. ix. p. 346.*

(s) Επὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον παρῆγεντο, πάντες μὲν αὐτὸν σὺν εὐρημίας ἐδέχοντο, πολίτην καὶ τρέφοντα αὐτῶν ὀνομαζόντες (εἰα δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τεχθέντα τε καὶ τραφέντα τῇ πόλει) . . . Ἐν ταύτῃ τῆς πόλεως ὅμα καὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπιμελούμενος, ἔδωκε μὲν τῇ πόλει γερυσίαν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ [πόλει] Ρώμῃ. κ. λ. *Zof. l. 3. p. 713.*

A. D. 425. “ that of Rome, emproved their harbour, adorned the city with a  
 “ magnificent portico, and a Librarie, in which he placed his own  
 “ books.” And (t) Julian in a letter to the Alexandrians, to induce  
 them the more readily to part with a stone obelisk, which lay on the  
 sea shore of their city, tells them, “ that Constantin had built a ves-  
 “ sel for bringing it to Constantinople, his native city. But had  
 “ been prevented by death. That city, says he, now asks the same  
 “ of me, which is my native countrey, and therefore more dear  
 “ to me, than to him. He loved it as a sister, I as a mother. For  
 “ there I was born and bred, and therefore cannot be ungratefull to  
 “ her.”

Julian, I think, might have said, that Constantin loved the city,  
 as his *daughter*. And then he could have had no pretense to mag-  
 nify his affection for that place above Constantin's. However, the  
 more to satisfy the Alexandrians, he promiseth them a colossus of  
 brass, of a large size, in the room of the Egyptian obelisk of stone.  
 And thus Julian does what had been blamed in Constantin. He  
 robs and strips Alexandria, to enrich and adorn Constantinople.

All which, as seems to me, is sufficient to shew, that Constantin's  
 choice of Byzantium was approved of by succeeding Emperours, and  
 that his conduct therein was justified by them. But I think, that  
 somewhat more may be said. And that what Constantin did now, had  
 been in effect done before. Diocletian, who was the first and el-  
 dest Emperour, had for some while resided chiefly at Nicomedia:  
 and Maximian in Italie. Diocletian's resignation in the year 305.  
 was performed at a place near Nicomedia, and Maximian's at Mi-  
 lan. *Diocletian* and *Galerius* were at *Nicomedia*, when the edict for  
 a general persecution of the Christians was published in 303. and had  
 been there some while before. There Diocletian had a palace. He  
 also endeavoured to encrease the confluence of people there by making  
 Nicomedia the seat of learning. For that end he invited the Pro-  
 fessors

(t) *Ep.* 58. p. 443. edit. *Spanhem. et ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr.* l. 5. c. 8. T. 7. p. 84.

fessors of other countreys, most eminent for their skill in the arts and sciences, to come and make it the place of their residence. One of these was the celebrated *Firmianus Lactantius*, (*u*) who was invited to set up there a school of Rhetorick, which he did. And, as we learn from Jerome, *Flavius Grammaticus* was invited at the same time: who was in repute for his skill in medicine. And likewise had a talent for poetry. And if Constantin be censured for the expenses of building, so was Diocletian (*x*) likewise, and for a design to make Nicomedia equal to Rome. And Ammianus Marcellinus says, that (*y*) Nicomedia, in the time of it's prosperity, resembled Rome itself for the number and grandeur of it's private and public buildings, with which it had been adorned by divers princes.

Zosimus, as may be remembred, in a place above cited, says: *When a day came, that according to custom the armie should go up to the capitol, Constantin spoke slightly of that custom. And then abandoning the sacred rites, he lost the affections of the Senate, and people of Rome. And not being able to endure the reproaches cast upon him upon that account, he thought of choosing another city for the seat of the Empire. At length he fixed upon the city of Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople.*

So

(*u*) Firmianus, qui et Lactantius, Arnobii discipulus, sub Diocletiano principe, accitus cum Flavio Grammatico, cujus de medicinalibus versu compositi extant libri, Nicomediae Rhetoricam docuit. *Hiero. De V. l. cap. 8.*

Ego cum in Bithynia oratorias literas accitus docerem. &c. *Lact. Inst. l. 5. cap. 2.*

(*x*) Huc accedebat infinita quaedam cupiditas aedificandi, non minor provinciarum exactio in exhibendis operariis, artificibus, et plaustris omnibus, quaecunque sint fabricandis operibus necessaria. . . Re-

pentem magna pars civitatis exceditur. Migrabant omnes cum conjugibus et liberis, quasi urbe ab hostibus capta. . . Ita semper dementabar, Nicomediam studens urbi Romae coaequare. *Caec. de M. P. cap. vii.*

(*y*) Inde Nicomediam venit urbem antehac inclytam, ita magnis retro Principibus amplificatam impensis, ut aedium multitudo privatarum et publicarum recte noscentibus regio quaedam Urbis aestimaretur aeternae. *Ammian. l. 22. c. ix. p. 346.*

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So says Zosimus. Nevertheless that might not be the whole of the reason, why Constantin determined to make Byzantium the place of his residence. For, as I apprehend, the authority and influence of the Senate had been for some while troublesome to the Emperours. They therefore chose to be generally, at a considerable distance from it. And the present extent of the Empire, and the state of things called them much into the Eastern part of it. And to me it seems not improbable, that if Constantin had never been converted to Christianity, and if Gentilism had continued to subsist in it's ancient splendour; Nicomedia, or some other city near it, would have been chosen for the place of the chief residence, for the Emperour, or for the first of the Emperours, if there were more than one. And at length a Senate likewise might have been appointed in it, with suitable privileges, as a rival with the ancient Senate at Rome.

And for certain Constantin, in the choice of Byzantium shewed his judgement and sagacity. For no place could be pitched upon, as to it's situation, more agreeable, or more convenient for an Imperial seat, in the whole extent of the Roman Empire, nor perhaps upon the face of the whole earth.

These thoughts are my own, and therefore are proposed, as they ought to be, with diffidence. But I was willing to mention them, for abating the reproaches cast upon Constantin upon this account. Which have often appeared to me invidious, excessive, and unreasonable. They come originally from Gentil writers, who laid hold of every occasion to disparage the first Christian Emperour. And others, as seems to me, not being duly upon the guard, have incautiously embraced them.

7. Among those, who were put to death soon after the accession of Constantius, Zosimus says, “ At (z) that time also was put to  
“ death

(z) Αμείβη δὲ τότε Αβλάκιος ὁ τῆς αὐ- πάτρῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, φθύνῳ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πρὸς  
λῆς ὑπαρχος τῆς δίκης θξίαν αὐτῷ πίνην αὐτὸν δικαίτητος. Zos. l. 2. p. 692.  
ἐπιθέσης ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεβέβησε θάνατον τῷ Σω.



“ death *Ablabius*, Prefect of the Praetorium, in the way of a just  
 “ punishment for his procuring the death of the Philosopher *Sopa-*  
 “ *ter*, because he envied him the friendship of Constantin.”

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Eunapius (\*) likewise, who enlarges more than Zolimus, in the character of *Ablabius*, who from a mean original arose to great splendour and dignity, ascribes the death of *Sopater* to the intrigues of *Ablabius*. Jerome (a) also, in his Chronicle, mentions the death of *Ablabius* among other executions at the begining of the reign of Constantius.

I do not think it needfull for me to enlarge in the historie, or character of *Ablabius*, who was Prefect of the Praetorium from the year 326. to 333. or longer. I shall refer therefore to (b) *Gothofred*, and (c) *Tillemont*. But perhaps it may be expected, that I should here say somewhat of *Sopater*, who was so much esteemed by the learned men of those times, who were zealous for Gentilism. He is said to have been a disciple of *Jamblichus*, who was disciple of *Plotinus*. Eunapius says “ he (d) was a man of great abilities. “ And disdaining to live in obscurity, he hastened to the Court of “ Constantin, with a view of restraining the impetuosity of that “ prince against the old religion, and to govern him by reason. And “ for a while he was in great esteem, and was openly favoured, and “ honoured by Constantin. But, as he says, there being a scarcity “ of corn at Constantinople, and the people there thinking, that (e) “ by

(\*) *Eunap. in Aedef. p. 37.*

(a) *Ablabius praefectus Praetorio, et multi nobilium occisi. Chron. p. 182.*

(b) *Gothof. Prosopographia. p. 347.*

(c) *L'Emp. Constantin. §. 60.*

(d) Σίπιατρος δὲ ὁ πάντων δεινότερος, διὰ τε γύσεως ὕψους καὶ ψυχῆς μέγεθος, ἐκ ἐνέγκων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐνδοξὰς ἔδραμεν ὄψους, ὡς τὴν Κωνσταν-

τίνε πρέφασιν τε καὶ σοφὴν τυραννίαν, καὶ μετασῆσαν τῷ λόγῳ. Καὶ ἐς τοσούτον γὰρ ἐξείκετο σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως, ὥς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐαλάκει τε ὑπὸ αὐτῷ, καὶ δημοσίᾳ σύνειδρον ἔχεν, εἰς τὸν δέξιον καθίζων τόπον. *In Aedefic. p. 34.*

(e) .. Ἐλλὰ Σώπιατρος γε, ἔρχασαν, ὁ παρὰ σὲ τιμώμενος, κατέδρασε τὸς ἀνέμους δι' ὑπερβολὴν σοφίας. κ. λ. *Id. ib. p. 37.*

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“ by magical arts he bound up the winds, and obstructed the arrival of ships laden with corn for their relief, his enemies, and particularly Ablabius, who envied his credit with the Emperour, obtained an order for putting him to death. Which †† order was immediately executed by those who bore him ill-will.” That is Eunapius’s account of the occasion of Sopater’s death. Here I would refer to (f) *Crevier*, who has a conjecture concerning the occasion of Sopater’s death. Which does not appear to me so material, as to deserve to be transcribed.

*Sopater* is in Suidas, who says: “ Sopater was of Apamea, a Sophist, and a Philosopher, whom the Emperour Constantin put to death, that he might convince all, that he no longer favoured Gentilism. For to that time he was very familiar with him, and friendly to him. He wrote a work concerning Providence, and another concerning such as had been without their own desert happy, or unhappy. Constantin however did not do well in killing Sopater. For no man is good by necessity, but by choice only.”

There follows in Suidas another article, which is to this purpose. “ Sopater of Apamea, or rather of Alexandria, Sophist. He (g) made Epitomes of several books. Some ascribe to him a work of Historical Collections.”

Whether this be the same with the forementioned, and celebrated Sopater of Apamea, may be questioned. However, those works are ascribed to him by (h) some. And in Photius (i) is an article of “ Collections, or Extracts from several, in twelve books, by Sopater the Sophist.” They are indeed out of many authors, and most

†† Καὶ ἐγένετο διὰ τῆς βασκαίνοντος τῶν-  
τα θάττον ἢ ἐλέγετο. *Eunap. Ibid.*

(f) *Historie of the Roman Emperours.*  
vol. x. p. 169. 170.

(g) *Επιτομας πλέσων. Τινες δὲ καὶ τὴν  
ἐκλογίαν τῶν ἱστοριῶν τέτε ἐνάει φασι.*

(h) *Vide Voss. Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. xviii.*

(i) *Ανεγνώσθησαν ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι ἐν βιβ-  
λίοις δυοκαίδεκα Σωπάτρου σοφιστῆ. Συνέλεκ-  
ται δὲ αὐτῷ το βιβλίον ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφό-  
ρων ἱστοριῶν καὶ γραμμάτων. Cod. 161. p.  
337.*

most of them of great note. Photius says, “ the (*k*) work may be usefull to the readers : though there are in it not a few fables, and prodigies, and false and incredible stories.”

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8. In the begining of the reign of Valentinian all the friends of Julian were looked upon with dislike. But Zosimus says, “ that (*l*) “ Valentinian was particularly incensed against the Philosopher *Maximus*, bearing in memorie a charge, which he had brought against “ him in the time of Julian, of impiety toward the Gods, out of “ respect for the Christian Religion.”

However, Maximus was not now put to death, nor till a good while afterwards, as we may shew in another place.

9. Presently afterwards, still at the begining of the same reign, in 364. he says : “ Valentinian (*m*) made a law forbidding nocturnal “ sacrifices, intending thereby to prevent the enormities, which were “ sometimes committed at those seasons. But *Praetextatus*, then “ Proconsul of Greece, a man adorned with every virtue, assuring “ him, that law would do no less than deprive the Greeks of all the “ comfort of their lives, if they were hindered from performing “ those most sacred mysteries, according to the appointment, upon “ which the welfare of mankind depended, he permitted them to “ be done, his law lying dormant, provided that all things were “ done according to the laws of the countrey, as they had been done “ from the begining.

The law prohibiting nocturnal sacrifices may be a law dated the ninth

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 344.

(*l*) *Zof. l. 4. p. 735. sub in.*

(*m*) . . . ὅφ' ἐσίας ὥσπερ ἀρξάμενος, τὰς τυκτερινὰς ἐκάλυψε θυσίας ἐπιτελέσθαι τοῖς μυσαρῶς μὲν ἔν παρattoμένοις ἐμποδᾶν, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦδε νόμου γενέσθαι βεβλόμενος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πραιτεξτάτος, ὁ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν ἀνθρώπων

ἔχων ἀρχὴν, ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσαις διατρέπων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, τῆτον ἔρη τὸν νόμον ἀβίωτον τοῖς Ἑλλησι καταστήσων τὸν βίον, ἐι μέλλοιεν καλίσσθαι τὰ συνέχοντα τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀγιώτατα μυστήρια κατὰ θεσμὸν ἐκτελεῖν, ἐτέτρεψεν, ἀργῶντος τοῦ νόμου πράττισθαι δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς πάτρια. p. 735 736.

A. D. 425. ninth day of September in 364. which (n) I shall place below, with a reference to Gothofred's notes upon it. But Zosimus says, that law was suffered to lye dormant, or without effect, for Greece at least. And (o) there is another law, dated May 29. in the year 371. where the practise of southsaying, and other rites of the Gentil religion, are allowed of, provided nothing magical, or hurtfull was done.

And Ammianus Marcellinus commends the moderation of Valentinian, in (p) that he did not disturb men upon account of their religion, but let every man do, as he pleased, without interposing his authority. As was also observed formerly †† from the same historian.

10. Zosimus acknowledgeth, that Theodosius was a good soldier, and skilfull in the art of war. But he chargeth him with great luxurie and expensiveness in his way of living. I do not transcribe him here. It is sufficient, briefly to mention this, and (q) make a reference to what he says.

But by way of balance to his invectives, I would refer to the Panegyrick of *Pacatus*, pronounced before the Senate of Rome, and as some think in the presence of Theodosius himself, soon after the defeat of the usurper Maximus, in the year (\*) 391. as some think, or rather (\*\*) in the year 389. and to the Younger *Victor*, who †† flourished

(n) Ne quis deinceps nocturnis temporibus, aut nefarias preces, aut magicos apparatus, aut sacrificia funesta celebrare conetur: detectum atque convictum competenti animadversione mactare perenni auctoritate censemus. *Cod. Theod. lib. 9. Tit. 16. l. 7 p. 126. Tom. 3.*

(o) Haruspicinam ego nullum cum maleficioꝝ causis habere consortium indico: neque ipsam aut aliquam praeterea concessam a Majoribus religionem genus esse arbitror criminis. Testes sunt leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datae, quibus, unicuique, quod animo imbibisset colen-

di libera facultas tributa est. Nec haruspicinam reprehendimus, sed nocenter excerci vetamus. *Ibid. l. 9. p. 128. 129. T. 3. Conf. Gothofredi Notas, et Tillemont. L'Emp. Valentinien. art. 11.*

(p) *Ammian. l. 30. cap. ix.*

†† See before, p. 186.

(q) *Lib. 4. p. 754. 755. et p. 758. m.*

(\*) *La Baune ad Paneg. Vet. p. 308. Fabric. Bib. Lat. T. 2. p. 772.*

(\*\*) *Tillem. L'Emp. Theod. i. art. 47. p. 631. and the Universal Historie. vol. 16. p. 425.*

(††) *Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 2. cap. xv,*



flourished in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and published a compendious historie of the Roman Emperours from Augustus to Theodosius, with whom his historie concludes. His honourable character (§§) of Theodosius is (§\*) truly remarkable.

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11. Still, at the begining of that reign, about the year 379. he says: “ Under (r) these afflictions, however, the people made supplications to the Deity, entreating deliverance from so great calamities. For as yet they had the privilege of frequenting the temples, and appeasing the anger of the Gods, according to the method of the ancient institutions.”

12. And soon after, about the year 380. or 381. (s) “ Moreover, (t) Theodosius attacked the temples of the Gods in the cities, and in the countrey. And all were in the utmost danger, who believed there were any gods: or who at all looked up to heaven, and worshiped the things that shine in it.”

13. He gives this account of Gratian's refusing the title of High-Priest, or *Pontifex Maximus*. “ Numa (u) Pompilius first had this title: and ever after those called Kings, [*Reges*] and after them Octavianus [*Augustus*], and other Roman Emperours, who succeeded him. For at the same time that they received the supreme government, a priestly vestment was brought to them by the Pontifices,

L 1 2

(§§) Fuit autem Theodosius moribus et corpore Trajano similis. . . Illa tamen, quibus Trajanus aspersus est, vinolentiam et cupidinem triumphandi, usque eo detestatus est, ut bella non moverit, sed invenerit, &c. *Vid. Epit. cap. 48.*

(§\*) *Vide Basnag. ann. 379. iii. Tillem. L'Emp. Theodose. art. 85.*

(r) Ἐτι γὰρ ἢν αὐτὸς ἄδεια τῷ φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ τὰ θεῖα κατὰ τὰς πατρίδας θεομὲς ἐκμερίττεσθαι. *l. 4. p. 755.*

(s) *Soon after that Theodosius begun to take up his residence at Constantinople. See Tillemont Theodos. i. art. 17. p. 710. 711.*

(t) Ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπολιόρκει πόλιν καὶ χώραν. Κίνδυνός τε πᾶσιν ἐπέκειτο, νομίζουσιν εἶναι θεός, ἢ ὅλως εἰς τὸν ἕραν ἀναβλέψαι, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φαινόμενα προσκυνῶσι. *Ib. p. 758.*

(u) *P. 761.*

A. D. 425. " tifices, [*Prieſts ſo called by the Romans*] and immediatly he was  
 " called Pontifex Maximus. And all the other Emperours always ap-  
 " peared to be pleaſed with that honour, and have uſed that title.  
 " And even Conſtantin, although he forſook the true religion, and  
 " embraced the faith of the Chriſtians, and others his ſucceſſors,  
 " particularly Valentinian and Valens, did the ſame. When there-  
 " fore the Pontifices brought the veſtment to Gratian, he rejected  
 " their requeſt, thinking it to be an unlawfull habit for a Chriſtian.  
 " The (x) veſtment being returned to the Prieſt, it is ſaid, that the  
 " chief of them ſaid: Since the Emperour will not be called Pon-  
 " tifex, there will ſoon be a Pontifex Maximus."

There is a point in this laſt expreſſion. The meaning is, *Maximus ſhall ſoon be Pontifex*.

Upon this paragraph of Zoſimus ſome remarks muſt be made.

1.) Firſt of all, it is not allowed, that Conſtantin, and other Chriſtian Emperours after him, did receive the title of Pontifex Maximus. It is ſtrongly argued (y) by divers of our moſt learned modern eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, that they did not. This title, they ſay, may be given them in ſome inſcriptions, and medals ſtill exiſtant. But that will not amount to a proof, that any Chriſtian Emperours did accept of it and take it upon them.

2.) It is unknown, when Gratian rejected the pontifical veſtment, there being no authentic account of it, in ancient authors.

Other learned men are willing to allow the truth of what Zoſimus here ſays, that (z) Gratian reſuſed the title of *Pontifex*, and that he

was

(x) Τοῖς τε ἱερεῦσι τῆς σοφῆς ἀναδοθείσης, ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἐν οὗτοῖς τεταγμένον, εἰπὼν, Ἐὶ μὴ βέλεται Ποντίφιξ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι, τάχιστα γενήσεται Ποντίφιξ Μέγιστος. *Ibid.*

(y) *Vide Pagi ann. 312. n. xviii. &c. Tillem. L'Emp. Conſtantin. art. 28.*

(z) See Bletterie, *Vie de l'Emp. Julien*. liv. 3. p. 232. the ſecond edition. *It* refers to a *Differtation* of M. de la Baſſie, which is inſerted in *Les Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, et de belles lettres*. Tom. xv.

was the first who refused it, and consequently, that it was accepted by all preceding Christian Emperours.

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3.) If the priestly vestment was refused by Gratian, at the time of his accession, in 367. or soon afterwards; I may take the liberty to say, that the prediction concerning Maximus's usurpation in 382. was invented afterwards. And we must do so much justice to Zosimus, as to observe, that he puts the credit of it upon a *Φασι* only, *it is said*.

14. "Theodosius (*a*) he says, sent Cynegius Prefect of the Praetorium into Egypt, with orders to prohibit all worship of the Gods, and to shut up the temples. Which orders Cynegius punctually executed, and shut up the doors of the temples all over the East, and in all Egypt, and in Alexandria itself, and prohibited the sacrifices, which had been ever practised hitherto, and every branch of the ancient religious rites. And what has been the fate of the Empire from that time to this, will appear from the following relation of the things that have happened.

Here is no mention made of the demolition of the temples. All that Zosimus says, is, that they were *shut up*: this was done in 386. or before, as is supposed: and Cynegius, now Prefect of the Praetorium in the East, who was employed in this commission, died, in his Consulship in the year (*b*) 388.

15. Soon afterwards, he says, "Gerontius (*c*) a General of great valour and conduct commanded in Tomas in Scythia. Having been insulted by some barbarians in that countrey, he sallied out upon them, and having with difficulty overcome them, they (*d*)  
" who

(*a*) . . . ὥς τε καὶ Κυνηγίῳ, τῷ τῆς αὐλῆς ὑ-  
πάρχῳ, πεμπομένῳ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, προ-  
τεταγμένῳ τε πᾶσι τὴν εἰς θεῖα θρησκείαν ἀπα-  
γορεύσαι, καὶ κλειθεῖν τοῖς τεμένεσιν ἐπιθεῖναι.  
... Lib. 4. p. 762.

(*b*) Vide Bagn. ann. 388. num. vii. Til-  
lemont. Theod. i. art. xix.

(*c*) L. 4. p. 764. 765.

(*d*) Τὸς δὲ ἀποδρόντας ἐδίχετο παρὰ  
χριστιανῶν τιμώμενον ἐκείδεμα, νομιζόμενον  
ἄστυλον. p. 765.

A. D. 425. “ who had escaped, fled to a building, highly honoured by the Christians, and esteemed an asylum.” This also is supposed to have happened (e) in the year 386.

16. Having related, how *Arbogastes* and *Eugenius* were overcome, he proceeds. “ Things (f) thus succeeding with Theodosius, when he came to Rome [in 394.] he declared his son Honorius Emperor, and appointed Stilicho General of the legions in those parts, and left him to be guardian to his son. And assembling the Senate, who still adhered to the ancient religion of their country, and had not yet chosen to joyn themselves to those who had fallen into contempt of the Gods, he made a speech to them, and exhorted them to leave the errour, (as he called it) which they had been yet in, and to embrace the faith of the Christians, the great promise of which is the forgiveness of every sin, and every impiety. But none followed his advice, nor consented to forsake the rites of their country, which had been delivered to them from the foundation of the City, or to make an unreasonable choice of others in their \*\*\* room. For they said, that in the observation of them they had possessed the City unconquered for almost twelve hundred years: but what might happen, if they should exchange them for others, they knew not. Theodosius then told them, that the Publick was burdened with the expenses of the temples, and sacrifices: and that for the future they should not be allowed: for he did not approve of that kind of expense. And besides, the necessities of the armie required more money. The Senate answered, that the worship of the Gods could not be rightly performed, but at the public charge. And then from that time the public sacrifices ceasing, and all other things received  
“ from

(e) *Vide Tillem. L'Emp. Theodos. i. art.*  
28

(f) *Lib. iv. p. 779.*

\*\*\* So writes Zosimus. On the contrary, Prudentius says, that about this

time many Senators of the best families were converted, and embraced the Christian Religion. *Contr. Symm. l. i. ver.*

545. &c.



“ from ancient tradition being neglected, the Roman Empire has  
 “ gradually declined, till it is become the habitation of Barbarians,  
 “ or rather is almost destitute of inhabitants, and the form of it is  
 “ so altered, that it is not easie to find the places, where cities once  
 “ stood. Theodosius now assigned Italie, Spain, Gaul, and Africa  
 “ to his son Honorius, and dies soon afterwards. His body having  
 “ been embalmed was carried to Constantinople, and there interred  
 “ in the Imperial sepulchres.”

That is the conclusion of the fourth book of this Historie. There is no necessity, that I should stay to make many remarks. But I think it easie to suppose, that the great unanimity of the Senate in adhering to the old religion is here magnified. The complaints before made are here renewed, and with aggravations. For I presume the ancient cities were still to be found in their old places, and were most of them as well peopled as in former times. If some had been ruined by wars, or earthquakes, other cities had risen up in their room, and others were more populous, and more splendid, than in former times. This, particularly, was the case of *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*.

17. *Rufinus*, who had many honours under Theodosius, and had been some while Prefect of the Praetorium, and Consul in 392. and who after the death of Theodosius, (which happened in the beginning of 395) was for a short time prime Minister to Arcadius, was killed at Constantinople, or near it, before the end of the year (g) 595. and his body miserably abused, as Zosimus and others write. Zosimus then adds: “ The (b) wife of Rufinus fearing, that she  
 “ likewise should perish with her husband, fled with her daughter to  
 “ a church

(g) Vide Basnag. ann. 395. iv. Tillm. L'Emp. Arcade. art. iv.

(b) Τῆς δὲ Ρουφίνου γαμετῆς σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ περὶ σφραγίδος, δέει τὴ μὴ συναπολέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, πῶς δὲ Φυτρίππος, ἐφῆκεν αὐταῖς εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ἱερσόλυμα

πύλιν ἐκπλεῦσαι, πάλαι μὲν δικητήριον Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλείας, ὑπὸ Χριστιανῶν τιμωμένῃν ἐκκοσμήμασιν. Ἐκείναι μὲν ὅν οὕτως τὸν λατρεύμενον τὴ βίαν διετρίψαν χρόνον l. 5 p. 785. 786.

A. D. 425. “ a church of the Christians. And Eutropius, then in favour with  
 “ Arcadius, assured her of her life, and gave them leave to sail to  
 “ the city of Jerusalem, formerly inhabited by the Jews, but since  
 “ the reign of Constantin, adorned with buildings by the Christians.  
 “ Here they spent the rest of their days.”

18. And we meet with the end of *Eutropius* in the (i) year 399. The accounts given of it by *Zosimus*, is to this purpose:  
 “ Arcadius (k) hearing of these things, sent for Eutropius, and hav-  
 “ ing taken from him all his honours, let him go. Whereupon he  
 “ fled to a church of the Christians, which had been made an asy-  
 “ lum by himself. But Gainas, as *Zosimus* says, insisting, that  
 “ Tribigildas would make no concession, unless Eutropius were ta-  
 “ ken off, contrarie to the privilege of asylum given to churches,  
 “ they took him thence, and sent him to Cyprus, to be kept a close  
 “ prisoner. Afterwards he was brought thence to Chalcedon, and  
 “ there put to death: thus (l) eluding the oath they had given him,  
 “ and pretending, that they had only promised, he should not dye  
 “ at Constantinople.” So *Zosimus*.

19. Gainas, a Gottish Prince, for some while General under Ar-  
 cadius, revolted. “ And (m) *Gainas*, as *Zosimus* says, demanded a  
 “ conference with Arcadius at a place near Chalcedon, where was  
 “ a martyrdom, dedicated to a religious woman, named *Euphemia*,  
 “ who had this honour done to her because of her devotion to  
 “ Christ.”

20. Again, of Gainas. He attempted to take the city of Con-  
 stantinople, in which he had already a great number of Gottish sol-  
 diers,

(i) *Basn. ann.* 399. iii. *Pagi* 399. i. et ii.

(k) *Zof. l.* 5. p. 793. 794.

(l) . . . σοριζόμενοι τὸν ὄρκον οἱ τὰ περὶ βασιλεία διατιθέντες. p. 794. in.

(m) Καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ δὴ τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐνδύ-

τος, ἐγένετο μὲν ἡ σύνοδος ἐν τινὶ πρὸ τῆς Καλλήδωνος τόπῳ, καθ' ὃν ὁσίᾳς Ἐυφημίας, μαρτύριον ἀκοδόμητο, τιμῆς διὰ τὴν περὶ χριστὸν θρησκείαν ἀξιοθέτης. l. 5. p. 174. fin.

diers, but was defeated. This was in the year 400. “The (n) A. D. 425.  
 “city, says Zosimus, having thus escaped that danger, the Barba-  
 “rians, which were shut within the city, to the number of seven  
 “thousand, took to a church of the Christians near the palace,  
 “seeking that as a sanctuarie for their safety. But the Emperour com-  
 “manded them to be killed even there, not allowing that place it-  
 “self to secure them from the just punishment due to them. That  
 “was the Emperour’s command. But none dared to lay hands on  
 “them to take them thence for fear of a desperate resistance. It  
 “(o) was therefore judged proper to break open the roof, which  
 “was over the table called the altar. Which having been done,  
 “lighted wood was thrown down upon them, till they were all burnt  
 “to death. By this means all the Barbarians were killed. But (p)  
 “the zealous Christians thought this to be a horrid crime committed  
 “in the midst of the city.”

21. Gainas fled into Thrace, and then to Chersonesus, with an  
 intention to return through the streights of the Hellespont into Asia.  
 “At (q) the same time the Emperour and Senate with common  
 “consent made choice of *Frajutus* for General to act against him:  
 “a man who in regard to his native countrey was a Barbarian, but  
 “in disposition, and manners, and religion, a Greek: and who had  
 “upon divers occasions shewn himself to be a good General. He  
 “came to an engagement with Gainas, and obtained a victorie over  
 “him: but for some reasons did not pursue him. Upon which  
 “account

(n) *Ib. p. 796. in.*

(o) Εδόκει τίνων, τὴν ὑπερκειμένην τῇ  
 τραπέζῃς τῇ λεγομένῃ θυσιαστηρίῳ σέβην γυμ-  
 ναθεῖσαν. . . . *Ibid.*

(p) Ἐδούρει δὲ παρὰ τοῖς σφίδρα χριστι-  
 αῖσι μέγα μῦθος ἐν μέσῃ τιτολμῆσθαι τῇ  
 πόλει. *Ibid.*

(q) Οὗτος δὲ ἐν τέτοις οὖτοι, κοινῇ ψήφῳ

βασιλέως τε καὶ ἡ γερουσία στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 κατὰ Γαίνην εἰρᾶναι πολέμῳ θραύσαν, αὐτῶν  
 βάρβαρον μὲν τὸ γένος, Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἄλλως ἢ  
 τρόπῳ μένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πραίτητι καὶ τῇ πε-  
 ρὶ τὰ θρησκεία. Τέτω τίνων, ἥδη πολλὰς  
 διαπρέψαντι στρατηγίαις, . . . παραδεδόκασι  
 τὰς δυνάμεις. . . . *p. 796.*

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“ account he was censured, and suspected to favour him, as being  
“ his countreyman. But (r) *Frajutus* not being conscious of any  
“ fault returned to the Emperour in high spirits for the victorie,  
“ which he had obtained, and openly ascribing it to the Gods, whom  
“ he worshiped. For he was not ashamed to own, in the presence  
“ of the Emperour himself, that he worshiped and honoured the  
“ Gods according to the ancient custom, and that he could not  
“ persuade himself to follow the multitude therein. The Emperour  
“ received *Frajutus* graciously, and appointed him Consul.”

So writes *Zosimus*. These things were done in the year 400.  
And *Frajutus*, or *Fravitta*, was Consul in 401.

But though *Gainas* escaped then, he afterwards fell into the hands  
of *Uldas*, prince of the Huns, as *Zosimus* (s) proceeds to relate, who  
fought with him, and overcame him, and slew him, and then sent  
his head to *Arcadius*. All (t) which was done before the end of the  
year 400.

The historie of *Gainas*, but with somewhat different circumstan-  
ces, may be seen in our ancient ecclesiastical (u) historians. Nor is  
*Fravitta* or *Frajutus* omitted by them. They have mentioned him  
in a very honourable manner. *Socrates* particularly says, that (x)  
though he was a Goth by nation, he was faithfull to the Romans,  
and in that war performed very valuable services, for which reason  
he was honoured with the Consulship in the following year. And  
Phi-

(r) ἃ δὲν τοῖσιν ἐαυτῶν συνεπισόμενος, ἐ-  
πανήκεν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τῇ  
νίκῃ, καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν τι-  
μωμένοις τούτην ἀναθίξει. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠσχύνε-  
το, καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀκύνοντος, ὁμολογεῖν,  
ὅτι σέβοντο καὶ τιμῇ θεὸς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ  
οὐκ αἰέξεται κατὰ τὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀκολούθη-  
σαι. Φράϊευσεν μὲν ἢ ἀποδείξάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς  
ἐς, ὅπατον ἔνα ἱκατέησε. *Zos.* p. 798.

(s) *Ib.* p. 798. 799.

(t) *Vide Basnag. ann.* 400. n. iii. . . v.

(u) *Socrat. l. 6. cap. 6. Sozom. l. 8. cap.*  
4. *Theod. l. 5. cap. 32. 33. Philostorg. l.*  
xi. p. 531.

(x) *Socrat. l. 6. cap. vi. p. 309.*



Philostorge says, Fravitta (*y*) was a Goth by nation, a Greek by religion, faithful to the Romans, and a great General.

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May we not then observe, that here is an example of moderation and generosity in a Christian Emperour, and of fidelity in a Heathen General, who were of different sentiments from each other in things of religion?

22. I shall be now led to transcribe a long passage (*z*) of this Historian concerning the differences between the Empreſſe, wife of Arcadius, and John Chryſoſtom, in the years 403. and 404.

“ Hence (*a*) says this Heathen Historian, was encreased the Empreſſe’s hatred against John, Bishop of the Christians, [*at Constantinople.*] who was before greatly incensed against him, because he had been wont to revile her in his homilies, delivered in the public assemblies. But at that time after the return of John, and some others, she openly shewed her resentment. And doing all things according to her own pleasure, she stirred up all the Bishops every where to remove John. The (*b*) principal of whom was Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, who first began the attack upon the temples, and the rites established from the beginning of time. When the consultation was appointed, and John saw that the cause would not be decided equitably, he left Constantinople of his own accord. The people being exceedingly disturbed at this: for he was very skillfull in governing the irrational multitude; the city was filled with confusion, and the church of the Christians was seized by the Monks. These are men, who reject lawful marriage, and fill numerous colle-

M m 2

“ ges

(*y*) Πέμπεται στρατηγὸς κατ’ αὐτῆς Φρα-  
νκός, Γότθος μὲν τὸ γένος, Ἕλληνας δὲ τὴν δόξαν,  
πιστὸς δ’ ἐν Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὰ πολέμια κράτιστος.  
*Philost. l. xi. p. 531. D.*

(*z*) *Zos. l. v. p. 799. 800.*

(*a*) Εὐθέως ἐνζήθη τῇ συναικίᾳ τῷ βασι-

λεῖ τὸ τῶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπισκόπου ρήσος, χα-  
λεταίνεσις πρότερον μὲν αὐτῇ, καμωδὸν εὐνο-  
τι κατὰ τὰς συνόδους αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸ  
πλῆθος ἐμιλίαις. *p. 799. fin.*

(*b*) *Ibid.*

A. D. 425. “ ges in cities and villages with unmarried men, fit neither for war,  
 “ nor any other service of the state : except that encreasing in a  
 “ long course of time, they have got possession of a large part of  
 “ the earth : and under pretense of giving all to the poor, they  
 “ have reduced almost all mankind to poverty. These men having  
 “ seised the churches, obstructed the people from coming to the u-  
 “ sual prayers. At which many of the people, as well as the sol-  
 “ diers, were greatly provoked. And they desired leave to chastize  
 “ the audaciousness of those men. Having obtained a grant for  
 “ that purpose, they set about the work with a good will, and kil-  
 “ led all whom they found without distinction, till they had filled  
 “ the church with corpses. And pursuing those who had escaped,  
 “ they slew all whom they met with in black coats. By which  
 “ means many perished, who happened to be so dressed, either for  
 “ mourning, or on some other account. But John returning again,  
 “ went on in his old way, making the like disturbances in the city,  
 “ as formerly. [*Here are inserted some reflexions upon the public ma-  
 “ nagement, under a weak prince, and his imperious wife, governed  
 “ by eunuchs and women.*] And as if all these disorders were not  
 “ sufficient, a terrible calamity befell the city of Constantinople,  
 “ which was occasioned in this manner. John, as I said just now,  
 “ being returned after his flight, again excited the people in the  
 “ wonted solemnities of religion against the Empreſse. But being  
 “ soon after deprived of the episcopal see, and also banished the ci-  
 “ ty, he took shipping, and went away. At which time, they who  
 “ favoured him, desirous that no other person should be Bishop in  
 “ his room, resolved to set fire to the city. They therefore threw  
 “ some combustible materials into the church privately in the night,  
 “ and early in the morning left the city. Whereby they were un-  
 “ known. But when it was day, the city appeared to be in the ut-  
 “ most danger. For the church was all in flames, and at length  
 “ was burnt down to the ground, as were also the adjoining houses,  
 “ especially, on that side, where the wind drove the flames. The  
 “ fire

“ fire also seized the house in which the Senate used to meet, which  
 “ was near the palace, and was adorned with statues of excellent  
 “ artifice, and marble of beautifull colours, such as are not now  
 “ to be found any where. And it is said, that at that time were  
 “ consumed those images, which had been formerly dedicated to  
 “ the Muses in Helicon, and were a part of the many sacrileges  
 “ committed in the time of Constantine, and had been set up in  
 “ this place. Whereby (c) was evidently intimated the general dis-  
 “ affection to the Muses, which now began to prevail among men.  
 “ However at that time there happened a kind of miracle, which  
 “ ought not to be buried in silence. For the temple of the Senate,  
 “ for the sake of which I mention these things, had before the doors  
 “ of it the statues of Jupiter and Minerva, standing upon stone-pe-  
 “ destals, as they do at this time. And they say, that of Jupiter  
 “ is *Jupiter Dodonaeus*, and that of Minerva is the same that was  
 “ formerly set up at *Lindus*. When therefore the temple was con-  
 “ sumed by the fire, the lead also upon the roof was melted, and  
 “ ran down upon the statues. And the stones likewise, which could  
 “ not resist the force of the fire, fell also upon them: till at last,  
 “ when the beauty of the building was all turned into a heap of  
 “ rubbage, it was the common opinion, that those two images were  
 “ reduced to ashes. But afterwards, when the place was cleared,  
 “ and ready to be rebuilt, the statues of those Deities, and they on-  
 “ ly, appeared, having escaped the universal destruction. Which  
 “ (d) gave all men of a liberal mind good hopes concerning the  
 “ city, and that those deities would ever favour it with their pro-  
 “ tection. But let that be, as God pleaseth.”

I have

(c) . . . σαφές ἐρόν πως τὴν καθέξουσιν ἀπαιτας  
 ἀμβροσίαν μινύοντα. p. 801.

(d) Ὅπερ ἅπασιν τοῖς χαριεσέροις ἀμέμικτος  
 ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει δέδωκεν ἔχον ἐλπίδας, ὥς δὴ

τῶν θεῶν τέτων ἔχουσθαι τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς αἰὲν βε-  
 λεομέναν προνοίαν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅπη

τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, πάντα πείτω. p. 802.

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I have thus largely transcribed this paragraph for more fully shewing the temper of this learned and polite writer.

23. In the year 408. the Senate of Rome, with the advice of Stilicho, consented to pay Alarich the Goth four thousand pounds in gold. “ However, (*e*) it was not with the approbation of all. “ And in the debates about that matter, as Zosimus says, *Lampadi-* “ *us*, one of the Senators, and a man of great eminence for his fam- “ ilie and station, said in the Latin tongue: Non est ista Pax, sed “ *Pactio Servitutis*, *that is not the bond of Peace, but of Slavery.* “ But when the Senate was risen, fearing he might suffer for that “ freedom of speech, he fled to a neighboring church of the Chri- “ stians.”

24. We may take this opportunity to observe of *Stilicho*: that he was much in favour with Theodosius the first, who gave him in marriage his niece *Serena*, and left him when he died in 395. the charge of his son Honorius, and under him the care of the Empire in the West. Honorius married two of Stilicho’s daughters, first one, and after her death the other. He was Consul in 400. and 405. But his ruin soon followed after the conclusion of the contract above-mentioned. For he was put to death in the month of August in that same year, 408.

25. At this time news was brought of the death of Arcadius. Honorius had a mind to go into the East, to secure the empire for young Theodosius. But Stilicho endeavored to dissuade him from it. “ Thus (*f*) acted Stilicho, says Zosimus, conscious of no mis- “ behaviour, or ill design against the Emperour, or the soldiers. But “ *Olympius*, who came from the Euxine Sea, and had been advanced to a high military post in the palace, and (*g*) who under an “ ap-

(*e*) . . . τῶν πλείων οὐ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀλλὰ Στελίχωνος φόβῳ, τῷτο ψηφισαμένων.  
κ. λ. p. 806. in.

(*f*) p. 808. in.

(*g*) . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ φαινομένῃ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐυλαβείᾳ πολλὴν ἀποκρύπτων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πονηρίαν. *Ibid.*



“ appearance of Christian piety concealed a great deal of wicked-  
 “ nesse, and pretended to the Emperour a world of candour and mo-  
 “ deration, vented against Stilicho, as the Poet expresseth it, words  
 “ exciting anger. For he said, that Stilicho contrived the taking a  
 “ journey into the East, with a design to make away with the  
 “ young Theodosius, and then secure the empire for his own son  
 “ Eucherius.”

26. “ Olympius (*b*) being now master of Emperour’s counsels,  
 “ sent imperial letters to the soldiers at Ravenna, ordering Stilicho  
 “ to be taken into custodie, but to be kept at large. When Stili-  
 “ cho knew that, he went to a church of the Christians, which  
 “ was near at hand, in the night-time. . . . As soon as it was day,  
 “ the soldiers entered into the church, and in the presence of the  
 “ Bishop, made oath, that they were ordered by the Emperour on-  
 “ ly to take him into custodie, but not to kill him. When he was  
 “ come out of the church, and was in the hands of the soldiers, an-  
 “ other letter was produced by him who brought the first, com-  
 “ manding *Stilicho* to be put to death for his crimes against the  
 “ State. His son *Eucherius* escaped for the present, and went to  
 “ Rome. Thus died Stilicho, being beheaded : the most modest  
 “ of all the men in power at that time. For he had married the  
 “ niece of the elder Theodosius, and had been entrusted with the  
 “ care of both his sons, and in the three and twenty years that he  
 “ had governed the armie, it never appeared, that he sold any pla-  
 “ ces for money, or converted any part of the pay of the soldiers to  
 “ his own use. His death happened, when Bassus and Philip were  
 “ Consuls, in the same year that the Emperour Arcadius died, on  
 “ the tenth day of the Calends of September :” that is, the 23. day  
 of August, in the year 408.

27. “ Stilicho’s son, *Eucherius*, (*i*) was sought for to be put to  
 “ death. But finding, that he had fled to one of the churches at  
 “ Rome,

(*b*) P. 810. &c.(*i*) p. 811.

A. D. 425. “ Rome, they let him alone out of reverence for the place.” However, afterwards, he also was put to death by order of (k) Honorius.

28. Zosimus likewise gives an account of the death of *Serena*, which he says was a just judgement upon her. “ She (l) suffered, “ he says, this punishment worthie of her impiety, as I shall now “ relate. When Theodosius the Elder, after having vanquished the “ tyrant Eugenius, came to Rome, and endeavoured to form in all “ a contempt of the sacred rites, and refused to allow the public expenses for the sacrifices, and the priests and priestesses were driven “ away, and the temples were left destitute of the sacred offices and “ ministrations there performed : at that time *Serena* derided those “ things, and would herself see the temple of the Mother of the “ Gods. And when she saw there the necklace upon the image of “ Rhea, an ornament suited to that divine religion, she took it off “ from the image, and put it upon her own neck. And when one “ of the elder of the Vestal Virgins, that were yet left, and stood by, “ reproved her for her impiety, she abused her, and ordered her to “ be had away by her servants. She then, as she was going, imprecated to *Serena*, and her husband, and her children, every thing “ worthie of her impiety.” He there goes on to say likewise, that (m) Stilicho had brought down the divine vengeance upon himself by taking away some gold, which was upon the doors of the Capitol at Rome. So he is now pleased to say, though some while ago he commended Stilicho for his faithfull services, and disinterested behaviour in the high offices, which he had bore.

29. Alarich, after the death of Stilicho, came again to Rome, before the end of the year 408. the stipulated conditions, as is supposed, not having been performed. “ The City was then in great “ straits, and as Zosimus says, the (n) people were made sensible, “ that these calamities had befallen them, because they had neglect-  
“ ed

(k) p. 813.

(l) p. 814.

(m) *Ibid.*

(n) p. 816.

“ ed the ancient rites. Whilst they were thinking after this man-  
 “ ner, as he goes on to say, *Pompeianus*, Prefect of the City, met  
 “ with some Tuscans lately come to Rome. They proposed the  
 “ performing some rites, by which, as they said, they had saved  
 “ another place called Narnia, when in great danger. For they had  
 “ brought down thunder and lightening, which drove the Barba-  
 “ rians away. Whereupon *Pompeianus* resolved, that the same  
 “ rites should now be performed. But (o) considering what was the  
 “ prevailing opinion, that what he intended might be done with  
 “ the greater security, he communicated the whole affair to the Bi-  
 “ shop of the City. This was *Innocentius*. He preferring the safe-  
 “ ty of the City to his own opinion, gave them leave to do what  
 “ they pleased, only privately. But they said, that those rites could  
 “ be of no benefit to the City, unless they were done publicly, af-  
 “ ter the appointed manner, the Senate ascending to the Capitol,  
 “ and there, and in the markets of the City, performing what was  
 “ fit to be done. This being the case, none dared to partake in the  
 “ sacred rites, and the proposal of the Tuscans was rejected. They  
 “ therefore dismissed the Tuscans, and resolved to come to an a-  
 “ greement with the Barbarians. And after treating with them, it  
 “ was agreed, that the City should pay to *Alarich* five thousand  
 “ pounds of gold, and thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thou-  
 “ sand silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and three  
 “ thousand pounds of pepper. But the treasure was empty, and  
 “ it was difficult to get so much money from private persons. Some  
 “ of the Senators therefore who had good estates, undertook the  
 “ collection by way of assessment. But in vain. And (p) that  
 “ wicked

(o) Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κρατῆσαν κατὰ τῶν ἐλάμ- λειας ἐπισκώπων. Ἦν δὲ Ἰννοκέντιος. κ. λ.  
 βανὲ δόξαν, ὁσφαλέεσσιν ἐθέλων πράττειν τὸ Ibid.  
 σπευδόμενον, ἀνατίθεται πάντα τῷ τῆς πό- (p) . . ἐπὶ τὸν κολορῆμα τῶν κακῶν ὁ τὰ  
 λις

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“ wicked demon, which then governed human affairs, carried those  
 “ who were appointed over this business to the perfection of im-  
 “ piety. For they determined to make up the sum that was want-  
 “ ing, with the ornaments of the images. The taking away of  
 “ which things, set up with the solemn rites of consecration, and  
 “ in a like manner covered with becoming ornaments, for securing  
 “ perpetual prosperity to the City, was nothing else than rendring  
 “ them inanimate and insignificant. And because every thing was  
 “ to conspire to accomplish the ruin of the city, they not only stript  
 “ the images of their ornaments, but they also melted down some  
 “ of the images, which were of gold and silver : among which was  
 “ the image of *Fortitude*, which the Romans call *Virtue* : Which  
 “ being destroyed, whatever fortitude, or virtue, had remained a-  
 “ mong the Romans till that time, was now extinguished. And  
 “ that this would be the event, was then foretold by those who were  
 “ skillfull in divine things.”

I am not concerned to justify the conduct of those officers. But I suppose, that no men of sense can now believe, that those images were of any advantage to the safety of the City. However, we have here another proof, that the change of religion was continually, upon all occasions, represented as hazardous to the state. And we may farther observe, that no religion can be so absurd, and unreasonable, especially when it has been established, and of a long time, that will not find men of good abilities, not only to palliate, and excuse, but also to approve, and justify, and recommend it's greatest absurdities.

Zosimus says, that *Innocent*, Bishop of Rome, consented to the proposal of *Pompeianus*, provided the ancient rites were performed privatly. This (q) Baronius calls a calummie upon Innocent : the rather,

ἐνθρόνισμα λαχὼν ὁλιγίστοις δαίμων, τὰ πρῶτα  
 ματα πρᾶττοντας ἤγαγε. . . . ὅν ἦν καὶ τὸ Ἀν-  
 δρείας, ὃν καλῶσι Ρωμαῖοι κερτέτημ. Ὅπουπερ

διαφθέρνεται, ἔσα τῆς ἀνδρείας ἦν καὶ ἀρετῆς  
 παρὰ Ρωμαίοις, ἀπέσθη. Ibid. p. 817.  
 (q) Baron. ann. 109. num. vi. vii. 66.



rather, because the same affair is related by Sozomen, the ecclesiastical historian, who says nothing of Innocent. It may be not improper therefore for us to observe Sozomen's account. Speaking of this siege of Rome by Alarich in the year 408. he says, "when (r) the siege had been prolonged, and the City labored under both famine and pestilence, and many of the slaves had gone away to Alarich; the Senators who adhered to the Greek religion, were of opinion, that it was needfull to offer sacrifices at the Capitol, and the other temples: and that there then were with the Prefect of the City some Tuscans, who engaged to drive away the barbarians by thunder and lightening: and they boasted, that they had already done the same at Narnia, a city of Tuscanie: whereupon Alarich passed by that place, when he came to Rome, and never besieged it. But the event shewed, that those things could be of no benefit to the city."

Sozomen therefore seems to say, that these rites were performed, but were ineffectual. Perhaps some sacrifices were offered according to the ancient customs, but not openly, and at the public expense, as Zosimus intimates. And whether (s) Innocent consented, or was absent at that time, as Baronius thinks, may be doubtfull. It may be best to leave some things in uncertainty concerning this historie, for want of better information.

31. "*Heliocrates*, Prefect of the Treasurie, was appointed to seize the effects of Stilicho, and of those who were supposed to be concerned with him. But (t) he used great lenity, and was far from

N n 2

"being

(r) . . . ἀναγκάϊον ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐλληνίζουσι τῆς συγκλήτου, θύειν ἐν τῷ καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ναοῖς· ἡσσοὶ γάρ τινες ἐπὶ τούτῳ μετακληθέντες παρὰ τῷ ὑπάρχοντι τῆς πόλεως, ὑπάρχοντο σκηπτοῖς καὶ βρονταῖς ἀπελάσσειν τὰς βαρβάρους· ἤνυχεν δὲ τοῦτου αὐτοῖς ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ περὶ λαφύρια πόλιν τῆς θουσιτίας, ἣν παριῶν Α·

λαφύριος ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην εἶχε· εἶλεν ἄλλα τέσσα μὲν εἰδὲν ὕψους ἕσσεσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἢ ἀπόβασιν εἰδεῖν. Soz. l. 9. cap vi.

(s) Vide Basnag. ann. 408. num. x. Tillem. Emp. Honoré. art. 32.

(t) P. 819.

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 “ fore, as Zosimus says, judged to be a man of no worth, he was  
 “ sent to Ravenna, to be there punished for his humanity to the  
 “ unfortunate, and would have been put to death, but that he took  
 “ refuge in a church of the Christians.”

32. In the year 409. (u) as is computed, *Generidus* was appointed General of the forces in Dalmatia, as well as in Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhaetia (x). Of him Zosimus speaks in this manner. “ This  
 “ (y) Generidus was a barbarian by origin, but of an excellent dis-  
 “ position for every kind of virtue, and not to be tempted by mo-  
 “ ney. He still adhered to the ancient rites, and could not be per-  
 “ suaded to relinquish the worship of the Gods: though there was  
 “ a law enacted, which forbid all who were not Christians to wear  
 “ a girdle at Court. When that law was published, Generidus, who  
 “ had a considerable militarie post at Rome, staid at home, lay-  
 “ ing aside his girdle. When the Emperour called for him, ex-  
 “ pecting his attendance at Court, in the duty of his office, he an-  
 “ swered, there was a law, forbidding him to wear a girdle, and  
 “ that any should be so much as numbred among officers, who  
 “ were not of the Christian Religion. The Emperour replied, that  
 “ law was binding to all others, but not to him, who had run so  
 “ many hazards for the state. He answered, that he could not re-  
 “ ceive that honour, with the injurie of so many others, who by  
 “ that law were deprived of their militarie posts. Nor would he  
 “ discharge his office, till the Emperour, compelled by shame and  
 “ necessity, repealed that law, and gave leave to all of the same opi-  
 “ nion

(u) See Tillem. *L'Emp. Honoré. art. 34.* p. 1228.

(x) *Sof. l. 5. p. 820. l. 30. &c.*

(y) Ἦν δὲ ὁ Γενέριδος βάρβαρος μὲν τὸ γένος, τὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐῖς πᾶν ἀρετῆς εἶδος ἐν περὶ αὐτοῦ, χρημάτων τὲ ἀδαρτέατος. Οὗτος, ἔτι τοῖς πατρίοις ἐμμένων, καὶ τῇ ἐῖς θεῶν θρησκ-

κείας ἐκείναι οὐκ ἀνεχόμενος, ἐπειδὴν νόμος εἰσέχθη τοῖς καὶ σοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ζῶσιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ἔχειν ἀπαγορεύων, τέταρτος νόμος τεθνήσκοντος, ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ στρατιωτικῆς προεστῆς ὁ Γενέριδος, ἐμμένον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν ζῶσιν ἀποθέμενος. κ. λ. *Zof. l. 5. p. 820. 821.*

“ nion with him to bear civil and militarie offices. Whereupon  
 “ Generidus accepted the office proposed to him, and acted therein  
 “ with diligence and zeal.”

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By the law, *forbidding all but Christians to wear a girdle*, probably, Zosimus intends the (z) law of Honorius, dated the 14. of November in the year 408. which *forbids all but Catholicks to bear any militarie offices*. I do not see any law expressly repealing that just mentioned: though there may be some references to it. And, as  
 “ Gothofred (a) says, “ in the later part of the year 409 and in the  
 “ begining of the year 410. Honorius shewed uncommon mildness  
 “ to hereticks, and particularly to Donatists, in which the Pagans  
 “ may have shared. For Zosimus says, that the law, which forbid  
 “ all who were enemies to the Catholick faith, (which includes  
 “ both Pagans and hereticks) to bear militarie offices, (meaning that  
 “ above-mentioned,) had been repealed, and about this time.” Tillemont (b) likewise may be consulted.

33. I proceed no farther in my extracts of this kind out of Zosimus. Alarich still continued in Italie. And Honorius not having performed the conditions insisted upon, Alarich came again to Rome, besieged it, and took it, in the year 410. But Zosimus has not writ the historie of that siege, and the event of it: or, if he did, it is now wanting.

34. In the extracts, already made, we have seen many proofs of  
 the

(z) Eos qui Catholicae sectae sunt inimici, intra palatium militare prohibemus. *Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. v. l. 42. de Haereticis. Tom. 6. p. 163.*

(a) Honorius scilicet et extremis superioris anni, 409. et primis hujus anni mensibus, in haereticos remissior fuerat, ac nominatim Donatistas, quorum depravatos animos ad correctionem mitius invitandos crediderat, ut ipsemet superiore lo-

co ait. Quinimo et in Paganos. Nam et Zosimus lib. 5. pag. 821. legem, quâ catholicae sectae inimici (id est, ut haeretici ita et pagani) intra palatium militare prohibiti fuerant, (et sic l. 42. supr.) eo quo dixi tempore, abrogatam testatur. *Gothofred. Cod. Theod. T. 6. p. 171.*

(b) See *L'Emp. Honoré, art. 31. et 34.*

A. D. the credulity and superstition of this great man. Nevertheless I am  
425. disposed to put together here some other instances, hitherto omitted.

35. After having made great complaints of the extent and grandeur of the city of Constantinople, he says: "I (*b*) have often wondered, since the City of Byzantium has grown so great, that our ancestors had no divine prophetic about it. And having long employed my thoughts about it, and having turned over a great many historians; and collections of oracles, and having spent a good deal of time in endeavouring to understand them, I at length met with an oracle, which is ascribed to Sibylla Epythraea, or Phælo. It is to this effect. . . ."

36. About the time of the death of Valentinian, which happened in Nov. 375. or soon after, "there (*c*) fell a thunderbolt, he says, upon Sirmium, which consumed both the palace and the market-place, which by good judges was esteemed a bad omen to public affairs. There also happened earthquakes in some places. Crete was violently shaken, as also Peloponnesus, and all the rest of Greece: so that many cities were destroyed, except only the city of the Athenians, and others in Attica. That, as is said, was saved in this manner. Nestorius (*d*) who was hierophantes, (or high-priest) had a dream, in which he was admonished, that the Hero Achilles ought to be honoured with public honours, for that would be for the welfare of the city. When he communicated that vision to the chief-men of the city, they thought he doated, as being an old man, and therefore did nothing that was required. However (*e*) considering with himself what ought to be done,

" and

(*b*) *Lib.* 2. p. 689. 690.

(*c*) *L.* 4. p. 745.

(*d*) Νεστόριος, ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἱεροφάειτον τεταγμένος, ὅταν ἐθεάσατο παρακελευόμενον χεῖναι τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα τὸν ἥρωα δημοσί-

αῖς τιμᾶσθαι τιμαῖς· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ τίτῳ τῇ πόλει σωτήριον. *P.* 745. *fin.*

(*e*) . . . οὗτος καθ' ἑαυτὸν λογισάμενος τὸ πρακτέον, καὶ ταῖς θεοειδέσιν ἐννοίας παιδα-



“ and being likewise instructed by divine illuminations infused into  
 “ his mind, he made an image of the Hero in a small house, and  
 “ then put it under the image of Minerva, which is in the Parthe-  
 “ nion. And as often as he offered sacrifices to the Goddesse, he  
 “ at the same time performed what was due to the Hero. By this  
 “ means, having fulfilled the intention of the dream, the Atheni-  
 “ ans were saved, and all Attica partook of the benevolence of the  
 “ Hero. The truth of all which may be learned from the hymn,  
 “ which the Philosopher *Syrianus* composed in honour of the He-  
 “ ro upon that occasion. This relation I have thought not impro-  
 “ per to insert in this place.”

Beside other things, which may be taken notice of, we may ob-  
 serve, here are proofs, that at this time about the year 375. and  
 afterwards, Gentil people did practise the ancient rites upon divers  
 occasions. Nor do we see, that they met with much molestation  
 therein. And *Zosimus*, now in 420. or later, speaks of them, with  
 a great deal of freedom.

37. Valens had war with the Goths. And in the year 378. the  
 year in which he died, he came from Antioch to Constantinople.  
 “ When (*f*) the armie set out thence, to go into Thrace, and the  
 “ Emperour with them, as our historian says, they saw a prodigie,  
 “ or strange sight. The body of a man lay in the road, quite mo-  
 “ tionless, who looked as if he had been whipt from head to foot,  
 “ only his eyes were open, and seemed to stare at all who came  
 “ near him. When he was asked, who he was, and whence he  
 “ came, and from whom he had suffered that treatment, he made  
 “ no answer to any. Which they thought to be very strange. And  
 “ they shewed him to the Emperour, as he passed by. And though  
 “ he

γυγόμενος, ἐκείνα τῷ ἥρωι ἐν οἴκῳ μικρῷ θη-  
 μιερήσας, ὑπέθηκε τῷ ἐν παρθενῶν καθίστη-  
 μένῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματι. κ. λ. L. 4. p.  
 746. in.

(*f*) *Zof. l. 4 p. 748.*

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A. D. 425. “ he put the same questions to him, he remained speechless. He  
 “ could not be thought a living creature, because his whole body  
 “ was void of motion : nor yet quite dead, because his eyes seemed  
 “ well. At length he vanished on a sudden. Which when the  
 “ standers-by saw, they could not tell what to think. But they  
 “ who were skilfull, said, it portended the future state of the Em-  
 “ pire : that it should look as if it had been beaten, and whipt, and  
 “ like those who are just expiring : till by the bad management  
 “ of magistrates and governours, it should be quite destroyed. And  
 “ if we consider every thing, this prediction will appear to have been  
 “ very true.”

38. I shall transcribe no more of these things at length, and add  
 “ only a paragraph of Dr. Bently in his (g) *Remarks upon a late*  
*Discourse of Free-thinking* : where this last mentioned, and several  
 other like things are summarily rehearsed. “ Zosimus, a poor su-  
 “ perstitious creature, (and consequently, as one would guess, an im-  
 “ proper witness for our Free-thinker) who has filled his little hi-  
 “ storie not more with malice against the Christians, than with bi-  
 “ gotry for the Pagans : who treats his readers with oracles of the  
 “ Palmyrenes, and Sibyls : with annual miracles done by Venus,  
 “ where gold and silver swam upon water : with presages and  
 “ dreams of old women : with thunders and earthquakes, as if they  
 “ were prodigies : with a dead body vanishing in the middle of an  
 “ armie : with omens and predictions from entrails of beasts : with  
 “ an apparition of Pallas and her Gorgons, and with a spectre of A-  
 “ chilles : with wooden idols, that fire could not burn : with a  
 “ necklace of the Goddesse Rhea, that executed divine vengeance :  
 “ who imputes the taking of Rome by Alarich to the omission of  
 “ Pagan sacrifices : and the decay of the Roman Empire to Con-  
 “ stantin’s neglecting the Ludi Seculares. This wise and judicious  
 “ Author is brought in for good evidence. And our avowed ene-  
 “ my

“ my to superstition, connives at all this trumpery, for the sake of  
 “ one stab at the reputation of Constantin, and the honour of Chri-  
 “ stianity.”

A. D.  
 425.

III. Some may think, that I have been too prolix in my extracts from this author. Nevertheless I have not thought it expedient to abridge more than I have done. There is somewhat entertaining in those histories, as I believe will be owned by most of my readers. And these extracts are authentic monuments of the ancient Heathen superstition, and credulity, and of the zeal, with which the rites of Gentilism were upheld and defended by all sorts of persons, learned as well as unlearned, and by men of high stations, as well as by people of low condition. They did all that lay in their power, to check, or stop the progreſſe of Christianity. They would gladly have recovered, and restored ancient Gentilism. Here are many reflexions upon Christian Emperours, and especially upon *Constantin*, and *Theodosius*. And the work is even filled with complaints of the badness of the times, and the declension of the Roman Empire: all owing, as insinuated, to the change of religion, and the non-performance of the rites of Gentilism, according to the ancient custom.

*Remarks  
 upon the  
 foregoing  
 Extracts.*

## C H A P. LIX.

## HIEROCLES, of Alexandria.

*His Time, Historie, and Works, with Remarks.*

A. D.  
450.  
*His Hi-  
storie, and  
Character*

**H**IEROCLES (*a*) stiled by Bayle a Platonic Philosopher of the fifth centurie, I place at the year (*b*) 450.

“ Hierocles, (*c*) says Suidas, an Alexandrian Philosopher, was a  
“ man of a great mind, and of such eloquence, as to attract the ad-  
“ miration of all his hearers. He had a disciple, named Theosebi-  
“ us, who beyond any man known to us, was able to look into the  
“ minds of men. This Theosebius assured us, that Hierocles in  
“ some of his lectures said, that the Discourses of Socrates were  
“ like dyes : for fall which way soever they would, they were al-  
“ ways right. Hierocles’s great and generous mind was discovered  
“ in adversity. For (*d*) coming to Byzantium, he offended the peo-  
“ ple of the prevailing religion, (*meaning the Christians,*) and being  
“ brought into court, he was there beaten and wounded. The  
“ blood then running down, he took some of it in the hollow of  
“ his

(*a*) *I’id. Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. 2. cap. xii. Tom. i. p. 469. . . 473 Bayle, Hierocles Philosophe Platonicien. Pearsoni Prolegom et Needham Praefatio.*

(*b*) . . . atque adeo circa medium seculi post Christum natum quinti floruisse. *Fabric ubi supra, p. 470.*

Εὐλαψ, τῆ, αἷ, ὄμιον, ἐπὶ φάγας ἀνδρίμεα κρέα.

(*c*) *Ιεροκλῆς, φιλόσοφος Αλεξανδρέως. κ. λ. Suidas.*

(*d*) *Εἰς γὰρ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀνελθὼν προσέ- κρησε τοῖς κρατῦσι, καὶ εἰς δικαστήριον ἀρχθεὶς ἐ- τύπτετο τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πληγὰς. Πέμμενος δὲ τῷ αἵματι, βίβλας κούλην τὴν χεῖρα, πρεσ- ράμει τὴν δικαστὴν, ὅμα λέγον*

*Homer. Odys. i. ver 347.*

*Suidas.*



“ his hand, and threw it at the Judge, saying to him at the same  
 “ time, You, *Cyclops, here, drink wine, since you have devoured hu-*  
 “ *man flesh.* And being banished thence, he came to Alexandria,  
 “ where, after his former manner he taught philosophic to those  
 “ who resorted to him. His good sense may be seen in his writ-  
 “ ings: in his Commentarie upon the Golden verses of Pythagoras,  
 “ in his book of Providence, and in many other works. By all  
 “ which he appears to have been a man of an exalted mind, as  
 “ well as of extensive knowledge.

1. It is allowed, and is particularly observed by his annotator, that (e) this article of Suidas is taken from the Life of Isidorus, writ by Damascius.

2. We may observe the stile of this Heathen writer, in the sixth centurie. Speaking of Constantinople, he calls it by it's ancient name *Byzantium*, rather than by that, which generally obtained in his own time.

3. May not this action of Hierocles, who filled the hollow of his hand with bloud, and threw it at the Judge, be allowed to justify a like action in *Aedestus*, a Christian martyr mentioned (\*) formerly?

4. I am sorry, that Hierocles was ill-treated by the Christians at Constantinople. But I am well pleased to see, that he afterwards philosophized at Alexandria, in his usual manner. Of this we are assured by *Damascius* himself, who was not wanting in zeal for Gentilism. And it is, I think, a proof, that the severities, with which the Gentil people, and particularly, their learned men, and philosophers, were treated, were not extremely rigorous.

Hierocles was a married man. “ He (f) married only for the  
 O o 2 “ sake

(e) Totum hunc articulum descripsisse Suidam ex Damascii Vita Isidori philosophi, vel ex Photio patet: apud quem in Excerptis ex illâ Vitâ, Cod. 242. p. 1037. nonnulla eorum, quae hic de Hierocle Grammaticus noster habet, συγγραφεῖ le-  
 guntur. *Kuster. in Suidae locum.*

(\*) See Vol. 3. p. 241.

(f) Γυναῖκα παιδεύσαν ὄρεται. Ως δὲ ἐκ ἐπιθέτου τὸ δαιμόνιον τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελ-  
 θεὶν λόγοις ἡμετέροις, ὅπου αὐτὸ ἀπὸ πη. α. α-  
 ζει ὁ Θεοδόσιος· καίτοι ἔτε μαρτυρεῖ ἐδὲς,  
 ἔτε θεωρίας μελετήσας· ὅρ. ἰζε δὲ τὰς τῆ  
 ἰήης

A. D.  
450.

“ fake of children. His wife, as Damascius writes, became posses-  
“ sed. As the demon would not be persuaded to depart by good  
“ words, his disciple Theosebius compelled him by an oath : though  
“ he did not understand magick, nor theurgie. But he adjured him  
“ by the rays of the sun, and the God of the Hebrews. Where-  
“ upon the demon departed, crying out, that he revered the  
“ Gods, and Him in particular.”

I need not make any remarks. But I thought it not improper to relate this storie of a Gentil Philosopher, told by a Gentil Historian.

*His Works*

In this article we have seen particular mention made of two works of Hierocles, his Commentarie upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, which is still extant : and his discourse on Providence, of which there are large extracts in (g) Photius. It consisted of seven books, and was inscribed to Olympiodorus, well known for some ambassies, and other services for the Empire.

Beside these, there are large fragments of other works, preserved in Stobaeus, and generally published together with the works above-mentioned.

All these are valuable, tending to recommend, and promote virtue : but not with that force, which flows from revelation, enjoining every part of moral righteousness by divine authority, and with the assurance of recompenses in a future state. This is a defect, common to him, with other Gentil writers.

However, it is not my design to detract from Hierocles : whom I esteem as a good, and useful man, and all his writings valuable. Several of the fragments are of considerable length. Some of the subjects treated of in the fragments, are these : “ Our (h) Duty to the  
“ Gods : our duty to our countrey : our duty to Parents : of brotherly love : of Marriage : of our duty to relations : of oecono-  
“ mie,

ἡλίου προτέμων ἀντίνας, καὶ Εβραίων θεόν. Ὁ δὲ  
ἀπελήλατο ὁ δάμων, ἀνακραγὼν, ἐνλαθεῖσ-  
θαι τὸς θεούς, ἀισχυέσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν. *Ap.*  
*Plot. Cod.* 242. p. 1037.

(g) *Cod. ccxiv. p. 548. &c.*

(h) *Hieroclis fragmenta apud Nerdham.*  
*p. 280. &c.*

“ mie, or the management of a familie : where he treats of the different offices of the husband and the wife, or the master and the mistress.” The fragment on marriage, meaning (*i*) the society of one man and one woman, is copious, enlarging on the benefits, the pleasures, the honour of marriage, and that it is becoming in a wise man. It must be owned, that here occur those expressions : “ In (*k*) this discourse concerning marriage, and the procreation of children, it will be needfull to say something concerning the encrease of children. For it is agreeable to nature, and marriage, that all, or however the most, should be preserved, and brought up.”

A. D.  
450.

Here seems to be a licence given to parents to expose their children, if they are numerous and burthensome. However, he argues against that in the next words, after this manner. “ Indeed (*l*) many dislike this rule, for a reason not very becoming. They have too great a desire of riches, and too great a dread of poverty.” Then he observes the benefits of a numerous offspring, and says, that men beget children, not only for themselves, but also for their countrey : which cannot be upheld, and prosper, without a succession of men, one after another.

(*i*) *P. 300. edit. Needham.*

(*k*) Ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας τόπῳ θετέος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ τῆς πολυτελείας λόγος. Κατὰ αὐτοὺς γὰρ πᾶσι καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ γάμῳ τὰ πάντα, ἢ τὰ γε πλεῖστα, τῶν γενομένων ἀνατρέφειν. *Ibid.* p. 308.

(*l*) Ἄλλ' εὐκασιν οἱ πλείους ἀπαθεῖν τῇ παραινέσει, δι' αἰτίαν οὐ μάλα πρεπιδῆν· διὰ γὰρ φιλοπρωτίαν, καὶ τὸ πάμμεγα κακὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν πενίαν, τὲτο πάσχει. *Ibid.* p. 308.

## C H A P. LX.

## P R O C L U S.

*Proclus, President of the school of Philosophie at Athens,  
Author of a treatise against the Christians, and many other works.*

A. D.  
464.

I. **P**ROCLUS (*a*) ought to be reckoned among the writers against the Christian Religion. I shall begin with the account given of him by Suidas in his Lexicon, and then add what may be farther needfull.

2. “ *Proclus (b) of Lycia*, says Suidas, scholar of Syrianus, a hearer also of the philosopher Plutarch, son of Nestorius, was a Platonic Philosopher. He presided in the philosophical school at Athens. Marinus of Neapolis was his scholar and successor. He  
“ wrote

(*a*) *Cav. Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 552. Fabric. Bib. Gr. lib. v. cap. 16. Tom. 8. p. 455. Ec. et Prolegom. in Procli vitam a Marino scriptam. Vid. et Phot. Cod. 239. p. 982.*

(*b*) Πρόκλος, ὁ Λύκιος, μαθητὴς Συριανῶ, ἀκουστὴς δὲ καὶ Πλατάρχου τῷ Νεστορίῳ, τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πλατωνικός. Οὗτος πρόεδρος τῆς ἐν Αθήναις φιλοσόφου σχολῆς καὶ αὐτὸς μαθητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος χρηματίζων Μαρτῖνος ὁ

Νεαπολίτης. Εἰργάζετο πάντῃ πολλά, φιλοσοφὰ τε καὶ γραμματικά. Ὑπόμνημα εἰς ὅλον τὸν Ὅμηρον Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ Ησίοδου Ἔργα καὶ Ημέρας. Περὶ Χρησμομαθίας βιβλία γ. Περὶ ἀγωγῆς β. . . . Περὶ τὰ Λόγια, βιβλία ι. Περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Θεῶν. Επιχρημάτα κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἰί. Οὗτος ἐστὶ Πρόκλος, ὁ δεύτερος μετὰ Πορφύριον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν τὴν μιστὰν καὶ ἐφύβρισεν αὐτὸν γλῶσσαν κινήσας. . . . Suid.



“ wrote very many books, philosophical, and grammatical : a Com-  
 “ mentarie upon all Homer : a Commentarie upon Hesiod’s Works  
 “ and Days. Of Theurgie two books, upon the Republick of Pla-  
 “ to four books, of Oracles ten books . . . [*and others, whose titles are*  
 “ *there mentioned*] and eighteen Arguments against the Christians.  
 “ This is that Proclus, who after Porphyrie moved his impure and  
 “ petulant tongue against the Christians. Against him wrote John,  
 “ called Philoponus, who admirably confuted his eighteen Argu-  
 “ ments, and likewise shewed his ignorance and unskilfullnesse in  
 “ the Greek learning, upon which he so much valued himself. Pro-  
 “ clus also wrote a book concerning the Mother of the Gods, which  
 “ if any person takes into his hands, he will see, that the Philoso-  
 “ pher did not without divine impulse explain the theologie of that  
 “ Goddesse, so that men need not any longer be disturbed about the  
 “ lamentations, which are heard in that solemnity.”

This last part of the article Suidas had from Marinus, as we shall see presently.

3. Suidas says, he was of Lycia. And Marinus (*c*) in his Life of Proclus, says, that his father Patricius, and his mother Marcella, were both of Lycia, but that Proclus was born at Byzantium. He lived in the fifth centurie, being born, as Fabricius (*d*) has computed, in the year of Christ 412. and dying when he was about seventy five years of age, in the year 485. I have placed him at the year 464. When he was above forty years of age : at which time it may be reasonably supposed, he was settled in his presidentship in  
 the

(*c*) *Marini Proclus. cap. 6. p. 11. edit. Fabric.*

(*d*) Haec genitura . . . docet, Proclum, qui Byzantinus fuit, et citra controversiam seculo post Christum natus 5. floruit, natum esse Anno Christi 412. die 8 Februarii. . . Ex ejusdem iterato testimonio sci-

mus, Proclum vixisse annos quinque et septuaginta, (lunares nempe, quibus usi Graeci) ut adeo mortuus sit Athenis Anno Christi Juliano 485. die 17. Aprilis. *Fabric. Prolegm. in Marini Proclum p. vi. Vid. et Bib. Gr. ubi supra, p. 456.*

A. D. the school at (e) Athens, and had been the author of several  
464. works.

4. Proclus's book against the Christians is not extant, by itself. And many learned men have supposed, that John Philoponus's answer to him was also lost. But Fabricius (f) shews this to be a mistake. And he observes likewise, that the Eighteen Arguments of Proclus are preserved in the eighteen books of Philoponus against him.

It should be also observed, that those Eighteen Arguments of Proclus were not against the Christian Religion in general, but only, or chiefly, against that one opinion of the Christians, that the world had a beginning.

5. I add nothing farther here. But I intend to make extracts in the next chapter, out of the Life of Proclus, writ by his scholar Marinus. In which, as seems to me, there are not a few things deserving our notice.

(e) Athenas autem venit Proclus circa A. D. 463 aut 464 si Lambecii judicio standum sit. *Pet. Needham. in Praef. ad Hieroclem. sub fin.*

(f) Equidem hoc Philoponi adversus Proclum opus non minus quam Procli ipsius argumenta intercidisse putat Caveus, vir doctissimus in Historia Literaria . . . ratus a Proclo, ad Celsi, Juliani, Porphyrii denique exemplum, ut ex Suidae verbis male collegit, universam Christianam Re-

ligionem illis xviii. argumentis impugnatam fuisse. Enimvero duodeviginti ἐπιχειρήματα directa sunt potissimum adversus unum dogma Christianorum de mundo non aeterno, et etiamnum extant in Johannis Philoponi libris duodeviginti de aeternitate mundi contra Proclum, quod hoc ipsum opus est tantis a Suida celebratum laudibus. *Fabric. de Procli Scriptis editis, ad calcem Marini Procli. p. 80.*

## C H A P. LXI.

## M A R I N U S.

*Marinus, successor of Proclus in the chair of the school of Philosophie at Athens, Author of the Life of Proclus. Extracts out of that Life. Where also of Syrianus, predecessor of Proclus.*

1. **M**ARINUS, of †† Flavia Neapolis in Palestine, scholar of Proclus, and his successor in the chair of the school of Philosophie at Athens, wrote the Life of Proclus, who died in 485. soon (a) after his master's death.

A. D.  
485.

2. In this Life are two passages, which have a reference to the Christians. If I transcribe them at length, there will appear some other things deserving our regard. And afterwards I shall transcribe several other passages.

3. "If

†† *The origin of Marinus shall be more particularly related by and by in an article taken from Damascius, in chap. lxii.*

(a) Hinc merito videor mihi colligere hanc vitam a Marino scriptam editamque

non diu a Procli obitu, certe anno nondum integro post illum elapso, quia de Eclipsi hac ut futura loquitur. *Fabric. not. in Marini Proclum. cap. 37. p. 76.*

A. D.  
485.

3. “ If (*b*) I should allow my-self to enlarge here, says *Marinus*,  
 “ I might relate very many theurgic operations of this blessed man.  
 “ One, however, out of innumerable, I shall mention, and it is won-  
 “ derfull to hear. *Asclepigenia*, daughter of Archiades and Plutarcha,  
 “ and wife of Theagenes, to whom we are much indebted, when  
 “ she was yet but a young maiden, and lived with her parents,  
 “ was seized with a grievous distemper, incurable by the Physicians.  
 “ *Archiades*, as all the hopes of his familie depended upon her, was  
 “ much grieved, and afflicted. All help from the Physicians fail-  
 “ ing, as in other cases, so now, in this also, he applyed to the sheet-  
 “ anchor, that is, to the Philosopher, as his good Saviour, earnest-  
 “ ly entreating him to pray for his daughter, whose condition was  
 “ not unknown to him. He therefore taking with him Pericles,  
 “ of Lydia, who also was a Philosopher, and worthie of that name,  
 “ went (*c*) to the temple of *Aesculapius*, intending there to offer up  
 “ his prayers to the God for the afflicted young woman. For the  
 “ city [*Athens*] was then happy in him, and enjoyed the temple  
 “ of the Saviour entire and undemolished. Whilst he was praying,  
 “ after the ancient manner, the young woman immediatly perceiv-  
 “ ed an alteration for the better, and recovered. For the Saviour,  
 “ as being God, healed her easily. The sacred rites being perform-  
 “ ed, Proclus went to *Asclepigenia*, and found her freed from her  
 “ distemper, and in the enjoyment of health. However, this whole  
 “ affair was transacted privatly, without the knowledge of any o-  
 “ thers: and without giving any occasion to make inquiries. And  
 “ this was the more easily so transacted, his habitation being near  
 “ to the Temple. Which was one of the felicities of this man, that  
 “ he

(*b*) *Marini Proclus. cap. 29. p. 58. ἔσ.* ἀρχαιότατον τρόπον, αἰθρία μεταβολή περὶ τὴν

(*c*) . . . ἀννείεις τὸ Ασκληπιῶνα, προσευξό- κέρην ἐφάνετο, καὶ ῥασάνη ἐξαίφνης ἐγίγνετο.  
 μινος τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς καμνίσσης. Καὶ γὰρ Ἰῆλα γὰρ ὁ Σατήρ ὡς τε Θεὸς ἰάτο. *Ib. p.*  
 οὗτος γὰρ τότε ἡ πόλις τότε, καὶ ἔχεν ἔτι ἀπόρ- 60.  
 ῥηται τὸ τῷ σωτήρι ἱερόν. Εὐχόμενα αὐτῷ τῶν



“ he had a very convenient house, which his father, *Syrianus*, and  
 “ his grandfather *Plutarch* (for so he called *(d)* them) had lived in,  
 “ and which was near to the temple of *Aesculapius*.”

A. D.  
485.

4. Presently afterwards he speaks of the favours, which *Proclus* received from *Minerva*. “ And *(e)* says he, how dear he was to the  
 “ Goddess, President of philosophy, appeared from the great pro-  
 “ gress, which he made in that studie, to which he had been di-  
 “ rected by the Goddess herself. And she also manifested her great  
 “ regard for him, when her image, which had been hitherto pla-  
 “ ced in the *Parthenion*, (or temple of *Minerva*) was taken away  
 “ by those who move such things as ought not to be moved.  
 “ For when that was done, a woman of excellent beauty appeared  
 “ to him in a dream, who bid him presently put his house in or-  
 “ der. For, says she, *the Lady Minerva intends to come and live*  
 “ *with you*. And, as *Marinus* goes on to say, in the words next  
 “ following. And how much he was favored by the God *Aescu-*  
 “ *lapius*, is evident from what was before related by us. And was  
 “ farther apparent from the presence of the God with him in his  
 “ last sickness. For when he was between sleeping and waking,  
 “ he saw a dragon creeping about his head, which occasioned some  
 “ remission of his distemper. By that vision there was an abate-  
 “ ment made in his sickness. And it is easie to believe, that were  
 “ it not for his preparedness for death, and his desire of it, he

P p 2

“ might

*(d)* He calls *Syrianus* his father, as he had been instructed by him: and *Plutarch* his grandfather, as he had instructed his master. *Pater, non qui genuerat, sed qui instituerat: et avus pro magistro praeceptoris.* *Fabric. in loc.*

*(e)* Όπως δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τῇ φιλοσόφῳ Θεῷ προσφιλεῖς ἐγένετο, παρέστη μεν ἰκανῶς καὶ ἕμετις τῷ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ βίῳ, τοιαύτη γενομένη,

ἵδιαν ὁ λόγος ἐπέδειξε. Σαρῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ Θεὸς ἐδήλωσε, ἥνικα τὸ ἄγαλμα αὐτῆς τὸ ἐν Παρθενῶνι τέως ἱδρυμένου ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀκίνητα κινήτων μετεφέρετο. Εἰδοκεῖ γὰρ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ὅτι, ποιεῖν παρ' αὐτὸν εὐχήμων τις γυνὴ, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι χρὴ τάχιστα τὴν αἰεὶαν προσπαρσκευάζειν· ἢ γὰρ κυρία Αῠηνάϊς, ἔρη, παρὰ σὺ μένειν ἐθέλει. *Ibid. cap. 30. p. 62.*

A. D. “ might have recovered, if he had been more carefull about his  
485. “ health.”

We may suppose, that when Marinus speaks of the taking away the statue of Minerva, out of her Temple, he shews some caution and modestie, out of respect to the times, in which he lived, saying in those soft terms, that *they moved such things, as ought not to be moved*. For he must have esteemed it sacrilege, and the utmost profaness.

5. I have transcribed more of both those passages, than might be thought needfull. But I was willing to shew the credulity of those Philosophers, a weaknesse very common to men of all characters: and therefore we ought to be upon our guard against it, and exercise our reason, and our Senses. Which, certainly, God has bestowed upon us for some good purposes, beside procuring the immediate comforts of life.

6. I shall add a few more like things, for shewing how much the thoughts of this great Philosopher *Proclus*, and of his disciple *Marinus*, were engaged in these superstitions, and the fables, on which they were founded.

7. “ But, says (*f*) Marinus, if I should go over all the like things,  
“ and relate his friendship with *Pan*, son of *Mercurie*, and the many favours, and blessings, which he received from this God at  
“ Athens, and particularly the many advantages conferred upon him  
“ by *the Mother of the Gods*, upon which he highly valued himself,  
“ I should perhaps seem to the reader to say things very unlikely,  
“ and even incredible. For indeed there were very many, and almost innumerable instances of the favour of this Goddess toward  
“ him, and more than I can myself now recollect. However, if  
“ any are desirous to have a full knowledge of them, he may consult his book of the Mother of the Gods. By which he will  
“ perceive, that it was not without divine aid, that he was able to  
“ bring

(*f*) *Cap. 32. p. 69.*

“ bring to light all the theologie concerning that Goddesse, and the several things, which are mystically said and done by Her and Attis. All which he has philosophically explained : so that men need no longer to be disturbed about the lamentations, and other mysteries of that solemnity.”

8. And in a preceding chapter, among other superstitions of Proclus, Marinus informs us, that (*g*) once a month he purified himself according to the rites of the Mother of the Gods.

Nor can we forbear to recollect here, that *the Mother of the Gods* was a subject, which employed the fine pen of the Emperour Julian (*h*) who composed a long oration to recommend and explain her mysteries.

9. Marinus says, “ that (*i*) Proclus died in the hundred and twenty fourth year after the reign of Julian.”

Which shews, that the memorie of Julian was still dear to the Heathen people, of whose reign they were willing to make an epoch.

He was buried in the same sepulchre with his master (*k*) Syrian.

10. In a place before cited, we saw, how Marinus says, that (*l*) beside other felicities, Proclus had an advantage in the situation of his house, which was near the temple of Aesculapius. And Marinus (*m*) has several times assured us, that Proclus abounded, and even overflowed in the goods of fortune. This has occasioned Fabricius to refer to a passage in the extracts of Photius from *Damascius*.

(*g*) Τὸς δὲ μυθωτικὰς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἢ καὶ πρότερον ποτὲ παρὰ Φρυγῇ, σπερσασθῆσας ἀγιστάς· ἐκάστω μὴνὸς ἤγενειν. *Cap.* 19. p. 36.

(*h*) *Or. V. ap. Spanhem. p.* 158. ἔσθ.

(*i*) Ετελεύτησε δὲ τῷ δ' καὶ κ' καὶ ρ' ἀπὸ Ἰουλιανῶ βυσιλείας. *Cap.* 36. p. 73.

(*k*) *Cap.* 36. p. 74.

(*l*) See before, p. 290.

(*m*) 'Οὐδ' αὖ πόλιν τὴν πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἐμνεμένην εὐπετείαν, εἰ καὶ αὐτὴ πόλιν ἐκ τύχης αὐτῷ εὐταρεσκύαστο, εἰ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων. Κεχορήγητο γὰρ ἀφθύνως ἅπασιν τοῖς ἑξωθεν λεγομένοις ἀγαθῶσι. *Cap.* 2. p. 3. 4. *Urb. et cap.* 34 p. 71.

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485.

*cius.* Which indeed appears to me very curious. Where (*n*) it is said, “the revenues of the school were not then such as they were in the time of Plato, as some imagine. For Plato was poor, and had only one garden, which was in the Academie, and a small revenue of three crowns. But in the time of Proclus the revenue was a thousand crowns, or more, many having left handsome legacies to the school.”

And I shall also place below the note of (*o*) Fabricius. Undoubtedly, such an annual revenue was very comfortable. And I cannot but think, that this shews the good temper of the Christian Magistracie at that time. For Proclus, and the other Presidents of the philosophical school at Athens, were Heathens. To me it seems also that the large catalogue of the works of Proclus, in Suidas, is another argument of the freedom, which the Gentil people then enjoyed. Proclus could not have published so many works of philosophie, and literature, if the discouragements, under which the Gentils lay, had been very strict and rigorous. And I have therefore transcribed above the more of that catalogue, that my readers might be the better sensible of this. And one of those books was against the Christians, as others were in favour of the mysteries of Gentilism. This Life of Proclus, writ by Marinus, must be reckoned another example of freedom of speech, owing to the privileges, which those dissenters and nonconformists then enjoyed.

II. It

(*n*) Ἡ τῶν διαδοχῶν εἰσία, ἐχ' ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι, Πλάτωνος ἦν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν. Πένης γὰρ ἦν ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ μόνον τὸν ἐν ἀκαδημίᾳ ἐκέκτητο κῆπον, ὃ ἡ πρόσδος νομισμάτων τριῶν. Ἡ δὲ τῆς εἰσίας ὅλης χιλίων ἢ καὶ πλείονων ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ Προκλή, πολλῶν τῶν ἀποθησκόντων κτήματα τῇ σχολῇ καταλιμπανόντων. *Phot. Cod.* 242. p. 1057.

(*o*) Marinus supra dixerat, Proclum

bonis fortunae undique affluisse et abundasse. Cui adde quod Photius ex Damascio refert p. 536. reditus scholae, cui Proclus praefuit, ex variis legatis non mediocriter auctos fuisse, ita ut summa mille amplius numum, hoc est thalerorum, inde quotannis philosophus fieret ditior. *Fabric. annot. ad Marini Procl. cap. 29. p. 61.*



11. It may be thought, that I have already concluded this chapter. Nevertheless I have a word or two more to add.

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The works of Proclus were very numerous, and voluminous, as we have seen. Fabricius (*p*) has enlarged in his account of them very much to the satisfaction of learned and curious readers.

In Photius (*q*) are extracts out of a work of Proclus, entitled *χρηστομαθία*, in two books, which is also in the catalogue of Suidas. The work itself is lost. But from the extracts of Photius it appears to have been a work filled with ancient learning. He therein discoursed of the several sorts of poetrie. "He (*r*) observed, "that among Epic Poets the most excellent were *Homer*, *Hesiod*, "*Pisander*, *Panyassis*, and *Antimachus*. And he there represented, so "far as he could learn, their families, their countreys, and works." Upon which part of Photius's extract, I place below an observation of (*s*) Fabricius.

12. SYRIANUS likewise, who was of Alexandria, and was master of Proclus, and his predecessor in the school at Athens, was author of divers works. There is a catalogue of them, under his name in Suidas: though (*t*) possibly, there may be in it some mistakes. And some things may be ascribed to Syrianus, which were writ by Proclus. Syrianus is supposed to have died about (*u*) the year of Christ 450.

Syrianus.

It

(*p*) *Bib. Gr. l. v. cap. 26. T. 8. p. 455. ἔσ.*

(*q*) *Cod. 239 p. 981. ἔσ.*

(*r*) Γεγονάσι δὲ τῶν ἔπας ποιητῶν, κρύπτους μὲν Ὀμηροῦ, Ἡσίοδος, Πίσανδρος, Πανύσσας, Ἀντίμαχος. Διέρχεται δὲ τῶτων, οἷς δίδω τὲ ἔστι, γένος τε καὶ πατρίδας, καὶ τινας ἐπὶ μέρες [al. ἐπιμέτρους] πράξεις. *Phot. p. 981. infr. m.*

(*s*) Hinc non temere conjicio *brevem*

*vitam Homeri*, quam sub Procli nomine edidit Leo Allatius in libro de Homeri vita, et V. C. Josua Barneſius praeclaræ suæ Homeri editioni præmisit, ex priorē Chrestomathias hujus libro decerptam esse. *Fabr. ut supra. p. 522.*

(*t*) *Vide Fabric. ib. p. 450.*

(*u*) . . . diem obiit circa annum Christi, ut conjicio, 450. *Fabric. ilid. p. 449.*

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It may be thought by some, that I have enlarged too much in my account of this Life of Proclus by Marinus. Nevertheless I have not fully gratified my-self. If I had, instead of making extracts, I should have made a translation of the whole work, as I did of Libanius *for the Temples*: it affording, as seems to me, a genuine, and curious specimen of Heathenish credulity and simplicity. I believe, that *Marinus* was an honest man. At least, I see nothing to the contrary. I am glad, that he lived so comfortably, though he was not of the prevailing religion.



CHAP.

## C H A P. LXII.

## D A M A S C I U S.

- I. *His Time, and Works.* II. *Extracts from his Works in Photius.* III. *Divers passages from his Works in Suidas.*

I. **D**AMASCIUS is mentioned by Cave in his *Historia Literaria* of Ecclesiastical Writers. He (*a*) reckons him among Gentil authors, who in the sixth centurie had reflected upon the Christian Religion. He placeth him as flourishing in the year (*b*) of Christ 540.

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*His Time,  
and Work.*

The account, which Suidas gives of Damascius, is to this purpose. “He (*c*) was a Stoic Philosopher of Syria, intimately acquainted with Simplicius and Eulalius, who were Phrygians. He flourished in the time of Justinian: He wrote Commentaries upon Plato, of Principles, (*d*) and a Philosophic Historie.”

Suidas

(*a*) *Scriptores Gentiles Christianam Religionem hoc seculo perstringentes. H. L. T. i. p. 552.*

(*b*) Damascius, patria Damascenus, secta Stoicus, aliis Peripateticus, . . . claruit circa ann. 540. *Id. ib.*

(*c*) *V. Δαμασκίου. p. 506. Kuster.*

(*d*) *ἡ περὶ ἀρχῶν.* That work is said to be still in several libraries of Europe. Wolfius published from the public library of Hamburg the beginning, and large extracts from it, in his *Anecdota Graeca, Sacra et Profana*, Tom. 3. p. 195. &c.

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Suidas says, he flourished in the time of Justinian, who (e) reigned from the year 527. to 565. But Damascius himself, in his Life of Isidorus, says, that (f) at that time Theodorich was King of all Italie. Theodorich (g) died in 526. We might therefore, perhaps, place Damascius, as flourishing somewhat sooner, than Cave has done. And Fabricius says, he (h) presided in the school of Philosophie at Athens in the time of Theodorich. However, (i) Pagi relies upon Suidas, who placeth him, as flourishing in the time of Justinian. And we shall see proofs of it in the chapter of *Simplicius*, which will follow this.

They who desire to know more of Damascius, may consult the writers, (k) mentioned below.

*Extraſts  
cut of his  
Works in  
Photius.*

II. Of this Author there are large extraſts in Photius. And in Suidas, under divers articles of his Lexicon, ſeveral paſſages are quoted from him. I intend firſt of all to obſerve ſome remarkable things in *Photius*. Afterwards I ſhall put down divers paſſages, collected out of *Suidas*.

1. In Photius are three articles concerning this Author: the firſt at Code cxxx. the ſecond at clxxxi. the third at ccxlii.

2. In the firſt Photius ſays: “ We (l) read the four books of Da-  
maſcius,

(e) *Vid. Pagi ann. 565. n. iii.*

(f) Ὁ δὲ ἦν βαλέμευς Θεοδορίχου πατρὸς,  
ὅς τῴν τὸ μέγιστον ἔχει κράτος ἰταλίας ἀπάσης.  
*ap. Phot. p. 1041. in.*

(g) *Vide Pagi ann. 526. n. iv. ix. x. et  
conf. ibid. A. 475. n. vi.*

(h) De Damascio hoc Damasceno, qui  
regnante in Italia Theodorico Athenis in  
schola Platonica floruit, plura Photius, . .  
nec non Suidas. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom.*  
*13. p. 784.*

(i) Damascius autem Justiniani Imp.

temporibus floruit, ut docet Suidas in voce  
Δαμάσκιος, qui haec ideo ſcire potuit.  
*Pagi 470. n. iii.*

(k) *Voff. Hiſt. Gr. l. 2. cap. 22. Fa-  
bric. Bib. Gr. Tom. 9. p. 416. 437. Pagi  
ann. 470. num. i.*

(l) Ανεγνώσθησαν Δαμασκίῳ λόγῳ τέσσα-  
ρες, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει περὶ παρα-  
δόξων ποιημάτων κεφάλαια τῶν. Ὁ δὲ δεύτε-  
ρος, παραδόξων περὶ δαιμονίων διηγημάτων  
κεφάλαια 16. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος περὶ τῶν μετὰ  
θάνατον ἐπιφανομένων ψυχῶν παραδόξων διη-  
γῶν.



“ mascius, of which the title of the first is, Concerning strange and  
 “ wonderfull things, in three hundred and fifty chapters: the se-  
 “ cond, Wonderfull stories concerning denions, in two and fifty  
 “ chapters: the third, Wonderfull stories concerning souls, which  
 “ appeared after death, in sixty three chapters: the fourth, Of other  
 “ wonderfull things, in a hundred and five chapters. In all which  
 “ are many impossible, and incredible things, and foolish, and ill-  
 “ contrived stories of falsehoods, and truly worthie of the irreligion  
 “ and impiety of Damascius: who, when the light of religion  
 “ illustrated the whole world, slept in the thick darknesse of ido-  
 “ latrie.” However, of the stile Photius says, it is compendious,  
 elegant, and conspicuous, suited to such relations.

3. In the second article Photius gives a general account of the  
 Life of Isidorus. “ We (*m*) read, says he, the life of the philoso-  
 “ pher Isidorus, writ by Damascius of Damascus, a large work,  
 “ dedicated to Theodora, also a zealous Greek as to religion, and  
 “ well instructed in philosophie . . . descended likewise from ances-  
 “ tors, noted for their zeal for the impiety of idolatrie . . . As to religi-  
 “ on, this Author is altogether impious, and often reviles our holy  
 “ religion, though somewhat cautiously.”

Some of those passages, in the very words of Damascius, would  
 have been entertaining to us now. And could not have perverted  
 any.

Near the end of this article of Photius is an account of our Au-  
 Q q 2 thor's

γρημάτων ζεράλαια ζγ. Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος . . .  
 Ἐν δὲ ἅπασιν ἀδύνατά τε καὶ ἀπίθανα, καὶ κα-  
 κόπλασα τερατολογήματα, καὶ μωρὰ, καὶ ὡς ἀ-  
 ληθῆς ὄξια τῆς ἀθρήτου καὶ δυσσεβείας Δα-  
 μασκίου· ὃς καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸν κόσ-  
 μον πληρώσαντος, αὐτὸς ὑπὸ βαθεῖ σκότῳ τῆς  
 ἰδιωλοατρίας ἐκθρευθεῖ. κ. λ. *Cod.* 130.  
 p. 312.

(*m*) Γρόφον δὲ τὸν Ἰσιδώρου βίον προθέμε-  
 νοι, Θεωδώρα τινὶ τὸ σύνταγμα προσπεράσσειεν,  
 ἔλληνα μὲν καὶ αὐτῇ θρησκευάν τιμάσῃ, . . . Ἐστὶ  
 δὲ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὰ θεῶν δόξαν εἰς ἄκρον δυσ-  
 σεβείας . . . Διὸ καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ διαλιώ-  
 ση καὶ λαθραιτέρᾳ κακοφροσύνῃ, ἑμῶς ἐκ ὀλι-  
 γακίς καθυλακτῶν εὐσεβείας. *Cod.* 181. p.  
 408.

A. D. 540. thor's masters. " In (*n*) rhetorick Theon was his master, under whom he studied three years. Afterwards Damascius himself presided in the same school nine years. Geometrie, and arithmetick, and other parts of mathematicks, he learned from Marinus, and Harmonius, son of Hermias of Alexandria. Logick he learned from Isidorus, whose life he wrote, and whom he highly commends."

Suidas, as before seen, says, that Damascius wrote a *Philosophic Historie*. I suppose, he means the Life of Isidorus, which, according to Photius, was (*o*) a large work. Or else, this Life of Isidorus was one part of that *Historie*. Even the extracts of that Life in Photius, are large, and exhibit a great variety of matters.

I shall transcribe below the account, which Fabricius has given of this article of (*p*) Photius.

4. In the third article (*q*) of Photius, concerning this Author, are large extracts from his Life of Isidorus the Philosopher. Several of which will be transcribed by me.

5. Here (*r*) is a storie concerning the celebrated Alexandrian Philosopher, *Hierocles*, and his wife. Which I do not take now, because

(*n*) P. 412.

(*o*) ... πολύστοχον. p. 408. lin. 35.

(*p*) Cod clxxxi. Damascii Damasceni *De Vita Isidori Philosophi*, liber prolixus in capita lx. divisus, variaque refertus jucunda de aliis etiam illius aetatis philosophis notitia, sed jam pridem deperditus, ex quo uberiora excerpta dabit Photius infra Cod 242. Hoc scriptum Damascius, superstitione Ethnica imbutus scriptor, et Christiana sacra subinde lacerans, dicavit *Theodora*, eruditae feminae, quam ipse et Isidorus instituerant, filiam Cyrinae et Diogenis, qui patre Eusebio, avo Flaviano natus, (iisdem, quos celebrat Ma-

crobius,) genus referebat ad Lampfigeratum, Monimumque, a quibus et suam Jamblichus duxerat originem. Damascium in oratoria facultate per triennium instituerat *Theon*, in mathematicis disciplinis *Marinus*, in Philosophia Athenis alter cum Marino Procli successor, *Zenodotus*, et Alexandriae *Ammonius* Hermiae, Platonem et Ptolomaei astronomica ipsi interpretatus. In dialecticis denique is ipse, cujus vitam describendam suscepit, *Isidorus*. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. Tom. 9. p. 437.*

(*q*) Cod. 242. p. 1028. &c.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 1037. *infr. m.*

cause I have made a distinct article of Hierocles, and have placed that storie (\*) there.

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6. “ He says, that (s) *Marinus*, successor of *Proclus*, came from Neapolis in Palestine, near the mountain Garizin. This writer then blasphemously adds, in which mountain is a most sacred temple of the most high Jupiter, in which Abram, the father of the ancient Hebrews, was priest, as Marinus himself says: Marinus therefore, who was originally a Samaritan, forsook their doctrine, as being a novelty, derived from the Abramic religion, and embraced the Greek religion.”

7. Damascius mentions *Peter Mongus*, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, in this manner. “ But (t) he who was Bishop of the prevailing religion, being an impudent and wicked man, behaved thus.” *Peter* (u) was ordained Bishop in 477. and died in 490. Valesius, in his notes upon Eusebius, has quoted this passage. He has observed divers others, in which Heathen writers, after the conversion of Constantin, call the Christian Religion the *prevailing opinion*, and the Christians the prevailing (x) party.

8. Damascius says, “ that (y) Marcellinus, count of Dalmatia, was of the Greek religion:” that is, in the time of the Emperour Zeno, near the end of the fifth centurie.

9. In

(\*) See here, p. 284.

(s) Ὅτι ὁ διάδοχος Πρόκλος, ἐστὶν, ὁ Μαρίνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ νέας πόλεως πρὸς ὅσῃ κατοικισμένης, τῷ ἀγαρίζῳ καλεμένου. Ἔπειτα βλασφημῶν ὁ δυσσεβὴς ἐπιστολὴν συγγράψας, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἁγιάστατον ἱερὸν, ὃ καθιεράτο Ἀβραμῶς, ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἑβραίων πρόγονος, ὃς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρίνος. Σαμαρείτης ἦν τὸ ἀπαρχῆς ὁ Μαρίνος γενεῶν, ἀπετάξατο μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων δοξάν, ἅτε ἡ καινοτομίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβραμῆς θυσίας ἀπερρύψαν, τὰ δὲ ἑλλήνων ἠγάπησεν. κ. λ. P. 1056. m.

(t) Ὁ δὲ τῶν κρατύντων τῆς πολιτείας ἡγεμῶν τὴν δοξάν ἐπισκοποῦν ἑλληνας, ὄνομα Πέτρος, ἀνὴρ ἰταμὸς ὢν καὶ περιπόνητος. κ. λ. P. 1057. fin.

(u) Vid. Pagi ann. 477. x. 490 xxiv.

(x) Not. p. 62. ad Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 7.

(y) Ὁ δὲ Μαρκελλῖνος τῆς Δαλματίας ἦν χόρας αὐτοδέσποτος ἡγεμῶν, ἑλλήν τὴν δόξαν. P. 1048. in.

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9. In another place, as observed by Photius, “ Damascius says, “ that (z) *Anthemius*, the Roman Emperour, was of the Greek religion, and of the same opinion with *Severus*, who was an idolater, “ and whom he appointed Consul : and that they secretly consulted “ together about restoring the execrable worship of idolatrie. He “ says likewise, that *Illus*, and *Leontius*, whom he set up to be “ Emperour with *Zeno*, were of the same opinion, and had the “ same design in favour of impiety, *Pamprepius* leading them that “ way. He relates the vain pretences of *Pamprepius*, and his un- “ faithfulness to his friends, and his violent death in the same “ manner that others do. *Pamprepius* was an Egyptian, and by “ profession a Grammarian.”

We might have been well pleased to see Damascius’s own words in this place. But we must be content with the extracts in Photius.

*Anthemius* was Emperour from the year 467. to 472. That he was a Gentil, there (a) is no proof, but the contrarie. *Severus* (b) was appointed Consul at Rome by *Anthemius* in the year 470. “ *Damascius* (c) in another place tells a silly storie of a horse of this “ *Severus*, of which he was very fond : and which, when stroaked, “ emitted large sparks of fire, which also portended his Master’s “ Consulship.” *Illus* and *Leontius* were two great officers, who together began a rebellion against *Zeno* in 482. and were put to death (d) in 488. or about that time. As to *Pamprepius*, we have here a general account of him from Photius. More may be seen of him

(z) *P.* 1049. *infr. m.*

(a) Verum consilium de restituenda idolatria, non nisi per calumniam *Anthemio* adscribi potest, ut liquet ex *Annal. Eccl. Pagi ann.* 470. *num. i.*

(b) *Coffi. Severus et Jordanes.* . . Prior occidentalis, ut liquet ex *Damascio* in *Vita Isidori Philosophi*, &c. *Pagi ibid.*

(c) Τέτε τόνον ὁ ἵππος, ὃ τὰ πολλὰ ἐχρῆτο, ψηχόμενος σπινθήρας ἀπὸ σώματος πολ-  
λές τε καὶ μεγάλας ἤρει, ἕως αὐτῷ τὸ τέρας εἰς  
τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ρώμῃ κατανοῦσθαι. *Ibid.*  
*p.* 1040. *fin.*

(d) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 482. *n.* xviii. *et* 488. *vi.*



him in an article (\*\*) in Suidas, supposed to be taken from Malchus, mentioned by Photius, Cod. lxxviii. p. 172. (e) a Greek Historian, and a Christian : who wrote a historie from the time of Constantin to Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno, in the year 491.

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540.

10. Before I proceed any farther, I shall transcribe here another like passage from these extracts of Photius. “ Damascius, says (f) “ Photius, reckoning up those who have opposed our holy and inviolable faith, unwillingly, and as it were compelled by the force of truth, writes thus. The Emperour *Julian* likewise attempted it, but he did not exceed four years. And a good while afterwards *Lucius*, captain of the guard at Byzantium under the Emperour Theodosius, attempted the same thing. Who intending to kill the Emperour, was got into the palace, and after thrice endeavouring to draw his sword, was affrighted from executing his design. For at the same time he saw a woman of a large and terrible countenance at the back of Theodosius, embracing him. After that the great General in the East aimed at the same thing, but was prevented by a violent death. For falling from his horse, he broke his leg, and died by that accident. Then, says he, in our time *Severianus*, our fellow citizen, together with divers others. But he narrowly escaped with his life, through the unfaithfulness of those who were with him, and perhaps of others, and of *Americus*, who discovered the conspiracie to Zeno. And, beside these, *Marsus* and *Illus*. Of whom, *Marsus* died of a distemper in the very insurrection. And *Illus* was apprehended, and beheaded. After which his head was thrown from a rock into the enemies camp. *Ammonius* (g) being a fordid wretch, and aiming at nothing but money, came to an agreement with a Bishop of the prevailing religion.”

So

(\*\*) V. Παμπρέπιος.

(e) *Vide et Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. xxi.*

(f) *Ibid p. 1072.*

(g) Ὁ δὲ Ἀμμώνιος ἀρχιερεὺς ἦν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἰς χειρωτισμὸν ἐντιναῶν ὁμιλοῦνται τίθεται πρὸς τὸν ἐπισκοποῦντα, τὸ τι καὶ τὴν κρατεῖσαν δεῖξαι. *Ib. p. 1072.*

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So writes Damascius. Who, as it seems, approved of any attempts against Christians, and the Christian Religion. Upon these stories may be seen some remarks of Cave in his Introduction, p. lxxv.

11. In another place (*b*) he just mentions *Athanasius* also with the same character of “ a Bishop of the prevailing religion.” He means *Athanasius*, who succeeded *Peter Mongus* at Alexandria, in the year (*i*) 490.

12. He complains of some, who (*k*) privately broke down, and destroyed sacred images.

13. I do not know, whether it would be excused, if I should forbear to take notice of some of this writer’s stories of incredible things.

He says expressly, “ that (*l*) in a battle fought near Rome with “ the Scythians commanded by Attila in the time of Valentinian “ [the third] who succeeded Honorius, [in 425.] the slaughter on “ both sides was so great, that none on either side escaped, except “ the Generals, and a few of their attendants. And, which is very “ strange, he says, when the bodies were fallen, the souls still stood “ upright, and continued fighting three whole days and nights, no- “ thing inferior to living men, either for the activity of the hands, “ or the fierceness of their minds. The images of the souls there- “ fore were both seen and heard, fighting together, and clashing “ with their armour.” He moreover endeavours to confirm the truth of this by other relations of a like kind.

Of himself this writer says, “ that (*m*) sometimes, when he pulls “ off, or puts on his cloaths, great sparks fly out, and sometimes with  
a noise :

(*b*) Πρὸς τὸν ἐπισκοπῶντα τὸ τημεαῦτα  
τὴν κρητῆσαν δόξαν Ἀθανάσιον. P. 1060.  
ver. 20.

(*i*) Vide Pagi A. D. 490. num. xlii.

(*k*) Τινὲς δὲ ἔλαθον τὸ ἱερωμα κατὰξαντες,  
καὶ διαχθέραντες. κ. λ. P. 1044. sub in.

(*l*) P. 1040. m.

(*m*) P. 1041. in.

“ a noise: that at other times his cloaths are all over of a flame,  
“ and yet not hurt.”

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540.

He says, “ that (*n*) *Hierius*, son of Plutarch, and scholar of Pro-  
“ cius, had seen a human head, no larger than a pea: which yet  
“ was a compleat human head with hair, eyes, a face, and a mouth,  
“ that had a voice as loud as a thousand men together.”

Certainly, the learned Heathen Sophists and Philosophers of that  
time did not reject the Christian Religion for want of credulity.  
They received many incredible things. And yet would not attend to  
the credible relations in the historical books of the Old and New  
Testament.

III. I now proceed to the passages in Suidas.

*Passages  
of Da-  
mascius in  
Suidas.*

1. “ *Ammonianus*, (*o*) the Grammarian, was related to Syrianus,  
“ whom he resembled in body and mind: being both of them tall  
“ and handsome. They agreed very much in temper and manners.  
“ But Syrianus was dearest to God, and a Philosopher indeed:  
“ whilst the other employed his time in correcting the Greek Poets,  
“ and putting out correct editions of them. This is *Ammonianus*,  
“ who had an ass, that was studious of wisdom.”

This article is plainly taken from Damascius. As may be col-  
lected from Photius’s extracts of that author. Where a good part  
of it still appears. There it is thus expressed: “ This (*p*) is *Am-  
“ monianus*, who had an ass, which, as is said, when he attended  
“ the lectures upon poetrie, often neglected his food, when layed  
before

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 1045. *fin.*

θάσει τῆς ἑλληνικῆς λέξεως καθεμένου τέχνην.

(*o*) Ἀμμωνιανός, Γραμματικὸς, κοσμομένον  
τῇ συγγενείᾳ Συριανῶς . . . ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν θεωρητέ-  
σερος ἦν ὁ Συριανός, καὶ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφος. Ὁ  
δὲ ἡγάπα τὴν ἐπὶ ποιητῶν ἐξηγήσει καὶ διδασ-

ἽΟυτος ἦν Ἀμμωνιανός, ὃς κεκτῆσθαι συμβεβη-  
κεν ὄνον σοφίας ἐκροκτῆν. *Suidas.*

(*p*) *Ap. Phot.* p. 1040. *in.*

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“ before him, though at the same time he was hungrie. So much  
“ was the asse taken with the love of poetrie.”

Kuster, in his notes upon Suidas, puts the question, whether Damascius wrote this seriously. And thinks, he (*q*) must be reckoned an asse, who believed, there ever was such an asse. Nevertheless, I think, it cannot be denied, that the Philosophers of that time delighted in such stories

2. In the article of *Seberianus*, or *Severianus*, is another passage, fairly concluded to be taken from Damascius: forasmuch as a part of it is found in Photius's extracts of that (*r*) Author, as Kuster has observed in his notes upon Suidas. It is here said, “ that Severia-  
“ nus was of Damascus, a man of a good familie, descended from  
“ Roman ancestors, who had lived at Alexandria. He says, Seve-  
“ rianus was perfectly free from covetousnesse, but allowes, that  
“ he was of a stiff and rigid temper. He (*s*) was extremely devout,  
“ and zealous for the Greek religion: unhappy man, not moved  
“ by sufferings, or threatnings . . . To him the Emperour Zeno  
“ offered the highest government next to himself, if he would be  
“ one of the prevailing religion. But neither so did he persuade  
“ him. Nor would he be persuaded. He shewed us the letter,  
“ containing those offers. But it did not affect him.”

So writes Damascius. And there are other things in that article, as it stands in Suidas, which may deserve notice. For I have transcribed but a small part of it: however, as much as is needfull for my design.

### 3. Un-

(*q*) Serione haec an joco scripsisti, Damascie? Certe asinis accensendum eum puto, qui talem unquam asinum existisse credat. *Kuster*.

(*r*) *Ap. Phot. pag. 1057.*

(*s*) *Ιερώτατος δ' ἦν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ ἑλλην, καὶ ὅτε πολλὰν ἀπειλὴν καὶ φόβον ἐκ ἀνέ-*

*δωκεν ὁ ἀλιτῆριος . . . τότε κατεπηγγέλτατο Ζήνων βασιλεὺς εἰ γένοιτο τῶν κρατῶντων, τὴν μετὰ βασιλέα μιγίστην ὀρχήν. Αλλ' ἐδὲ ὡς ἔπαθεν, ἐδὲ ἔμελλε πέσειν. Καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ὑπαγγέγων τὴν ἐπαγγελλομένην ἐπιστάλην, καὶ μὴ πείθεσαν. Suid. V. Σεβηριανός.*



3. Under the name *Hypatia* is another passage in Suidas, which with good reason is supposed to be taken from Damascius.

“ HYPATIA (*t*) daughter of Theon, the Geometrician, and  
 “ Philosopher of Alexandria, herself a Philosopher, and well known,  
 “ wife of Isidorus the Philosopher. She flourished in the time of  
 “ Arcadius. [*Then he mentions her writings.*] She was torn to pieces  
 “ by the Alexandrians, and her body with the greatest ignominie  
 “ was dragged through the whole city. This she suffered, because  
 “ she was envied for her excellent wisdom, and especially for her  
 “ skill in astronomie. Her death some ascribed to *Cyril*, others to  
 “ the seditious and tumultuous temper of the Alexandrians. For  
 “ so they have served several of their own Bishops, particularly  
 “ *George*, and *Proterius*. She was born, bred, and educated in A-  
 “ lexandria. Having a genius superior to her father, she was not  
 “ contented with the mathematical learning, which she had receiv-  
 “ ed from him, but studied also the other parts of philosophie to  
 “ good advantage. And though a woman, habiting herself in a  
 “ cloak, she went about the city, and publicly explained Plato,  
 “ Aristotle, and the other Philosophers, to all who desired it of her.  
 “ Nor was she learned only. She arrived likewise at the highest  
 “ eminence in virtue, chaste, and always a virgin, and so very fair and  
 “ beautifull, that one of her scholars fell in love with her. And  
 “ not being able to govern his passion, he made it known to her.  
 “ [*however (u) a cure was wrought upon the young man by musick,*  
 “ *or some other method. For it is differently related.*] Hypatia being  
 “ such a person, so knowing in words and things, and so chaste and  
 “ discreet in her behaviour, she was beloved and admired to a  
 “ great degree by the whole city in general. And the magistrates  
 “ of the highest dignity waited first upon her at their arrival, as is  
 “ done at Athens. For though the thing itself was lost, the name  
 “ of philosophie still seemed august and venerable to those who pos-

R r 2

“ sessed

(*t*) *Suid.* V. Ὑπατία.(*u*) *Suid.* p. 533.

A. D. 540. “ fessed the chief posts in the state. It happened, that (x) Cyril, Bishop of the opposite sect, passing by the house of Hypatia, he saw a great croud at her door, on foot and horseback, some coming, some going, and the house full of people. When he asked, what those people were, and what was the reason of such a croud at that house, he was answered by his attendants, that they were paying their respects to the philosopher Hypatia, and that was her house. Whereupon he became so possessed with envie, that he contrived a murder, the most villainous of all murders. For, as she was one day coming out of her house, she was set upon by a number of brutal wretches, of accomplished wickedness, who fearing neither the judgement of God or men, killed this Philosopher, bringing thereby the utmost guilt and reproach upon their country. The Emperour was extremely provoked at this action, and would have punished it, if *Aedefius* (y) had not by bribes corrupted those about him. So he pardoned the murderers, but brought down vengeance upon himself and his familie.”

Other things follow in that article, which deserve notice. But I have proposed to take nothing but what relates to *Hypatia*.

That is the account of *Damascius*, a learned Gentil. It may not be amiss to see how this storie is told by *Socrates*, a Christian, who likewise is earlier, he having writ his Ecclesiastical Historie about the year 440.

Having in some preceding chapters taken notice of a misunderstanding between *Orestes*, Governour of Egypt, and *Cyril*, Bishop of Alexandria, he goes on. “ There (z) was a woman at Alexandria,

(x) Ἡ δὲ γὰρ ποτὲ συνέβη τὸν ἐπισκοπῶντα τὸν ἀντικειμένον ἄρεσιν Κύριλλον, παρὶντα διὰ τὸ οἶκε τῆς Γρατίας, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 534.

(y) *Aedefius*, was a Monk at Constanti-

nople, agent for the Bishop Cyril of Alexandria.

(z) *Socrat. H. E. lib. 7. cap. xv. p. 352.*

“ dria, by name *Hypatia*, daughter of Theon the Philosopher. She A. D.  
 “ was so eminent for learning, that she excelled all the Philosophers 540.  
 “ of her time. She had succeeded in the Platonic school, and ex-  
 “ plained all the branches of philosophie to those who came to hear  
 “ her. And from all parts such as were studious of philosophie re-  
 “ sorted to her. And by reason of the authority, which she had  
 “ gained by her distinguished knowledge, she often had access to  
 “ the magistrates with singular modestie. Nor was she ashamed to  
 “ appear in a public assemblie of men. Forasmuch as all admired  
 “ and revered her for her uncommon virtue. Nevertheless envie  
 “ laid hold of her. For because she often was with Orestes, the  
 “ Christian populace admitted a calummie against her, that she was  
 “ the person, who obstructed a reconciliation between Orestes and  
 “ the Bishop. Some persons therefore of a fierce disposition, head-  
 “ ed by *Peter*, a Reader, conspired against her. They waited for  
 “ her, as she was returning home from some place. And pulling  
 “ her out of her chariot, they dragged her to the church called  
 “ , Caesarium. Where they stript her naked, and killed her with  
 “ sharp shells. And when they had torn her to pieces, they car-  
 “ ried all her members to a place called *Cinaron*, and consumed them  
 “ with fire. This action brought no small disgrace upon *Cyril*, and  
 “ the church of Alexandria. And indeed, says Socrates, murders,  
 “ and fightings, and all such things, are altogether foreign to the  
 “ Christian principles. These things were done in the fourth year  
 “ of the episcopate of *Cyril*, in the tenth Consulship of *Honorius*,  
 “ and the sixth of *Theodosius*, in the month of March, in the time  
 “ of lent.” That is the year of Christ 415.

This chapter of Socrates is transcribed by Nicephorus (a) almost word for word, with very little alteration.

*Synesius*, made Bishop of Ptolemais in Libya about the year 410. was her scholar, and ever retained a high respect for her. Several  
of

(a) *Lib. 14. cap. 16. p. 469.*

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of his letters are sent to her, and inscribed in this manner. “ To (b) the Philosopher,” or (c) “ to the Philosopher Hypatia.” And in one of them, writ after he was Bishop, he calls her (d) his mother, his sister, his mistress, and his benefactress. In another (e) he says she had a most divine soul. In (f) another, to *Herculian*, he mightily congratulates himself, “ that by a journey with him to “ Alexandria, he had made him know what he could not believe “ upon the report of fame, till he saw and heard that extraordinarie “ person, who set open the door of the mysteries of true phi- “ losophie.”

One thing in the preceding historie may create a difficulty in the minds of some of my readers. Hypatia is there said to have been always a virgin, and yet she was wife of (g) Isidorus. But those things are not (b) inconsistent. For in those times some people, both Christians and others, married without intending to cohabit together. However, I think, that this circumstance, of her marriage, must be understood to aggravate the indiscretion of the young man, her scholar, who fell in love with her.

Du Pin, having related the storie of Hypatia's death, adds: “ It “ (i) is not Socrates only, who relates this historie. It is also at- “ tested by Damascius, who in the Life of the Philosopher Isidorus “ describes the tragical death of this illustrious Lady, and accuseth “ Cyril

(b) Τῇ φιλοσόφῳ. Ep. 15. p. 172.

(c) Τῇ φιλοσόφῳ Ὑπατία. Ep. 10. p. 170.

(d) . . . μήτηρ, καὶ ἀδελφή, καὶ διδάσκαλε, καὶ διὰ πόντων γέτων ἐνεργετική. Ep. 16. p. 173.

(e) . . . τῆς θεοτότης σὺ ψυχῆς. Ep. 10. p. 170.

(f) Ep. 136. p. 272.

(g) *Isidori Philosophi* conjux, sed ita ut conjugii usu abstineret. *Fabric. Bib. Gr.* l. 5. cap. 22. § x. T. 8. p. 220.

(b) Hinc erat, cur celeberrima hujus sectae philosopha, *Hypatia*, maritum quidem haberet *Isidorum*, at corpus tamen castum et inviolatum servaret. *Mosheim. Dissertation.* §. 49. p. 214. not. (α).

(i) *St. Cyril. d' Alex. Bibliothecae. Tom.* 3. P. 2. p. 41.



“ Cyril of being the author of it. But we are not to give credit to  
“ that historian. Cyril had no hand in that murder. They were  
“ some seditious people, who laid hold of the occasion of the dif-  
“ ference which there was between him and Orestes, to commit  
“ that assassination.” So says Du Pin. But does not *Socrates* de-  
serve some regard, if *Damascius* be entitled to none?

A. D.  
540.



CHAP.

## C H A P. LXIII.

## S I M P L I C I U S.

*His Time, Historie, and Works, with Remarks : where  
also of Agathias, and Procopius.*

A. D.  
550.

**S**IMPLICIUS is well known for his Commentarie upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus, of which there have been several editions, in Greek and Latin, and some translations into modern languages, particularly French and English. Of him I must give some account. And I think it not improper first to take some notice of *Agathias*, from whom that account must be taken.

In his Commentarie upon Epictetus, Simplicius has an argument against the (a) *Manicheans*. And for that reason may be justly placed among my witnesses to Christianity. But if there were no such thing, Simplicius could not be omitted by me, his historie being connected with the Christian affairs in the time, in which he lived.

*Agathias* (b) has himself informed us, who he was. His (c)  
native

(a) *In Epictet. cap. 34. p. 163. &c.*

(b) *Vide Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 2. cap. xxii. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 5. cap. v. Tom. 6. p. 260. &c.*

(c) Εμὲ Ἀγαθίας μὲν ὄνομα, Μυρίνα δὲ πατρίς, Μεμνόνιος πατήρ, τέχνη δὲ τὰ Ρωμαίων νομίζω, καὶ ἐν τῶν δικαστηρίων ἀγῶνισ· *Agath. l. i. p. 3. fin.*

native place was *Myrina* in Asia, which was a colonie of the ancient Aeolians. His father's name was *Memnonius*, and by profession he was a lawyer. But he has not told us, where (*d*) he pleaded: though we know from himself, that (*e*) for a while he studied the law at Alexandria.

He appears to have been a very ingenious man, author of many short poems, and (*f*) of a Historie of the reign of the Emperour Justinian in five books. It is a kind of supplement to Procopius, who concluded (*g*) at the 26. year of Justinian, the year of Christ 552. He did not begin to write his historie, till (*h*) after the death of Justinian in the year 565. and the accession of Justin the younger in the same year. Pagi (*i*) supposeth him to have finished his work about the year 579. Fabricius (*k*) says, not before the year 593.

Vossius, and others, have supposed, Agathias to have been a Gentil: but (*l*) Pagi, says, he was a Christian, and Fabricius (*m*) has shewn it more at large.

However

(*d*) Falluntur qui Smyrnae causas in foro perorasse Agathiam colligunt ex Suidae loco, Vulcanius, Vossius, Heidenreichius. Nam licet patronum causarum fuisse certum est, atque ipse non uno in loco hoc tradit, tamen qua in urbe id fecerit, numquam declarat. &c. *Fabric. ut sup.* p. 260. in notis.

(*e*) *Agath. l. 2. p. 48.*

(*f*) *Agathiae Historici et Poetae eximii, [aliter scholastici] De Imperio et Rebus gestis Justiniani Imperatoris Libri quinque.*

(*g*) *Agath. l. i. p. 6.*

(*h*) *Agath. ib. p. 4.*

(*i*) Ex morte interim Chosroes ab Agathia memorata colligo, Agathiam ante currentem annum Historiam suam, quam

ad usque Christi 559. tantum perduxit non publicasse, nec absolvisse. *Pagi ann. 579. num. v. Conf. eundem ad ann. 552. n. xiv. xv.*

(*k*) . . . composuit post Justiniani Augusti, A. C. 566. defuncti fata, neque ante ann. 593. edidit, de ejus Imperio siue de rebus ipso imperante gestis libros v. initio sumpto ab ejus xxvi. Christi 553. ubi desinit Procopius Caesareensis, usque ad cladem Hunnorum in se ipsos instigante Justiniano arma vertentium anno ejus xxxii. Christi 559. *Fabr. T. 6. p. 261.*

(*l*) *Ann. 579. num. v.*

(*m*) *Ubi sup. p. 261. et in notis. Vid. et Spanhem. Tom. i. p. 1167. 1168.*

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However he was a man of candour and moderation. “ The (n) Germans, he says, had a multitude of deities, and practised cruel sacrifices, but by conversing with the Franks, they were growing more polite. However, as he adds, they who are in error are rather objects of commiseration, than of contempt and hatred. For all men aim at truth. If they are in error, it is not the fault of their will, but of their judgement, they being attached to opinions once embraced by them.”

“ And in the introduction to his work, he laments, that (o) wars and battles are so much the subjects of poems and histories. Which, as he says, he cannot ascribe to the stars, nor to fate, as some do. For if the world were governed by fate, there would be an end of choice, and there would no longer be virtue among men, nor any room for instruction, or improvement in arts and sciences. Nor are wars and contentions agreeable to the mind of God, who is supremely good. They must therefore be ascribed to the avarice and ambition of men.”

“ Fabricius has observed, that (p) Procopius, predecessor of Agathias in the history of Justinian, was a Christian, and that he did not approve of the fierce contentions, which there were among Christians upon abstruse and difficult points: and that he blamed Justinian for his severity against heretics, stripping them of their goods, and inflicting upon them other punishments.” By which

we

(n) *Agath. l. i. p. 13. m.*

(o) Καὶ ἐν μέσῃ μὲν ἡ πόλιν, πλήρης δὲ  
ἐν μπάσῃ ἰσορία πολέμων τε καὶ παρατάξεων.  
*Ag. l. i. p. 6.*

(p) Procopius, ex Caesarea Palaestinae Rhetor, sive Caesariarum patronus, ac fortasse sophista, hoc est, eloquentiam professus Constantinopoli. Hunc licet Paganis adscribere non dubitent Eichelius, et Mottanus Vayerus, Christianum utique

et Catholicum fuisse scripta ipsius perspicue testantur, cum vero qui subtiles et acres de religione concertationes neutiquam probaret, nedum eas putaret, Historiae ambiciose inferendas esse: quique reprehendat Justinianum, quod haereticos spoliandos bonis et suppliciis afficiendos duxit. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 6. p. 248. Vid. et Spanhem. Tom. i. p. 1166.*



we can be assured, that there have been in all times among Christians men of learning, and good sense, who did what lay in their power to recommend moderation, and secure the peace of the world.

I now proceed to the passage of Agathias, for the sake of which I have given this account of him. Divers Philosophers are here mentioned. But I aim principally at Simplicius.

“ Nor (*q*) long before this, says Agathias, *Damascius* the Syrian, *Simplicius*, of Cilicia, *Enlamius*, of Phrygia, *Hermias* and *Diogenes* of Phenicia, and *Isidorus* of Gaza, who all were, as I may say, the very top and pinnacle of the Philosophers of our time, not approving the doctrine concerning the Deity, which prevailed among the Romans, and imagining the Persian government to be much better, they were disposed to a removal: and besides, not being allowed by the Roman laws to act according to their own sentiments, they went into that strange countrey, intending to live there for the future. But when they were come into Persia, things did not answer their expectations. The King was not such a Philosopher, or so wise a man, as he had been reported to be. The nobles were proud and arrogant: and among the common people of Persia, as well as among the Romans, fraud and rapine prevailed greatly. They were likewise offended at the practise of polygamie: which nevertheless did not secure against adulterie. Upon those accounts these Philosophers were filled with much concern of mind, and repented of their removal out of their own countrey. The King had a respect for them, and was desirous to detain them. Nevertheless they determined to return home, and there spend the remainder of their days, though the greatest hon-

S s 2

“ ours

(*q*) 'Ου πολλῶ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν Δαμάσκιος τὰ τὴν πόλιν, τῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ φιλοσό-  
 φων, καὶ Σιμπλίσιος ὁ Κίλικ, Εὐλάμιος τε φησάντων, ἔπειδὴ αὐτοὶ ἢ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις  
 ὁ Φρύγ, καὶ Περσικανδὸς ὁ Λύδοι, Ἑρμίας τε, κρατῆσα ἐπὶ τῷ κράττονι δέξασθαι ἤρεσκεν, καὶ  
 καὶ Διογένης, οἱ ἐκ Φοινίκης, καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Γα- τό τε τὴν Περσικὴν πολιτείαν πολλῶν ἐνὶ αὐ-  
 ζαῖσι· οὗτοι δὲ ἅπαντες, τὸ ἄκρον ἄωτον, κα- μένουσι. . . . κ. λ. *Agath. l. 2. p. 65. 66.*

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“ ours should be proposed to them. And this benefit they reaped  
“ from their extraordinarie journey, that henceforward they lived  
“ very contentedly, and comfortably. At that time the Romans  
“ and Persians made a truce with each other. And one of the  
“ conditions in that agreement was, that these men upon their  
“ return home should (*r*) be allowed to live quietly, and not be  
“ constrained to any thing which they did not approve of, nor to  
“ alter their opinion concerning the ancient religion. Upon this  
“ condition *Cosroes* insisted, and would not consent to the truce  
“ otherwise.”

I have thought it best to transcribe this paragraph of Agathias at length, in which so eminent a man as Simplicius is concerned. The same is almost word for word in (*s*) Suidas.

Baronius speaks of this transaction at the year of Christ (*t*) 554. Fabricius (*u*) placeth the return of those Philosophers at the year 549. Mr Mosheim (*x*) seems to incline to the year 533. When according to our best Chronologers (*y*) a truce, was concluded with the Persians. However, there was another truce with the Persians  
after-

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 66.

(*s*) V. Πέρσβεις.

(*t*) A. D. 554. n. xiv.

(*u*) Simplicius . . . unus ex illis Philosophis, qui cum pertinaciter Ethnicismo adhaererent, rebus suis sub Justiniani imperio parum fidentes, profecti sunt cum Areobindo ad Regem Persarum Cosroën, sed spe suâ frustrati Athenas reverterunt, postquam in induciis Romanorum cum Persis anno Christi 549 cautum esset, ut illis tuto redire in sedes suas, et arbitrato suo vivere liceret, nec avita sacra mutare a Christianis cogerentur. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. 8. p. 621.*

(*x*) Ex quâ licet dein redirent provincia, postquam pacem cum Persis inierat Imperator, quod an. 533. factum esse nuper contendit vir eruditus Petrus Wesselingius. *Observationum Variar. libr. i. cap. 28. pag. 120. 121. Mosheim. De turbata per Platonicos Ecclesia. § xi. p. 115.*

(*y*) *Vide Pagi an. 533. v. Basn. ann. 533. i.*

afterwards, in the year (z) 545. or (a) 546. in the same reign of Justinian : and afterwards (b) in 556.

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Fabricius has collected from his own writings, that (c) Simplicius, who was of Cilicia, was disciple of Ammonius son of Hermias, and of Damascius the Syrian, and Stoic Philosopher, and friend of Eulamius, or Eulalius, the Phrygian.

As therefore I have placed Damascius at the year 540. I place his scholar Simplicius at the year 550. Moreover Fabricius has observed from a work of Simplicius, that (d) it was writ by him after the death of Damascius. In Suidas (e) Damascius is called friend of Simplicius and Eulalius. And undoubtedly they were contemporaries. But we have now found, that Simplicius survived Damascius.

Agathias says nothing of the works of Simplicius. But Fabricius has given an account of them. He speaks particularly of these following : A Commentarie upon the eight books of Aristotle's Physics : A Commentarie upon the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle : A Commentarie upon the four books of Aristotle concerning the Heavens : A Commentarie upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus.

Fabricius (f) esteems his works a valuable treasure of ancient philosophy,

(z) *Pagi* 545. v.

(a) *Basn. ann.* 546. 1.

(b) *Pagi* 556. xx. *Basn.* 556. num. i. ii.

(c) Simplicius, patriâ Cilix, Ammonii (Hermiae) et Damascii Syri Stoici Philosophi discipulus, et Eulamii Phrygis familiaris, &c. *Fabr. ib.* p. 620.

(d) Damascius itidem ὁ καθηγεμῶν, et ὁ ἡμέτερος Δαμάσκιος a Simplicio appellatur, qui post eum defunctum scripsisse se in Physica Aristotelis innuit pag. 184. *Fabr. ib.* p. 620.

(e) Δαμάσκιος . . . Σιμπλικίος καὶ Εὐλαλίας τῶν Φρυγῶν ἐμιλητής. V. *Damascius*.

(f) . . . quod ex scriptis ejus etiamnum apparet, quae aetatem tulerunt, cum non pauciora interciderint. Sed haec quae exstant tamquam thesaurus quidam veteris philosophiae, magni merito facienda, existimo tum ob insigne Simplicii ipsius judicium, tum ob fragmenta ex monumentis vetustissimorum Philosophorum, quae illa jam aetate raro obvia servavit, hypomnematique suis passim intexuit. *Ibid.* p. 621.

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lofophie, in which are many fragments of the works of the moft ancient Philofophers, then in being, but now loft. And from the Indexes, which Fabricius has made of the names of Authors quoted by Simplicius, and fome of them often, they appear to be very numerous. It is, I think, an evidence, that there were then in the poffeffion of fome private men large collections of books: or that the learned men of thofe times had acceffe to fome public libraries, which were well ftored with the writings of ancient Philofophers. The works of Simplicius, above mentioned, which ftill remain, and are but a part of what he wrote, are a proof, that though he was a firm Gentil, and made open profeflion of Gentilifm, he enjoyed, for a good part of his life, peace and quietneffe in the profecution of his ftudies. Among all the ancient authors alleged by Simplicius, I fee not the names of any writers of our canonical Scriptures, except (g) Mofes the Jewish Lawgiver. Mr. Moftheim fays, “ It (\*) may be perceived, that Simplicius in his *Illustration of the Ariftotelian Philofophie*, did fometimes reflect upon the Chriftian doctrine.” I have never read that work of Simplicius. Fabricius takes no notice of this particular. If Simplicius did at all reflect upon the Chriftian doctrine, I imagine, that it was done indirectly, and that he never mentioned the Chriftians exprefly.

Of his Commentarie upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus Fabricius fays: “ There (b) are exftant very few ancient Heathen writings, in which the divine Providence is better afferted, or better precepts delivered for the regulation of mens manners.”

I fhall

(g) Mofes Judaeorum legiflator, p. 268. de origine mundi, μυθική παράδοσις, ἀπὸ μύθου Αἰγυπτίων ἐκλυσμένη. ib. et p. 270. *Ap. Fabric. ibid. p. 630.*

(\*) Simplicius in Explanationibus Ariftotelis dogmata noftra haud obfcure mordet. *Moſhem. Inſtit. p. 236.*

(b) Commentario autem ejus in En-

chiridion Epicteti, fateor me ita eſſe affectum, ut in tota antiquitate putem exſtare pauciſſima ſcripta (de Ethnicis loquor) quae vel ad mores formandos ſaniora praecepta contineat, vel providentiam divinam rectius afferant propugnentque. *Fabr. ib. p. 621.*



I shall here put down the prayer, with which Simplicius concludes that Commentarie: “ *Grant, I beseech thee, o Lord, the father and guide of our reason, that we may be mindfull of the dignity, which thou hast conferred upon us: and afford us thy assistance, that we may act as free beings: that we may be purified from unreasonable passions, and may subdue and govern them, and that by the light of truth our judgement may be so directed, that we may adhere to those things, which are really good. Finally, I entreat thee, the Saviour, entirely to remove the mist from the eyes of our mind, that, according to the expression of Homer, we may know both God and man, and what to each is due.*” Or, in other terms, our Duty to God and men.



## C H A P. LXIV.

*A Review of the Jewish, and Heathen Testimonies in the several Volumes of this Work.*

I add no more Testimonies. I therefore shall now make a review of all the Writers, which have been alleged by me as witnesses to the truth of the Christian Religion.

In the former part of the first volume are passages of *Josephus*, and of the *Mishnic and Talmudical writers*, and *Josephon*, bearing witness to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the conquest of Judea by Vespasian, and Titus, and to the dispersion of the Jewish people, and therein to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions of those events. Which to me appears a demonstrative argument for the truth of the Christian religion: as has been particularly shewn in the seventh chapter of that part, in which (a) is a recollection of the foregoing articles, with reflections upon them.

What (b) they have said of John the Baptist, or of our Saviour Jesus Christ, or of his disciples and followers, has also been taken notice of.

In the later part of the said first volume, and in the second volume, are Heathen Writers, who lived in several parts of the Roman Empire, in the first and second centuries of the Christian aera: all of them men of great note, such as *Tacitus*, *Martial*, *Juvenal*,  
*Suetonius*,

(a) *Vol. i. p. 247. &c.*

(b) *See Vol. i. p. 142. &c. p. 182. 188. 189. . . 203.*

*Suetonius, Epictetus* the Stoic Philosopher, *Trajan*, the Younger *Plinie*, *Adrian*, *Bruttius Praefens*, *Titus Antonin*, *Mark Antonin*, *Apuleius of Madaura in Africa*, *Celsus*, *Lucian of Samosata*, *Aristides* the Sophist, *Galen*, and divers others: who in their remaining works have bore testimonie to the destruction of Jerusalem, at the time, and in the circumstances predicted by our Saviour: to the antiquity and genuinnesse of the books of the New Testament: to the crucifixion of *Jesus Christ*, the founder of the Christian Religion, in (c) the reign of *Tiberius*, when *Pontius Pilate* was Procurator in Judea, and to many other facts of the Evangelical historie: to the persecutions endured by the Christians in the times of *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Trajan*, and *Mark Antonin*, and to the patience and fortitude of the Christians under them, and to the progresse of the Christian Religion, notwithstanding those discouragements: to the innocence, and inoffensiveness of their principles, worship, and manners, and to their remarkable mutual love, and readinesse to perform good offices to each other, when under difficulties. *Adrian's* (d) letter to *Servianus*, his brother-in-law, bears testimonie to the great number and influence of the Christians in Egypt in the year 134. His (e) Rescript to *Minucius Fundanus*, Proconsul of Asia, and *Titus Antonin's* (f) Edict, and Letters to the *States of Asia*, and to the *Larissians*, *Theffalonians*, *Athenians*, and other *Greeks*, are very favourable to the Christians. In the Letter of *Plinie* to *Trajan*, and *Trajan's* Rescript, and in the extracts from the fragments of the work of *Celsus*, are too many things worthie of observation, to be here rehearsed. I must therefore refer my readers to the summaries of those (g) articles, and to the reflexions there made upon them. And if I may here deliver my own opinion, these early testimonies of Heathen writers,

(c) See *Tacitus*, Vol. i. p. 345. *Celsus* Vol. 2. p. 298. . . 310. *Lucian* p. 357.  
 (d) Vol. 2. p. 115. 116.  
 (e) Vol. 2. p. 110.  
 (f) *Ibid.* p. 155. . . 162.  
 (g) For *Plinie* and *Trajan*, see Vol. 2. p. 77. . . 86. and for *Celsus*, see p. 339. . . 354.

writers, in the first two centuries, are very material, and highly valuable, and as important a part as any, if not the most important part of this work. I would likewise here refer my readers to the chapter (*b*) entitled, *the Conclusion of the second Centurie*.

We now proceed to the *third* volume, in which are the testimonies of *Heathen Writers of the third centurie*, and to the conversion of Constantin.

In *Diogenes Laërtius* (*i*) about the year 210. is a historie, which gives great light to St. Paul's discourse at Athens, when he put the Athenians, and their learned Philosophers, in mind of an *Altar* of theirs, *with an Inscription, To the Unknown God*.

From Lactantius (*k*) we learn, that the great Lawyer, *Domitius Ulpianus*, about the year 222. in his book of the Duty of a Proconsul, made a collection of all the *edicts* of former Emperours against the Christians: and, probably, with a design to let the Proconsuls see, how they might treat the Christians. And the connexion in Lactantius leads us to think, there were in that work of Ulpian not only *laws of Princes*, but also *decrees of Lawyers*, which were prejudicial to the Christians. And, as was formerly observed, if this work of Ulpian should ever be found, it would be a very great curiosity, and afford us a distinct knowledge of some things, which we now know only imperfectly.

In *Dion Cassius's* noble work, the Historie of the Romans, published about the year 230. we have seen (*l*) another valuable testimonie to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people in Judea by Vespasian and Titus. In him also we have seen another testimonie (*m*) to Domitian's persecution of the Christians, and several circumstances of it. From him also we learn (*n*) Ner-  
va's

(*b*) Vol. 2. p. 388. . . 395.

(*i*) Vol. 3. p. 19. . . 31.

(*k*) . p. 41.

(*l*) . p. 47. . . 52.

(*m*) p. 52. . . 55.

(*n*) . p. 56. †



va's favourable regard to them. And by him, or by Xiphiliu his abridger. We are assured, that (o) Marcia, concubine of the Emperour Commodus, bore good will to the Christians, and did them good offices, she having a great ascendance over Cominodus.

In *Amelius* (p) a Platonic Philosopher, who wrote about the year 263. we have seen a very distinct and honourable testimonie to St. John's Gospel.

That eminent critick, *Longinus*, about the year 264. in his work of the Sublime, has (q) made very honourable mention of Moses, the Jewish Lawgiver, and commends the stile, in which he represents the creation of the world. There is also a fragment, ascribed to him, in which the Apostle Paul is mentioned to (r) advantage. But I do not think, it genuine.

The saying of (s) *Numenius*, *What is Plato, but Moses in Greek?* is well known, and is recorded by divers ancient writers. But the time of Numenius is uncertain. Nor is it clear, that he has at all referred to the affairs of the Christians, or their Scriptures.

In the six Writers of the Augustan Historie, who flourished about the year 306. in their Lives of the several Roman Emperours, we have met with divers things concerning the Christians deserving of notice.

*Spartian*, in his Life of the Emperour *Septimius Severus*, has recorded the substance and the time of his edict against the Christians more particularly, than any of our own writers. In (t) his journey through Palestine, he enacted several laws. He forbid under a severe penalty, that any should become Jews. He also published a like edict against the Christians. Which determines the begining of that persecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Christ, 202. When He and his son Caracalla where Consuls together.

T t 2

The

(o) p. 57. 58.

(p) p. 96. . . 98.

(q) In the same, vol. 3. p. 105.

(r) P. 105. 106.

(s) P. 108, 109.

(t) Vol. 3. p. 10, 11.

The same writer in the Life of *Caracalla*, eldest son of *Severus*, has given an account of (u) some childish behaviour of his, when seven years of age, which, compared with some things said by *Tertullian*, lead us to think, that *Severus*, and his familie, were well acquainted with the Christians: to whom also, as we evidently perceive, *Severus* was favourable in the former part of his reign.

*Aelius Lampridius* in his Life of *Antonin Heliogabalus*, who reigned from 218. to 222. lets us know, that that wild Emperour (x) erected a temple upon mount *Palatin*, near the Imperial palace, to the god *Elagabalus*, intending to bring into that temple every object of the veneration of the Romans. He said likewise, that the Religion of the Jews, and of the Samaritans, and the devotion of the Christians, must be transferred thither, that the priesthood of *Elagabalus* might comprehend in it the mysteries of all religions. Which manifestly shews, that the Christian religion was then well known in the world.

The same writer, in his Life of *Alexander Severus*, who reigned thirteen years from March 222. to March 235. says, He (y) maintained the privileges of the Jews. He tolerated the Christians. He also says, that (z) this Emperour had two private chapels, one more honourable than the other: and that in the former were placed the deified Emperours, and also some eminent good men, and among them *Abraham*, *Christ*, and *Orpheus*. He has several other passages concerning that Emperour (a) which are very honourable to the Christians, which have been transcribed by us with remarks. And the reader is now referred to them.

*Flavius Vopiscus*, in his Life of the Emperour *Aurelian*, gives an account of a (b) Letter of his to the Senate of Rome, probably, writ in the begining of his reign, in the year 270. or 271. where the Christians are expressly mentioned. And it shews that they, and their

(u) . . p. 3, 4.

(x) Vol. 3. p. 225, 226.

(y) P. 34.

(z) p. 34, 35.

(a) p. 35. 36. &c.

(b) P. 115 &c.

their distinguishing principles, and the worship in their religious assemblies, were well known in the Roman Empire, and to men of quality, and of the highest rank, as well as to others.

The Emperour *Philip*, whose reign began in the year 244. has by some been reckoned a Christian. That (c) question therefore has been carefully considered by us in it's proper place.

Beside all the above mentioned writers, who have occasionally mentioned the Christians, or their affairs, or who have afforded elucidations to some parts of our Scriptures, we have in this period met with three learned men, who exerted their talents, in writing against the Christians.

One of whom is *Porphyrie* (d) who flourished about the year 270. a disciple of *Plotinus*, a man of great abilities, who published against the Christians a large work, in fifteen books. His objections against Christianity were in esteem with Gentil people, for a long while. And the Christians were not insensible of the importance of his work. As may be concluded from the several answers made to it by *Eusebius*, and others, in great repute for learning, and from the violent, though ill-judged attempts of Christian magistrates to have them destroyed. His enmity to the Christians, and their principles, was very great. Nevertheless from the remaining fragments of his work against the Christians, and from his other writings, we may reap no small benefit.

He (e) appears to have been well acquainted with the books of the Old and New Testament. We have observed in him plain references to the *Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistle to the Galatians*, and, in his remarks upon that epistle, probable references to the other epistles of *St. Paul*. There can be no question made, that in his work against the Christians, many other books of the New Testament were quoted, or referred to by him.

In

(c) Vol. 3. p. 62. &c.

(d) See p. 121. &c.

(e) Vol. 3. p. 183.

In (f) a fragment of his work against the Christians, he has these expressions. *And now people wonder, that this distemper has oppressed the City so many years, Esculapius, and the other gods no longer conversing with men. For since Jesus has been honoured, none have received any benefit from the Gods.* And again, in (g) his Life of Plotinus, he says there were then *many Christians*. But the work, entitled *the Philosophie of Oracles*, which has been sometimes quoted, as his, I reckon to be (h) *spurious*.

At (i) the beginning of Diocletian's persecution, about the year 303. as we learn from Lactantius, another work was published against the Christians, by a learned man, who was by profession a Philosopher. It consisted of three books, and therefore must have been a large volume. But we do not know his name, nor much of the contents of his work.

About the same time another work was writ against the Christians, in two books, by *Hierocles* (k) a man of learning, and a person of authority and influence, as a magistrate. He was well acquainted with our Scriptures, and made many objections against them: Thereby bearing testimonie to their antiquity, and to the great respect, which was shewn to them by the Christians. For he has referred to both parts of the New Testament, the Gospels and the Epistles. He mentions (\*\*) Peter and Paul by name, and casts reflections upon them. He did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles. But in order to overthrow the argument, which the Christians formed from them in proof of our Saviour's divine authority and mission, he set up *Apollonius Tyanaeus* as a rival, or superior to him. But it was a vain effort, as we have largely shewn.

In that volume is an account of all the persecutions endured by the Christians from the year of our Lord 202. when the Emperour *Severus* published his edict against the Christians, to the end of *Diocletian's*

(f) p. 184. *where, and at p. 333. are remarks upon that passage.*

(g) p. 191. *and see likewise p. 333.*

(h) *See p. 193. . . 222.*

(i) p. 229. . . 233. *See also p. 331.*

(k) *P. 233. . . 245, &c. and see p. 331, 332.*

(\*\*) *See p. 234. and 238.*



ocletian's persecution, and the year 313. When (l) *Constantin* and *Licinius*, published an edict in favour of the Christians, and gave leave to them, and to all men in general, to worship God in the way most agreeable to their own judgement. After which (m) we have made some remarks upon the state of Christianity under Heathen Emperours. And it was shewn, that during that time Christianity was always in a state of persecution, and that nevertheless it greatly prevailed, which is honourable to the Religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.

We now proceed to the fourth and last volume of this work : containing the testimonies of Heathen Writers in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of the Christian aera.

The first witness here alleged, is *Chalcidius*, (n) a Platonic Philosopher, about the year 330. who bears testimonie to the appearance of an extraordinarie star at the time of our Saviour's nativity : thereby plainly confirming the historie, which is in the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel.

*Alexander of Lycopolis in Egypt*, (o) about the year 350. speaks honourably of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his religion, or the *Christian Philosophie*, as he calls it, and which he commends, as *plain and simple, and designed to reform the manners of men of all ranks*. And he has some references to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

*Praxagoras* (p) an Athenian, about 350. published several works of historie, and wrote also the historie of *Constantin* the Great, in two books, and gives that Emperour a great character.

*Bemarchius* (q) of Cefarea in Cappadocia, Sophist, about the same time

(l) See Vol. 3. p. 313. &c.

(m) P. 335. &c.

(n) Vol. 4. p. 3.

(o) P. 8.

(p) P. 15.

(q) p. 16.

time wrote the historie of *Constantin* in ten books. Nothing of that historie now remains, but it was a large work. And there is reason to believe, that it was favourable to that Emperour.

Next follows the Emperour (*r*) *Julian*, who succeded *Constantius* in the year 361. In writing his historie, we have endeavoured to exhibit the most material and remarkable parts of it : his conduct in early life, and after his accession to the Empire : his behaviour toward the Christians, and his regard for the Jewish people. And we persuade ourselves, that we have represented his character impartially. We have also made large extracts (*s*) out of his work against the Christians, and out (*t*) of his Orations and Epistles.

In his work against the Christians, he (*u*) has bore a valuable testimonie to the historie, and to the books of the New Testament. He allowes, that Jesus was born in the reign of *Augustus*, at the time of a taxing made in Judea by *Cyrenius*. That the Christian Religion had it's rise, and began to be propagated in the times of the Roman Emperours, *Tiberius* and *Claudius*. He bears witness to the genuinenesse, and authenticity of the four Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, and the *Acts* of the *Apostles*. And he so quotes them, as to intimate, that these were the only historical books, received by Christians, as of authority, and the only authentic memoirs of Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, and the doctrine preached by them. He allowes the early date of the Gospels, and even argues for it. He quotes, or plainly refers to the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, as already said, to *St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans*, to the *Corinthians*, and to the *Galatians*. He does not deny the miracles of Jesus Christ, but allowes him to have healed the blind, and the lame, and demoniacs, and to have rebuked the winds, and to have walked upon the waves of the sea. He endeavours indeed to diminish those works, but in vain. The consequence is undeniable. Such works are good

(*r*) p. 18, &c.

(*s*) P. 71, &c.

(*t*) P. 94, &c.

(*u*) See p. 71, &c. and p. 93, 94.

good proofs of a divine mission. He endeavours also to lessen the number of the early believers in Jesus. And yet acknowledgeth, that there were *multitudes of such men in Greece and Italie*, before St. John wrote his Gospel. He likewise affects to diminish the quality of the early believers: and yet he acknowledgeth, that beside *men-servants, and maid-servants, Cornelius*, a Roman Centurion at Cesarea, and *Sergius Paulus*, Proconsul of Cyprus, were converted to the faith of Jesus, before the end of the reign of Claudius. And he often speaks with great indignation of *Peter and Paul*, those two great Apostles of Jesus, and successfull preachers of his gospel. So that, upon the whole, he has undesignedly bore witness to the truth of many things recorded in the books of the New Testament. He aimed to overthrow the Christian Religion, but has confirmed it. His arguments against it are perfectly harmless, and insufficient to unsettle the weakest Christian.

There follow in this volume testimonies of *Himerius, Themistius, Libanius, Eutropius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Vegetius, Eunapius, Claudian, Macrobius, Rutilius, Olympiodorus, Zosimus, Hierocles of Alexandria, Proclus, Marinus, Damascius, Simplicius*, men of great note in their times: some in the fourth, others in the fifth, and some in the sixth centurie, Sophists, Historians, Poets, Philosophers, and some Senators, and Magistrates: all of some use to us, none of whom could be omitted in a collection of ancient testimonies to the truth of the Christian Religion.

To be a little more particular, in rehearsing the testimonies of some of those eminent men, last mentioned.

*Themistius (x)* has a good argument for *allowing to all men full liberty to worship the Deity according to their own sentiments*. The principles of toleration were agreeable to the judgement of the Emperour *Jovian*. Themistius applauds him for it, and supports that determination by divers reasons and considerations, of no small weight.

(x) *Vol. 4. p. 118, &c.*

weight. *Libanius* (*y*) pleads the cause of Gentilism with great freedom in the presence of Theodosius himself. In *Ammianus Marcellinus* (*z*) are many passages, deserving attentive regard, too many to be brought up here in a general review. *Eunapius*, (*a*) a zealous Gentil, has entertained us with many curious histories of learned Sophists and Philosophers, and honourable Magistrates, all zealous likewise for Gentilism, though not without some marks of candour and moderation. In all which we have seen the true spirit, and the genuine principles of Gentilism. *Claudian* (*b*) bears witness to the memorable victorie of *Theodosius* over *Arbogastes* and *Eugenius* in 394. *Macrobius* (*c*) at about the year 400. bears testimonie to *Herod's* slaughter of the Infants at Bethlehem, soon after the nativity of our Saviour. *Rutilius* (*d*) at 418. ridicules Monkerie, and laments the progresse of the Christian Religion. In (*e*) *Zosimus*, about 425. we have seen many invectives against Constantin and Theodosius, which have given us occasion to set some things in a clearer light. He also loudly complains of the progresse of the Christian Religion. At the same time he is himself so superstitious, and so credulous in receiving, and recording silly fables and fictions, as to expose, rather than recommend the ancient religion, to which he adhered.

But among all the testimonies to Christianity, which we have met with in the first ages, none are more valuable and important, than the testimonies of those learned Philosophers, who wrote against us. All know, whom I mean: *Celsus*, in the second centurie: *Porphyrie*, and *Hierocles*, and the *Anonymous* Philosopher of Lactantius, in the third, and *Julian* in the fourth centurie. These may be seemingly against us, but are really for us. They are not come down to us entire. But we have large and numerous fragments of some of them.

(*y*) *P.* 135. &c.

(*z*) 169. &c.

(*a*) 191. &c.

(*b*) *f.* 214.

(*c*) *p.* 224. &c.

(*d*) *p.* 228.

(*e*) *p.* 236.



them. Which bear a fuller, and more valuable testimonie to the books of the New Testament, and to the facts of the Evangelical Historie, and to the affairs of Christians, than all our other witnesses besides. They proposed to overthrow the arguments for Christianity. They aimed to bring back to Gentilism those who had forsaken it, and to put a stop to the progresse of Christianity, by the farther addition of new converts. But in those designs they had very little successe, in their own times. And their works, composed and published in the early days of Christianity, are now a testimonie in our favour, and will be of use in the defense of Christianity, to the latest ages.

One thing more which may be taken notice of, is this : That the *remains of our ancient adversaries* confirm the present prevailing sentiments of Christians concerning those books of the New Testament, which we call *canonical*, and are in the greatest authority with us. For their writings shew, that those very books, and not any others, now generally called *apocryphal*, are the books, which always were in the highest repute with Christians, and were then the rule of their faith, as they now are of ours.



## The State of Gentilism under Christian Emperours.

Sect. I. *Imperial Laws concerning Gentil People, and their worship.* II. *A Consultation and Decimation of Heathen People in the time of Valens, about the year 374.* III. *The Petition of the Roman Senate to Valentinian the Younger, in 384 that the Altar of Victorie, which had been removed by Gratian, might be restored.* IV. *The Correspondence between Maximus of Madaura, and Augustin, in 390.* V. *The Demolition of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other Temples in Egypt, and some other Temples elsewhere in 391.* VI. *A pretended Heathen Oracle in 398. foretelling the Period of the Christian Religion.* VII. *The Demolition of the Temple of the Goddesse Coelestis at Carthage, in 399.* VIII. *An Image of Hercules destroyed by the Christians at Suspecta in Africa, in 399.* IX. *A Disturbance at Calama in Numidia in 408.* X. *The Overthrow of Rbadagaisus the Goth in 405.* XI. *Rome besieged, taken, and sacked by Alarick the Goth in 410.* XII. *The Correspondence between Augustin and Volusian in 412.* XIII. *The Correspondence between the People of Madaura and Augustin. Time uncertain.* XIV. *The Correspondence between Augustin and Longinian. Time uncertain.* XV. *Observations of Orosius and Augustin upon the Treatment given to the Gentils by Christian Magistrates.* XVI. *Concluding observations upon the State of Gentilism, under Christian Emperours.*

### SECT. I. Imperial Laws concerning Gentil People, and their Worship.

I. *Laws of Constantin.* II. *Laws of his Sons Constans and Constantius.* III. *Julian.* IV. *Laws of Jovian, Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.* V. *Laws of Theodosius I. and his Successors.*

*Laws of Constantin.* I. **T**HAT is a necessarie article in this work. And in shewing what it was, I presume it will be proper to begin with the laws and edicts of Christian Emperours concerning Gentil people, and

and their worship. In doing this I shall have assistance not only from the *Theodosian Code*, and *James Gothofred's* annotations upon it, but also from divers modern writers of ecclesiastical historie. Cave, in particular, at the beginning of his second Volume of *the Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, has a long Introduction concerning the State of Paganism in the reign of Constantin, and under the reigns of the succeeding Emperours, till the end of the reign of Theodosius the first, or the Great, and his sons Arcadius and Honorius, and then of Theodosius the younger. Of this I shall make good use, not neglecting the observations, which may be found in other writers, who have treated of the same argument.

The third volume of this work concluded with some observations upon *the State of Christianity under Gentil (a) Emperours*: wherein it was shewn, that all along, during that time, Christianity had been in a state of persecution. We shall now be able to judge, whether under Christian Emperours Gentilism was not all along in a state of persecution: however, I would hope, not so severe and rigorous, as that of the Christians in the foregoing period of near three hundred years.

Here, the thing to be first taken notice of is the law or edict of Constantin and Licinius in the year 313. giving liberty to all men, Christians and others, to follow that way of worship, which should be most agreeable to them. Which was transcribed by us at length (b) formerly. The substance of which may be reckoned to be comprized in these words, a part of it. "*These (c) things we have thought proper to signify to you, in order to your perceiving, that we have given free and full liberty to those same Christians, to follow their own religion. And you may perceive, that, as we have granted full liberty to them, so in like manner we have granted the same liberty to others, to observe their own institution and religion. For, as is manifest, this is suitable to the tranquillity of our times, that every one should have liberty to choose and follow the worship of that Deity, which he approves. This we have determined, that it may appear, we do not forbid, or restrain any religion, or way of worship whatever.*"

In order to form a right judgement of the conduct of Constantin in the treatment given by him to Gentil people, it will be of use to us to distinguish his reign into two periods, the first preceding the final defeat, and death of Licinius, the other after those events.

In

(a) Vol. 3. p. 335. &c.

(b) Vol. 3. p. 313. . . 316.

(c) . . p. 315.

In the year 313. Those two Emperours were at Milan, when Constantin gave to Licinnius his Sister Constantia in marriage. At the same place, and in the same year, was published the edict above mentioned. In that law, as has been often observed already, Licinius joyned with Constantin. But their friendship did not last long without interruption. In (*d*) the year 314. broke out a war betwixt them, which was concluded in the same year. Afterwards, there was another war between them, which began in the year 323. and was concluded in 324. when Licinius was reduced to a private condition. And though his life was then granted him, at the request and intercession of Constantia, he was put to death in the year 324. or 325. From that time Constantin was sole Emperour both of the East and the West, till the time of his death, on the day of Pentecost, May 22. in the year 337.

About the year 319. arose a great coldness between Constantin and Licinius. And from that time Licinius began to treat the Christians, and their Ministers, very hardly, till he proceeded to an open persecution of them. Of which accounts may be seen in (*e*) Eusebius. In so much, that as that historian says. "If (*f*) you divide the Roman Empire into two parts, that in the East was covered with thick darkness: whilst that in the West enjoyed a bright day." A war between the two Emperours then became unavoidable.

I formerly (*g*) cited three laws of Constantin, relating to soothsayers, enacted in the year 319. and 321. forbidding them to go to private houses, and appointing, that all divinations should be made in the temples, or at public altars only, and requiring, that the result of those consultations should be sent to him, if they related to the publick. It may be allowed, that those laws laid some restraints upon the practice of soothsaying. But I do not think, that they were any infringement of the edict of liberty to all, before taken  
notice

(*d*) Et tamen primum illud bellum anno 314. et inchoatum et absolutum. Persecutio anno 319. a Licinio excitari coepta, ultimumque Constantini cum Licinio bellum non nisi anno 323. motum, ac subsequenti continuatum. *Pagi ann. 316. n. vi. Vid. et 317. iv. et vi. 318. ii. Conf. Basu. ann. 319. ii. iii. iv.*

(*e*) *H. E. l. 10. cap. 8. De V. C. l. i. cap. 49. . . 56.*

(*f*) *De V. C. l. i. cap. 49. p. 432. D.*

(*g*) *See before, p. 244. 245.*



notice of. A Heathen Emperour might publish such laws for his own safety, or for the security of the (b) publick.

Eusebius, speaking of things, when Constantin was in possession of the whole Empire: “ And (i) now, says he, after that the Emperour proceeding to act with great vigour, gave the government of the provinces chiefly to Christians. And (k) when any Gentils were made Governours, they were prohibited to sacrifice. Which law comprehended not only Presidents of provinces, but also higher officers, and even the Pretorian Prefects. If they were Christians, they were required to act according to their principles. If they were otherwise disposed, still the practise of idolatrous rites was forbidden.”

Eusebius goes on to say, in the very next chapter. “ And (l) soon after that were two laws published at one and the same time, one prohibiting the detestable rites of idolatrie, hitherto practised in cities and countrey-places. And that for the future none should erect statues to the gods, nor perform the vain arts of divination, nor (m) offer up any sacrifices. The other law was for enlarging Christian oratories and churches, or for rebuilding them more grand and splendid.”

The first of those two laws, as I apprehend, must be explained with some restrictions. Constantin, I presume, did not now absolutely forbid *divination*. What Eusebius says here must be understood agreeably to the laws relating to soothsayers, before cited. He forbid private, but not public divination. Nor is it to be supposed, that *sacrifices* were universally forbidden, and every where. They were allowed of at Rome, and Alexandria, long after this, as appears from Libanius's oration for the temples in the time of Theodosius, as is also observed by Valefius in his annotations upon this chapter of (n)

Eusebius.

(b) Sed et contra Tiberius, ut memorat Suetonius l. 3. cap. 63 *Haruspices secreto ac sine testibus Consuli vetuit*. Publica igitur permittit. *Gothofred. in Cod. Theod. Tom. 3. p. 115.*

(i) *De Vita Constantin. l. 2. cap. 44. p. 464.*

(k) Ὅσοι δ' ἐλαυνίζεν ἐδύον, τοῖς θύεν ἀπέστητο.

(l) *Sup. 45. p. 464.*

(m) . . . μήτε μὲν θύειν καὶ ἄλλὰ μυστήνα.

(n) . . . μήτε μὲν θύειν καὶ ἄλλὰ μυστήνα.] De privatis sacrificiis hæc Eusebii verba intelligenda sunt. Nam Constantinus Magnus lege lata vetuit, ne quis Gentilium privatim domi sacrificaret, ut docet lex prima codice Theodos. de Paganis. Itaque aruspices sacrificii causâ domum evocare prohibuerat. Hi enim victimarum exta inspiciebant. Publica vero templa adire sacrificandi causâ, ibique aruspicum operâ uti non vetuit Constantinus,

Eusebius. Cave expresseth himself differently. I cannot say, that he is in the right. But, I shall place below (*n*) what he says. However, there is another way of solving this difficulty. Constantin may have forbid sacrificing every where. But at the accession of Julian his laws were abrogated. By which means the Gentils obtained the liberty of sacrificing. Which may have continued at Rome and Alexandria, till the time of Libanius.

Afterwards, still lower in the Life of Constantin, comparing him with former Emperours, Eusebius says, “ They (*o*) commanded the temples to be magnificently adorned: he demolished them to the foundation, especially such as were most respected by superstitious people.”

And in some following chapters (*p*) Eusebius has given a particular account of the demolishing several Heathen temples by Constantin’s order, beside depriving many others of their richest and most respected ornaments: as a temple dedicated to Venus in a grove at *Aphaea* in *Phenicia*. Eusebius says, it was a kind of school for lewdness, and all manner of vice, where no grave or modest people came. The Emperour ordered it to be totally demolished. Which was done by the soldiers. A temple of *Aesculapius*, at *Aegis* in *Cilicia*, was in like manner destroyed by the militarie power, at the Emperour’s command. Eusebius does not say, that any lewdness was practised there. But that temple was the means of seducing many people, and it was much respected by the Philosophers. Beside these, another temple of Venus, a place of much lewdness, was destroyed at *Heliopolis* in *Phenicia*, and a spacious church was erected in the room of it.

Theodoret, reflecting upon the conduct of the several Roman Christian

ut testatur lex prima codice Theod. de Maleficiis. Vide Libanium in oratione pro templis p. 10. et quae ibi notavit Gothofredus *Valef. in loc.*

(*n*) “ In short, by several laws he forbade to offer sacrifices, or to erect any images to the gods, or to consult their priests and oracles, or to exercise any of their mysterious rites. And though Libanius more than once affirms, [pro templis. p. 9. 20. 21. 22.] that their temples were left open, and sacrifices

“ permitted at Rome and Alexandria, “ yet was it no otherwise. than as they “ could do it by stealth, or by connivance, not by any public allowance, “ or constitution of the Empire, &c.” *Cave introd. p. xv.*

(*o*) . . . Ὁ δὲ ἐκ βλάβης καὶ ἡρείας τῶν αὐτῶν, τὰ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς θεοσιδούμοις πολλὰ ᾤζισα. *De V. C. l. 3. c. i. p. 483. B.*

(*p*) *De V. C. l. 3. cap. 55. . . 58.*

Christian Emperours to his own time, says, "That (q) the excellent Constantin absolutely forbid sacrificing to demons: nevertheless he did not demolish their temples. He only ordered them to be shut up." Which, from what we have seen, appears to be not very accurate. Eunapius says, "That (r) Constantin in the time of his reign destroyed the most magnificent temples, and erected Christian structures in their room." The general account of Constantin's conduct in this matter, in Jerome's Chronicle, at the year 333. or thereabout, and after the dedication of the city of Constantinople, is, "that (s) by an edict of Constantin the temples of the Gentils were thrown down." Orosius, after mentioning the building of the city of Constantinople, says, "that (t) Constantin then appointed by an edict, that the temples of the Pagans should be shut up, but without putting any of them to death."

This may suffice for an account of the treatment, given by Constantin to Gentil people. It appears hence very plainly, that this first Christian Emperour did not strictly observe his edict, published in the year 313. All men were not permitted to follow that way of worship, which they approved. Some things, just taken notice of, must be reckoned inconsistent with that edict of general toleration. And some reflections were made upon it by us (u) formerly: adding also the judgements of divers learned and judicious writers. To which I now only refer. For hereafter may be another occasion to observe upon the treatment given to Gentils, not only by Constantin, but also by succeeding Christian Emperours. For the present, I add nothing more here, beside an observation of Mr. Mosheim. "After (x) the  
" final

(q) . . . καὶ τὴν διακείμενὴν ἔτι μεμνητοῦσαν ὁρῶν, τὸ μὲν δαίμοσι θύειν παντάπασιν ἀπιγέρευσσε, τὰς δὲ τέτων ναὺς οὐ κατέλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἀβάτας ἔναι προσέταξε. *Theod. l. 5. c. 21. p. 226.*

(r) Κωνσταντῖνος γὰρ ἐβασίλευσε, τὰ τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα κατεσφύων, καὶ τὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀνεγείρων οἰκήματα. *Eunap. l'it. l'ides, p. 33.*

(s) Edicto Constantini Gentilium templa everfa. *Chr. p. 181.*

(t) Tum deinde primus Constantinus ius-

to ordine et pio vicem vertit edicto, siquidem statuit, citra ullam hominum caedem Paganorum templa claudi. *Oros. l. 7. c. 28. p. 540.*

(u) *Credib. P. 2. ch. lxx. Vol. vii. p. 420. . . 432.*

(x) Post hanc de Licinio victoriam, solus regnabar ad obitum Constantinus, et quantum poterat, consiliis, institutis, prae-miis nitebatur, ut veteres religiones sensim destrueret, Christianaque sacra per orbem Romanum proferret. *Intelligebat*  
line

“ final defeat of Licinius Constantin was sole Emperour to the time  
 “ of his death. And according to the utmost of his power, by va-  
 “ rious methods, by laws, institutions, rewards and encouragements,  
 “ he endeavoured gradually to root out the ancient religions, and to  
 “ promote the Christian doctrine. The Emperour appears to have  
 “ been fully convinced by the wars and intrigues of Licinius, that  
 “ neither he, nor the Roman Empire could be safe, so long as the  
 “ ancient superstition subsisted. Henceforward therefore he openly  
 “ opposed the gods, and their worship, as dangerous to the public  
 “ welfare.” We now proceed.

*Laws of  
 the Sons  
 of Con-  
 stantin.*

II. The second section in Cave's Introduction (y) is thus entitled :  
*The Condition of the Gentils under the reign of Constantin Junior, Con-*  
*stantius, and Constans.*

Constantin (x) died in 337. and was succeeded by his sons, between whom the whole Empire was divided. Constantin, the eldest, had *Britain, Spain, Gaul, and part of Africa*. Constans, the youngest, had *Italie, Illyricum, Macedonia, Greece, and the parts that border upon the Euxine Sea, and the remainder of Africa*. Constantius, the second son, had *Mysia, Thrace, Asia, the East, and Egypt*. Constantin had reigned scarcely three years, when quarrelling with his brother Constans about the division of the Empire, he marched with his armie as far as Aquileia to encounter him, where he was slain near the end of April in the year 340. In the year 350. Constans was killed by the procurement of the usurper Magnentius, who in the year 353. was overthrown by Constantius, and then killed by himself, to prevent falling alive into Constantius's power, and to avoid a lingering death, after he had reigned three years and a half. Constantius died in 361. and was succeeded by Julian.

Now therefore we are to recite the laws of Constantin's sons, relating to the Gentil religion.

1. The (a) first is a law of Constans, with whom Constantius is  
 to

sine dubio Imperator ex Licinii bellis et  
 machinationibus, neque se, neque Ro-  
 manorum imperium, salva veteri super-  
 stitione, saluum esse posse, atque hinc ab  
 eo tempore aperte deos, eorumque reli-  
 gionem, tanquam rei-publicae noxiam  
 oppugnabat. *Mosheim. Inst. p. 146.*

(y) *Introd. p. xviii.*

(z) *Ibid p. xix.*

(a) *Constantis Imp. Lex adversus sacri-  
 ficia. Ad Madalianum agentem vicem.  
 PF. P.*

Cesset superstitio. Sacrificiorum abo-  
 leatur insania. Nam quicumque contra  
 Legem



to be supposed to have joined, in the year 341. directed to Madalian, Vice-Praetorian Prefect.

“ Let superstition cease. Let the madnesse of sacrificing be abolished. For whoever shall presume, contrarie to the constitution of our Father, a Prince of blessed memorie, and contrarie to this command of our Clemence, to offer sacrifices, let a proper and convenient punishment be inflicted, and execution presently done upon him.”

Here is a reference to some law of Constantin against sacrifices, which is not extant. But we may depend upon the truth of what is here said: as it is agreeable to what is said by Eusebius, and Theodoret, before quoted, as well as other Christian writers, that Constantin did forbid sacrificing. But as the law is not extant, we cannot say exactly what is was, and how it was conceived. It is here enacted, that they who act contrarie to this law, *should undergo a proper and convenient punishment, and that execution should be presently done.* But it is not said, what punishment, whether that of death, or some other.

2. This law is followed by (b) another law of Constans in the next year, 342. directed to *Catullinus, Prefect of the City: against demolishing temples, which stood without the walls of the City of Rome.*

“ Although all superstition ought to be utterly rooted up, yet our pleasure is, that the temples without the walls should not be destroyed, nor defaced. For upon some of them is founded the origin of the Circensian, and other sports and games, which ought not to be suppressed, that the Roman people may still partake in the ancient solemnities and entertainments.”

Some may be apt to think it to be herein implied, that temples in the City might be destroyed, and that the law is designed for the security of such only as were without the walls. Nevertheless the law

X x 2

is

Legem Dei Principis Parentis nostri, et hanc nostrae mansuetudinis iussione, ausus fuerit sacrificare, competens in eum vindicta, et praefens sententia exeratur. *Ap. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 2. Tom. 6. p. 261.*

(b) Constantis Imp. Lex, de templis extra muros Urbis Romae positus non exscindendis. Ad Catulinum. P. U

Quamquam omnis superstitio penitus

eruenta sit, tamen volumus, ut aedes Templorum, quae extra muros sunt positae, intactae incorruptaeque consistant. Nam cum ex nonnullis, vel Ludorum, vel Circensium, vel Agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus Populo Romano praebeatur praeclarum sollemnitas voluptatum. *l. 3. ubi supr. p. 261.*

is not so understood by learned men. *Of those within the walls, says Cave, there seems to have been no question, they being spared, as highly conducing to the splendour and ornament of the City.* So likewise says (c) Gothofred.

Many of the public festivals were in honour of the Gods, and they were annually celebrated in memorie of the origin, or dedication of the temples, consecrated to them, as is observed by (d) Lactantius. The Emperour therefore, it seems, was willing, that the people should enjoy their usual diversions and entertainments, but without superstition.

It has been observed by Cave (e) and other learned men, that encouraged by these laws, *Julius Firmicus Maternus* wrote about this time, [that is, between the years 340. and 350.] his book *De errore profanarum religionum*, which he dedicated to the two brother-Emperours: wherein, after having exposed the follies and absurdities of Paganism, he addresseth those Emperours, that they would go on to make a perfect reformation, and by severe laws cut off what did yet remain, that the Roman world might be no longer infected with such pernicious errors and impieties. (\* \*)

From some things in that work of *Julius Firmicus* it may be concluded, that (f) before that time many temples had been destroyed.

3. The fourth law in the Title of the Theodosian Code concerning *Pagans, and Sacrifices, and Temples*, and the first law of Constantius relating thereto, is directed to (g) *Taurus, Prefect of the*

(c) De templis igitur extramuranistan-  
tum specie hujus legis 3. quaerebatur, ut-  
trum haec saltem demolienda essent. Nam  
de intramuranis quaesitum non fuit: nem-  
pe quod in his decor civitatis consisteret.  
*Gothof. Ib. p. 263.*

(d) Nam ludorum celebrationes, Ge-  
orum festa sunt. Siquidem ob natales eo-  
rum, vel templorum novorum dedicatio-  
nes sunt instituti. *Lact. l. 6. c. 20.*

(e) As before, p. xx.

(\* \*) An account of that work of *J. Firmicus*, with divers observations upon it, may be seen. *Credib. P. 2. Vol. 8. p. 261. &c.*

(f) Post excidia templorum in majus  
Dei estis virtute provecti. *J. F. p. 403.*  
*edit. Gronov. And see Credib. Vol. 8. p.*  
*263.*

(g) Constantii prima hoc titulo Lex de  
Templis occludendis, et sacrificiis prohi-  
bendis. *Ad Taurum. PP. P.*

Placuit, omnibus locis atque urbibus  
universis claudi protinus templa, et ac-  
cessu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquen-  
di perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam  
cunctos sacrificiis abstinere. Quod si quis  
aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gla-  
dio ultore sternatur. Facultates etiam  
perempti fisco decernimus vindicari: et  
similiter

the Praetorium, for shutting up the Temples; and for prohibiting sacrifices.

“ We ordain, that in all places, and in all cities, Temples be immediately shut up, and that all men being forbid to enter therein, all occasion of offending may be taken away from desperate men. Our pleasure likewise is, that all abstain from sacrifices. If any transgress, they are to be put to death. And their estates are to be confiscated to the Treasurie. In like manner are to be punished Governours of provinces, if they neglect to punish such transgressors.”

This law is placed by Gothofred in the year 353.

Agreeable to this Sozomen says, “ that (b) not only Constantine, but his sons likewise forbid sacrifices, and ordered the temples to be shut up every where, in the cities, and in countrey-places.” Probably referring to this law.

Gothofred thinks, that (i) as this law was directed to Taurus, who was Prefect of the Praetorium for Italie, it should be understood to reach no farther. But that does not appear clear to me. For about this time some temples were destroyed in other places and countreys. Nor is it, I think, very likely, that Sozomen should take such particular notice of a law, which had no effect out of Italie.

4. The (k) second law of Constantine, of this kind, and also to be placed in the year 353. is directed to Cerealis, Prefect of the City.

“ Let nocturnal sacrifices be abolished, which had been allowed by Magnentius.”

This law, undoubtedly, was issued soon after the death of Magnentius, who, as is supposed, had relaxed the rigour of the laws against

similiter adfligi Rectores Provinciarum, si facinora vindicare neglexerint. *Cod. The. l. 16. Tit. x. l. 4. Tom. 6. p. 263.*

(b) . . . ναὺς δὲ τὰς πανταχῇ κειμένης ἐν πόλεσι καὶ ἀγροῖς κεκλεισθαι προσέταξαν. *Soz. l. 3. c. 17. p. 329. B.*

(i) Atqui haec lex data est ad Taurum PP. Italiae scilicet, et ad Italiae praefecturam pertinet: omnia, scilicet, loca atque uides hac lege sunt, quae per eam praefecturam, non omnia, quae Romano

Imperio gubernantur, quod nonnemo prodidit. Nempe ad inscriptiones suas coarctandae sunt ita, et ex iis explicandae leges . . . Quamquam non nego, hoc ipsum per Aegyptum a Constantio factum. *Goth. in l. p. 264.*

(k) Constantii secunda adversus nocturna sacrificia Romae Ad Cerealem P. U. Abolentur sacrificia nocturna, et nefaria deinceps licentia repellatur. *Eod. Tit. l. 5. p. 265.*



against the Gentils. Now therefore nocturnal sacrifices were prohibited at Rome.

Gothofred is of opinion, that (l) this law was enacted at the request of *Cerealis*, who was a zealous Christian, as he collects from some things said of him by Jerome.

5. The third law of Constantius is against sacrifices, and the worship of images, supposed to be published in the year 356.

“ We (m) appoint Capital punishment to such as are convicted of “ performing sacrifices, or worshipping images.”

6. In another book and title of the Code we find (n) three laws of the same Emperour published in the years 356. or 357. with the penalty of death against all who consulted any of the masters of divination: who are here reckoned up under their several titles of *Haruspices*, *Mathematicians*, *Chaldeans*, *Harioli*, *Augures*, *Vates*, *Magicians*.

These laws, as is supposed, were occasioned by some inquiries of Pagans, inconsistent with the public quiet, and the safety of the Prince.

These are laws of Constantin's sons, and successors. And it must be allowed, that there is in them a good deal of severity.

*Julian.*

III. We now come in course to the reign of *Julian*. But his historie has been already writ by us: in which we have sufficiently shewn his zeal for Gentilism, and the treatment, given by him to the Christians.

And I suppose, that at his accession all the laws of preceding Christian Emperours against Gentilism, and it's rites, were made void, and

(l) Illud ultimum notari cupio, datam hanc legem ad Cerealem Praefectum Urbis, proculdubio ad ejus suggestionem, quem Christianae Religioni addictissimum fuisse credere licet. Sane id satis indicat ea quae de Cereali hoc memorat Hieronymus ep. 16. Tom. i. ambitiosius petente Marcellam viduam in uxorem, *Gothof. ib. p. 266.*

(m) Paenae capitis subjugari praecipimus eos, quos operam sacrificiis dare, vel coleae simulachra constitit. *Eod. Tit. l. 6. p. 266.*

(n) Nemo haruspice consulat, aut mathematicum, nemo hariolum. Augurum et vatum prava confessio conticecat. Chaldaei ac magi, et ceteri, quos maleficos ob facinorum multitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas. Etenim supplicium capitis foret gladio ultore prostratus, quicumque jussis obsequium denegaverit. *Cod. Theod. lib. 9. Tit. xvi. de Maleficiis. l. 4. Vid. et l. 5. et l. 6. Tom. 3. p. 119. . . . 124.*



and abrogated: and that they remained without force, unless they were renewed, or revived by Imperial authority.

IV. The fourth section in Cave's Introduction is thus entitled: *Laws of In what case Gentilism stood under the reigns of Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens.*

Here it is observable, that Gothofred (o) in the Title of *Pagans, Sacrifices, and Temples*, puts not down any laws of these three Emperours, nor of *Gratian*, against Gentilism. And, including Julian, this he computes to be the space of five and twenty years from Constantius to Theodosius.

Those Emperours were Christians, and they encouraged their people in the profession of the Christian Religion, and protected them in the enjoyment of the privileges conferred upon them by Constantine. And Sozomen says, particularly of Jovian, "that (p) he recommended to all his subjects throughout the Empire the Christian Religion, as the only true religion. And he wrote letters to the Governours of the provinces, that they should give them full liberty to frequent the churches, and worship God devoutly there." But, as it seems, there were now no new laws issued against Gentil people, and their sacrifices.

In proof of this Gothofred observes several things: one thing, alleged by him, is a paragraph of Symmachus, in his Petition to the younger Valentinian, where he says: *Certainly (q) if we reckon up the princes of each sect, and of each opinion, one of your near ancestors [meaning Julian] favoured the rites of our fathers: another, still nearer in time, [meaning Valentinian the first] did not remove them. If the* piety

(o) Ad Theodosii Magni constitutiones, quae sex numero hoc titulo occurrunt, puta 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. a Constantio imp. magno principum et annorum hiatu, [25. sc.] nunc provehimur: nullis Juliani Joviani, Valentiniani, Valentis, Gratiani, adversus Paganos et Sacrificia hunc in titulum relatis. . . . Hujus vero rei causa haec est: Quia (verba sunt Symmachi in Relatione at Valentinianum, hanc in rem singularia:) si numerentur hi (quos modo dixi) Principes utriusque sectae, utriusque sententiae, proximus eorum ceremonias pa-

trum, (id est, Gentilium) coluit, recentior non removit. Dissimulationem ideo et conniventiam horum posteriorum principum Symmachus laudat: memorat et Ambrosius, lib. 1. et 2. adversus Symmachum. Gothof. ibid. i. T. 6. p. 267.

(p) . . . ἔγραψε τοῖς ἡγεμένοις τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ το θεῖον ἐπιμελῶς θεραπεύειν, καὶ μόνον εἶναι σέβας τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τὴν τῶν χριστιανῶν πίσιν. Soz lib. 6. cap. 3 p. 640.

(q) See before, note (o)

*piety of the former does not afford an example to be imitated, however still let the connivance of the later be of some weight.*

But to be somewhat more particular.

Jovian published a law of universal toleration, for which he was commended by Themistius, as we saw some while (*r*) agoe.

Of Valentinian Ammianus (*s*) says, as we have also seen (*t*) already, “ that he was remarkable for the moderation of his government, and that he stood neuter among all the diversities of religion, and was troublesome to none. He did not require any to follow either this, or that. Nor did he strive by edicts to bend the necks of his subjects to his own way of worship: but left things untouched, in the condition, in which he found them.” A strong testimonie of moderation!

And in a law against southsaying, published by him in 371. “ he (*u*) forbids it no otherwise, than as it might be hurtfull, and openly declares, that from the begining of his government it had been his maxim, to let all men follow that way of worship, which was best approved by them.” Which law conspires compleatly with the testimonie of Ammianus, just mentioned, and abundantly confirms it.

And we may here recollect what we formerly saw in (*x*) Zosimus, “ that Valentinian had forbid nocturnal sacrifices, with a view of preventing those enormities, which are sometimes committed in those seasons: but upon the remonstrance of *Praetextatus*, as he says, the Emperour was persuaded to let that law lie dormant, as to Greece at least.”

And agreeably to our present argument, Cave (*y*) says: “ the Gentils for the main had enjoyed the peaceable exercise of their religion for many years, having met with little or no interruption in it, since the times of Constantius. And for the first two years  
“ of

(*r*) See before, *ch. xlvi. p. 120.*

(*s*) *Amm. l. 30. cap. ix. p. 660.*

(*t*) See here, *ch. li. p. 186.*

(*u*) Haruspiciam ego nullum cum maleficio-  
rum causis habere consortium judico: neque ipsam, aut aliquam praeterea concessam a Majoribus religionem, genus arbitror esse criminis. Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datae, quibus unicuique, quod animo imbibisset, colendi li-

bera facultas tributa est. Nec haruspici-  
nam reprehendimus, sed nocenter exerce-  
ri vetamus. *Cod. Th. lib. 9. Tit. 16 De Maleficiis et Mathematicis &c. l. ix. T. 3. p. 128.*

(*x*) See before, *ch. lviii. p. 257.*

(*y*) See his Introduction, as before, *p. lix. where he also refers to Zosimus, l. 4. p. 455.*

“ of Theodosius, almost wholly taken up with wars, their temples  
“ were open, and they had the freedom of their rites and ceremonies.”

It may be also not improper to put down here the general observations of Pagi upon this period, and the state of Gentilism at this time. “ During (z) the reign of Constantin, says he, the Gentils  
“ had liberty, either in whole, or in part, to celebrate publicly the  
“ rites and solemnities of their religion. And upon the restoration  
“ of the Christian Religion after Julian, in the time of Valentinian  
“ the elder, the Pagans enjoyed great liberty. They still had their  
“ own opinion, their own rites, their temples, and the solemnities  
“ belonging to them. And in the begining of the reign of Theodosius, for some while they enjoyed the privilege of sacrificing,  
“ till the year 391. in which Valentinian the younger, with the  
“ advice of Theodosius, forbid at Rome and Italie the offering of  
“ victims and sacrifices, entrance into temples, and the worship of  
“ images: as may be seen in the eleventh law in the Theodosian  
“ Code concerning *Pagans*, which was issued at Milan.”

So Pagi. But instead of the *eleventh* law in that title, I suppose he meant the *tenth*. For the eleventh law in that title relates to Egypt.

V. We are now in the next place to observe the laws of Theodosius, and succeeding Emperours against the Gentils.

1. In the year 381. was issued a law of Theodosius, with the joint authority of Gratian, and the younger Valentinian, against Apostates: “ that (a) they who apostatised from Christianity to Paganism should lose the power of making a will.”

This,

(z) Imperante Constantino Magno licuit adhuc Gentilibus sua solemnia vel in totum vel in partem publice agitare. Reparata dein post Julianum Apostatam Christiana religione sub Valentiniano seniore, sua quoque Paganis sententia, sui ritus, templaque et templorum solennia relicta fuere. Theodosio demum imperante, et sacrificia aliquandiu exercere licuit, ad annum Christi 391. quo Valen-

tinianus junior Theodosii M. consilio Romae et in Italia sacrificia hostiarum seu victimarum, templorumque ingressum et simulachrorum cultum prohibuit. Lege xi. Cod. Theod. *De Paganis*, eo anno Mediolani emissâ, et in Annalibus a Baronio memorata. *Pagi ann.* 386. num. vii.

(a) His qui ex Christianis Pagani facti sunt, eripatur facultas jusque testandi.

Omne



This, as Gothofred (*b*) says, is the first law of the kind, that ever was enacted by a Christian Emperour. However, this law (*c*) was afterwards ratified, and followed by other laws of Theodosius the Great, Valentinian the Younger, Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius the second, with the addition of other clauses, so that the friends and kindred of Apostates might have no benefit of inheritance.

2. In the same year with the first law before mentioned, [that is in 381.] and by the same authority of Gratian, Valentinian the Younger, and Theodosius, was enacted “ a law (*d*) forbidding all “ sacrifices in the way of divination, either by day, or by night, either in temples, or elsewhere, upon the pain of proscription. “ And it is there added: *that God is to be worshiped with pure and “ chaste prayers, not with profane charms and incantations.*”

It is allowed by (*e*) Cave, and other learned men, that by this law no other sacrifices are forbid, but such as were performed in the way of divination, and for discovering futurities, and especially such as related to the state, and public affairs.

However, upon occasion of this, and perhaps some other like subsequent laws, Zosimus complained, “ that (*f*) the temples in “ the city, and the countrey, were attacked, and that men might “ no longer lift up their eyes to heaven, or pay their devotions to “ the things therein without danger of their heads.”

3. In the year 382. was published another law of Theodosius, “ concerning (*g*) a magnificent temple in the province of Osrhoëne,

“ or

Omne defuncti, si quod est testamentum, submota conditione rescindatur. *Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. Tit. vii. De Apostatis. l. 1. Tom. 6. p. 203.*

(*b*) Inquires, nullaene ergo ante Theodosium Magnum in hoc genus apostatarum, qui ex Christianis Pagani facti fuissent ab Imperatoribus constitutiones promulgatae fuerunt? Nullae, inquam, mihi occurrunt. Et Theodosius Magnus, ni fallor, primus Imperatorum Christianorum eos constitutionibus infectatus est &c. *Goth. T. 6. p. 203.*

(*c*) *Vid. lib. xvi. Tit. vii. de Apostatis l. 2 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.*

(*d*) Si quis vetitis sacrificiis, diurnis nocturnisque, velut vaesanus ac sacrilegus incertorum consultorum, in miseris, famumque sibi aut templum ad hujusmodi sceleris excusationem adsumendum crediderit, vel pulsaverit adeundum, proscriptioni se noverit subjugandum: cum nos justa institutione moneamus, Castis Deum precibus, non diris carminibus profanandum. *lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 7. Tom. 6. p. 266.*

(*e*) *Introduction. p. lx.*

(*f*) *Vid. Zos. l. 4. p. 758.*

(*g*) Aedem olim frequentiae dedicatam, coetui etiam, populoque communem,



“ or Edeffa, as is supposed, which was adorned with many statues,  
 “ and of curious workmanship, allowing, that it should be open,  
 “ and be frequented, provided no sacrifices were performed there.”

It is supposed, that (*b*) this temple had been shut up, but now, at the earnest request of some, and for avoiding too much offense, it was allowed to stand open.

However, this temple, as it seems, had been destroyed, before Libanius composed his Oration for the Temples. It is supposed, that (*i*) he complains of it in one part of his Oration.

4. In the year 385. was (*k*) published another law of Theodosius, “ forbidding sacrifices, especially such as were made in the way of divination, and for discovering futurities, upon pain of death.”

This law is addressed to *Cynegius*, Prefect of the Praetorium in the East. And it must be understood to prohibit sacrifices in Egypt, at least in the way of divination.

Libanius may refer to this law, when he says in the above-mentioned Oration, that sacrifices were forbidden, but not incense: which was done soon after this, in a law published in 392. as we shall see presently.

5. In the year 391. “ was (*l*) published a law of Theodosius, in “ which all sacrifices of innocent victims, and access to the temples, and the worship of senseless images, are prohibited.”

This law was particularly designed for Rome and Italie. This is the law, to which Pagi referred in the paragraph cited from him

Y y 2

some

nem, in quâ simulachra feruntur posita, artis pretio quam divinitate metienda, jugiter patere, publici consilii auctoritate decernimus . . . Experientia tua, omni votorum celebritate servatâ, auctoritate nostri ita patere templum permittat oraculis, ne illic prohibitorum usus sacrificio- rum, hujus occasionis aditus permittus esse credatur. *Lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 8. Tom 6. p. 268.*

(*b*) De quo tamen in consilio ejus, [nemoe Theodosii] dubitatum fuerat: nonnullis contententibus, occludi oportere, duobus argumentis. . . Verum contra contententibus aliis, ac nominatim Gentilibus, quorum magnus tum in palatio seu comitatu Theodosii Magni numerus erat. *Goth. T. 6. p. 268.*

(*i*) *Vide pro Templis. Or. p. 27. &c.*

(*k*) Si quis mortalium ita faciendi sacrificii sumat audaciam, ut inspectione jecoris, extorumque praesagio vanae spem promissionis accipiat, vel quod est deterius futura execrabili consultatione cognoscat. Acerbioris etenim imminet supplicii cruciatus eis, qui contra vetitum, praesentium vel futurorum explorare temeraverint veritatem, *Lib. 16. Tit. x. l. 9. T. 6. p. 270.*

(*l*) Nemo se hostiis polluat, nemo infontem victimum caedat, nemo delubra adeat, templa perlustret, et mortali opere formata simulachra suspiciat: ne divinis atque humanis sanctionibus reus fiat. *Ibid. l. x. T. 6. p. 27.*

some while ago. It is allowed by Gothofred (*l*) also, that all these things are here absolutely forbidden by this law of Theodosius, and the younger Valentinian. And (*m*) it is considered by him, as well as by Pagi, as the first law of the kind, since Constantius.

6. In the same year, 391. a like (*n*) law was published by Theodosius for Egypt, "forbidding sacrifices and access to temples." The execution of this law is referred to Euagrius Prefect, and Romanus Count of Egypt. Soon after which followed the demolition of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

7. In the year 392. was published a severe law of Theodosius, directed to Rufinus Prefect of the Praetorium, forbidding to men of all ranks every kind of Heathenish worship.

"Let (*o*) no man, of what order, rank, or quality soever he may be — presume in any place, or any city to offer but an harmless sacrifice to senseless images, or pay any adoration to his genius, or household-gods, by offerings of wine, setting up lights, burning frankincense, hanging up garlands to them. And if any man shall dare to offer a sacrifice, or consult the reeking entrails, let it be lawful for any one to accuse him, and being found guilty, let him receive sentence accordingly, as in cases of high-treason, although it should appear, that he did not herein consult any thing against the life of his prince, or make any inquiries at all about it.

"For

(*l*) Sacrificia hostiarum seu victimarum, templorum que ingressus, simulacrorum denique cultus hac constitutione, anno D 391. prorsus inhibentur. *Goth. T. 6. p. 272.*

(*m*) Ergo hac primum post Constantinum, Constantem, et Constantium, Valentiniani Jun. constitutione sacrificia Romae atque in Italia prohibita. Quae paulo ante hanc legem Romae stetit Libanius diserte testatur in oratione, quam edidi *ὅτι τὰ ἱερῶν*, quae scripta est A. D. 387. [forte 391] *Goth. ibid*

(*n*) Theodosii M. quinta hoc titulo lex per Aegyptum: Quo sacrificia, aditusque templorum interdicuntur.

Euagrio PP. Aug. et Romano Com. Aegypt. Nulli sacrificandi tribuatur potestas: nemo templa circumbeat, nemo delubra suscipiat, interclusos sibi nostrae legis oblaculo profanos aditus recognos-

cant: adeo ut, si quis vel de Diis aliquid, contra vetitum, sacrisque molietur, nullis exuendum se indulgentiis recognoscat. &c. *Eod. Tit. l xi T. 6. p. 272.*

(*o*) Nullus omnino, ex quolibet genere, ordine hominum, dignitatum, vel in potestate positus, vel honore perfunctus, sive potens forte nascendi, seu humilis genere, conditione, fortuna, in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe, sensu carentibus simulacris, vel insontem victimam coedat: vel secretiore piaculo, Larem, ignem, Genium, Penates nidore veneratus accendat lumina, imponat thura, ferta suspendat. II. Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit, aut spirantia extra consulere, ad exemplum Majestatis reus, licita cunctis accusatione, delatus, excipiat sententiam competentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem Principum, aut

“ For it is enough to aggravate the greatnesse of his crime, that he  
“ would rescind the laws of nature, search into things unlawfull,  
“ disclose what is secret, attempt what is prohibited, inquire into  
“ another’s fate, and give hopes of his death, or ruin. But if any  
“ man shall burn incense to a corruptible image, the work of mens  
“ hands, and by a ridiculous example honour that which himself  
“ has just now framed, and shall by crowning the stock with gar-  
“ lands, or by erecting an altar of turfs, do what he can, though  
“ but in a mean way, yet a way highly injurious to religion, to pay  
“ worship to senseless images, let him, as a person guilty of the vi-  
“ olation of religion, be punished with the losse of that house or  
“ field, wherein it shall be proved, that he practised such Pagan  
“ superstition. For it is our judgement, that all places, wherein it  
“ shall appear that incense has been burned, (provided they be legal-  
“ ly proved to be the persons that did it) ought to be confiscated to  
“ our Treasurie. But if it shall so happen, that the place where  
“ such a kind of sacrifice has been performed, be a public temple,  
“ or consecrated chapele, or another man’s house or ground, if it  
“ appear that it was done without the knowledge of the owner, let  
“ him be fined in the sum of xxv pounds of gold: and let him that  
“ connives at it, and conceals it, be fined in the same sum with him  
“ who sacrificeth. And our pleasure is, that this be so observed by  
“ the Judges, Defensors, and Curiales of every city, that the Officers  
“ having discovered any such fact, shall immediatly bring it before  
“ the

aut de salute quaesierit. Sufficit enim ad  
criminis molem, naturae ipsius leges velle  
rescindere, illicita perscrutari, occulta re-  
cludere, interdicta temptare, finem quae-  
rere salutis alienae, spem alieni interitus  
polliceri. III. Si quis vero mortali opere  
facto, et aevum passura Simulachra im-  
posito thure venerabitur, ac (ridiculo exem-  
plo metuens subitoque ipse simulaverit)  
vel redimita vittis arbore, vel erecta ef-  
fossis ara caespitibus vanas imagines, hu-  
miliore licet muneris praemio, tamen ple-  
na religionis injuria, honorare temptave-  
rit, is, utpote violatae religionis reus,  
ea domo seu possessione multabitur, in  
qua cum Gentilitia constiterit superstitio-

ne famulatum. Namque omnia loca,  
quae thuris constiterit vapore fumasse, si  
tamen ea in jure fuisse thurificantium pro-  
babuntur) fisco nostro adlocianda cense-  
mus. IV. Sin vero in templis sanctive  
publicis, aut in aedibus, agrisque aliis,  
tale quispiam sacrificandi genus exercere  
temptaverit, si ignorante domino usurpata  
constiterit, xxv. librarum auri multae no-  
mine cogetur inferre: conniventem vero  
huic sceleri par ac sacrificantem poena re-  
tinebit. Quod quidem ita per Judices  
ac Defensores, et Curiales singularium  
urbium, volumus custodiri, ut illico per  
hos comperta in Judicium deterantur: per  
illos



“ the Judges : and they shall forthwith see to the execution of the  
 “ penalty. But if the Defensors and Curiales shall conceal any thing  
 “ through favour, or carelessness, they shall be punished by the  
 “ Judges. And if the Judges, after information received from the  
 “ Officers, shall take no notice of it, or defer punishment, they  
 “ shall be fined in the sum of xxx pounds of gold. And their  
 “ Officers shall be liable to the same penalty.” “ Given at  
 “ Constantinople, the eighth day of November : Arcadius being  
 “ the second time, and Rufinus Consuls :” that is, in the year  
 CCCXCII.

That is a prolix edict. I once intended to abridge it, and make remarks. But now I have transcribed it at length, almost entire, that my readers may themselves make remarks. This law of Theodosius is inserted at length in an English Version by Cave in his (*p*) Introduction : of which version I also have made some use.

8. In the year 399 was published by Arcadius a law for destroying temples in countrey-places.

“ If (*q*) there are any temples in the fields, let them be destroyed  
 “ without noise and tumult. For these being thrown down, and  
 “ taken away, all occasion of superstition will be removed.”

I do not take all the Imperial laws issued about this time, relating to Gentil worship. I omit several.

9. By a law of Theodosius the younger, in 416. “ They (*r*)  
 “ who are polluted with the profane error of Gentilism are excluded  
 “ ed from militarie power, and judicial authority.”

10. In the year 423. is a law of the same Theodosius to this purpose : “ Let (*s*) the laws already enacted have their full force upon  
 “ the

illos delata plectantur. Si quid autem iitendum gratiâ, aut incuriâ prætermittendum esse crediderint, commotioni Judiciarie subiacebunt. Illi vero moniti, si vindictam dissimulatione distulerint, xxx librarum auri dispendio multabuntur : Officiis quoque eorum damno parili subjugandis. Dat. vi. Id. Nov. CP. Arcadio A. II. et Rufino Coss. [392.] *Eod. Tit. l. xii. T. 6. p. 273. 274.*

(*p*) *p. lxvii. lxviii.*

(*q*) Si qua in agris templa sunt, sine turba ac tumultu diruantur. His enim de-

jectis atque sublati, omnis superstitionis materia consumetur. *Eod. Tit. l. 16. Tom. 6. p. 283.*

(*r*) Qui profano Pagani ritus errore seu crimine polluuntur, hoc est, Gentiles, nec ad Militiam admittantur, nec Administratoris vel Judicis honore decorentur. *Eod. Tit. l. 21. T. 6. p. 293.*

(*s*) Paganos, qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, promulgatorum legum jamdudum præscripta com-  
 pescant. *Eod. Tit. l. 22. T. 6. p. 294.*



“ the Pagans that remain : though we rather think, that there are  
“ none left.”

11. Again, in the same year : “ If (t) any of the Pagans that  
“ remain, are found offering execrable sacrifices to demons, let them  
“ be punished with banishment and confiscation of goods : though  
“ they ought to suffer capital punishment.”

12. In the year 426. was promulgated another law of the same  
Theodosius, and very severe : “ forbidding (u) all Pagan oblations,  
“ and sacrifices, ordering their chapels, temples, and consecrated  
“ places, if any yet remained, to be destroyed by the authority of  
“ the magistrate : or that they should be expiated by placing in them  
“ the venerable sign of the Christian religion. And if any are  
“ convicted before a competent Judge of having sacrificed contrarie  
“ to this law, they are to suffer death.”

Theodoret, who lived in the time of this Emperour, and con-  
cluded his historie at the year of Christ 429. says, “ that (x) he  
“ commanded all the temples of idols, which yet remained, to be  
“ destroyed to the foundation, that they who shall live after us  
“ may not see so much as the traces of the former ancient er-  
“ rour.”

13. Nevertheless after all, Gentilism still subsisted, though their  
temples, for the most part, had been long since shut up, or de-  
stroyed. For there is a severe law of *Valentinian the Third, and*  
*Marcian*, in the year 451. “ forbidding (y) all Heathen sacrifices,  
“ and oblations of frankincense, and wine, and adorning images  
with

(t) Paganos, qui supersunt, si aliquan-  
do in exsecrandis daemonum sacrificiis fu-  
erint comprehensi, quamvis capitali poena  
subdi debuerint, bonorum proscriptione  
et exilio coerceri. *Eod. Tit. l. 23. T. 6.*  
*p. 294.*

(u) Omnibus sceleratae mentis Paga-  
nae, execrandis hostiarum immolationi-  
bus, damnandisque sacrificiis, ceterisque  
antiquarum sanctionum auctoritate prohi-  
bitis, interdiximus. Cunctaque eorum  
fana, templa, delubra, si qua etiam nunc  
restant integra, praecepto magistratuum  
destrui, conlocationeque venerandae Chri-

stianae religionis signi expiari praecipi-  
mus : scientibus universis, si quem huic  
legi apud competentem Judicem idoneis  
probationibus inluisse contiterit, eum  
morte esse multandum. *Eod. Tit. l. 25.*  
*T. 6. p. 296.*

(x) Τότε δὲ ἐνεκα καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν εἰσωλ. καὶ  
σημ. τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐκ βίβλου ἀναστραφῆναι  
προέταξεν, ὥτε τὸς μετ’ ἡμᾶς ἐσομένοις μὴδὲ  
ἶχνος τῆς προτέρας ἐξουσίας μείναι.  
*Theod. l. 5. cap. 37. p. 243.*

(y) *A<sup>d</sup>. Baron. ann. 451. num. 161.*  
*162.*

“ with garlands, and all the rites of the ancient superstition in general.” I put below (z) Pagi’s observations upon this law.

I recite here no more laws of Christian Emperours relating to Gentilism. It is a dull part of my work. But I thought it incumbent on me not to omit it entirely, that my readers may be able to judge for themselves concerning this point, as well as others. Some more like laws may come before us hereafter, and be mentioned occasionally.

Observations.

And now some will be disposed to make observations upon what we have just seen.

1. The period of twenty years, or five and twenty years, as it is sometimes called by learned men, from the death of Constantius, to the accession of Theodosius, or thereabout, when the Gentils were treated with much mildness, and few laws were issued against them, is remarkable.

2. Possibly, we here see the ground of the great animosity of Zosimus, and other Gentil writers against *Constantin* and *Theodosius* above all other Christian Emperours. Constantin was the first of the Roman Emperours, who forsook Gentilism, and embraced Christianity. And in the later part of his reign divers Heathen temples were destroyed, and sacrifices were forbid. Which law against sacrificing subsisted in force under his sons. Who likewise issued divers severe laws against the Gentils. And again, after the interval of the reign of Julian, and a season of great mildness and moderation under his immediate successors, in the reign of *Theodosius* old laws against Gentilism were revived, and more added to them. And the conduct of Theodosius was imitated by his sons, and their successors after them. These things may have occasioned the great animosity of Gentil writers against the two fore-mentioned Emperours.

3. I think, it must be allowed, that the laws against Gentilism, which I have just rehearsed, were not rigorously executed. But of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

(z) Denique Gentilismi reliquiae in totum suppressae anno 451. edicto Valentiniani III. et Marciani, ut legere est eo

anno in Annalibus numero ult. Pagi an. 389. xv.

SECT. II. A Consultation, and Divination of Heathen People, in the Time of Valens, about the year 373.

I. *An Account of it from Ammianus, and other Writers.* II. *Remarks upon their Accounts, and a Vindication of Valens from the charge of excessive Cruelty.* III. *The Historie and Character of the Philosopher Maximus, favourite of the Emperour Julian, who now suffered Death.*

I. **I**N the year (a) 373. or (b) 374. whilst Valens was at Antioch, a discoverie was made of a consultation, which some Gentils had together for finding out the name of the person, who should succeed the Emperour. There are accounts of it in several of our ecclesiastical historians, and in divers Heathen authors, particularly Ammianus Marcellinus, who is the fullest of all, and was then in the East, and possibly at Antioch.

“ When (c) the affair was brought before Modestus, Prefect of the Praetorium, *Palladius* being put upon the rack, as Ammianus says,

(a) *Pagi ann. 370. n. xxxi. Vid. et 371. iii. 372. vi. Basu. ann 373. n. ii.*

(b) *Tillem. Valens. art. xiv. xv.*

(c) . . . et Antiochiam Imperator Romanus ingressus. Qui dum ibi moratur securus interim hostium externorum, intestinis pene perierat fraudibus, ut aperiet series relata gestorum. . . Jussusque Palladius docere fidenter quae noverat, rudentem explicuit immensum : adfirmans, Fidustium Praesidiale, et cum Irenaeo Pergamium nomen Imperaturi post Valentem detestandis praefagiis didicisse secretum. Et correptus Fidustius illico (namque aderat forte) occulteque inductus, viso indice, nulla inquisitione adumbrare jam publicata conatus, rei totius ca-

lamitosum aperit textum : absolute confessus, se cum Hilario et Patritio vaticinandi peritis, quorum Hilarius militaverat in palatio, de imperio consuluisse futuro : motasque secretis artibus fortis, et nuncupationem principis optimi, et ipsis consultoribus luctuosos exitus praedixisse. Atque cunctantibus, quisnam ea tempestate omnibus vigore animi antistaret, visus est aliis omnibus excellere Theodorus, secundum inter notarios adeptus jam gradum. Et erat revera ita ut opinati sunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Galliis natus, et liberaliter educatus, &c. *Ammian. l. 29. cap. i. ii. p. 596. 597. ed. Gronov. qto. 1693.*

A D. " says, declared, that *Fidusius*, who had been in the office of a  
 374 " President, and *Pergamius*, and *Irenaeus*, had tried by secret arts,  
 " to find out the name of him, who was to succeed Valens in the  
 " Empire. *Fidusius* happened to be present. And being laid hold  
 " of, he did not deny the charge, but confessed, that he, with *Hi-*  
 " *larie*, and *Patritius*, both well skilled in the art of divination :  
 " [moreover *Hilarie* had a militarie post at Court] had inquired af-  
 " ter a successor in the Empire. They soon discovered, that he  
 " would be an excellent Prince, and that his name was *Theodorus*,  
 " meaning him, who was then second in the Secretaries office,  
 " and was a person of a good familie, well educated, and commen-  
 " dable for many virtues."

The confessions made by *Patritius* and *Hilarie*, upon farther ex-  
 amination, are particularly related by Ammianus after this manner.

" *A (d) tripod made of laurel was artificially prepared, and conse-*  
 " *crated with certain prescribed secret charms and invocations. It was*  
 " *then placed in the middle of a room, perfumed with Arabian spices.*  
 " *The charger, upon which it was set, had upon it's utmost brim the*  
 " *four*

(d) Inducti itaque Patritius et Hilarius, ordinemque explicare iussi gestorum, cum inter exordia variarent, fodicatis lateribus, inlato tripode quo utebantur, adacti ad summas angustias, aperiunt negotii fidem ab ipsis exordiis replicatam. Et prior Hilarius: Construximus, inquit, magnifici iudices, ad cortinae similitudinem Delphicae diris auspiciis de laureis virgulis infausam hanc mensulam quam videtis: et imprecationibus carminum, secretorum, cheragiisque multis ac diuturnis ritualiter consecratam movimus tandem. Movendi autem, quoties super rebus arcanis consulebatur, erat institutio talis. Collocabatur in medio domus emaculata odoribus Arabibus undique lance rotunda pure superposita, ex diversis metallicis materiis fabrefacta: cujus in ambitu rotunditatis extremo elementorum viginti quattuor scriptiles formae incitae perite, disjungebantur spatii examinare dimensis. Hac linteis quidam indumentis amictus, calceatusque talem linteis soccis, aculo capiti circumflexo, verbenas felices

arboris gestans litato conceptis carminibus numine praezeitiorum auctore, ceremoniali scientia superstiter: cortinulis, pensilem annulum librans, sartum ex Carpathio filo perquam levi, mysticis disciplinis initiatum: qui per intervalla distincta retinentibus singulis literis incidens saltuatim, heroas efficit versus interrogantibus consonos, ad numeros et modos plene conclusos: quales leguntur Pythici, vel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum. Ibi tum quaerentibus nobis, qui praesenti succeder imperio, quoniam omni ex parte expolitus fore memorabatur, et adfiliens annulus duos perstrinxerat syllabas ΘΕΟ, cum adjectione literae postrema, exclamavit praesentium quidam, Theodorum praescribente fatali necessitate portendi. Nec ultra negotio est exploratum. Satis enim apud nos constabat, hunc esse qui polcebatur. Cumque totius rei notitiam ita signare super oculis judicum subiecisset, adiecit benivole, id Theodorum penitus ignorare. *Ammian. ibid. p. 601. 602.*



“ four and twenty letters of the alphabet, neatly engraved, and set at  
 “ due distances from each other. Then a person, clad in linen vest-  
 “ ments, with linen socks upon his feet, and a suitable covering upon  
 “ his head, came in with laurel branches in his hands, and after some  
 “ mystic charms performed, he shook a ring, hanging at a curtain  
 “ about the edge of the charger : which jumping up and down, fell  
 “ upon such and such letters of the alphabet, where it seemed to stay :  
 “ the priest also then composing certain heroic verses in answer to the  
 “ interrogatories that had been proposed. The letters, which the ring  
 “ pointed out in this case, were four : ΘΕΟΔ. which being put toge-  
 “ ther composed these two syllables, THEOD. whereupon one that stood  
 “ by, presently cried out, that the oracle plainly intended Theodorus.  
 “ Nor did we make any farther inquiries, being all well satisfied, that  
 “ he was the person intended.”

Ammianus then adds, “ that when the whole affair had been  
 “ thus distinctly laid before the judges, the deponent *Hilarie* sub-  
 “ joined, that *Theodorus* himself had no concern in it, being total-  
 “ ly ignorant of this proceeding.”

I have taken (e) Cave’s translation of this deposition, making but  
 little alteration in it. The words of Ammianus are at the bottom of  
 the page, to be read by such as are so disposed. An exact literal  
 translation would be very difficult. But certainly this historie is very  
 curious, and well deserving to be attended to.

Zonaras (f) gives a different account of the method of divination  
 now made use of. He says, “ that the four and twenty letters of  
 “ the alphabet were written upon the ground, and at each one was  
 “ placed a grain of wheat or barley. Then, after some mystic  
 “ forms a cock was let out, which picked up such grains as lay  
 “ at those four letters.” But it is much more reasonable, to relye  
 upon Ammianus, who was contemporarie, and likely to be well in-  
 formed. His account also is agreeable to that in (g) Sozomen, and  
 (b) Zosimus, who have both mentioned the tripod.

All the ancient writers, who speak of this transaction, represent  
 the public executions made upon this occasion, as very severe and  
 cruel. Ammianus has mentioned several of the sufferers. “ *Eutropi-*

Z z 2

“ us

(e) See his Introduction, as before, p.  
 liv.

(g) Sozom. l. 6. cap. 35. p. 693. C.

(b) Zos. p. 743. in.

(f) Zon. Ann. T. 3. p. 28.

- A. D. 374. " *us* (i) Proconsul of Asia, was accused, as an accomplice, but at length was acquitted . . . The person next mentioned by Ammianus, is *Simonides*, whom he calls a Philosopher. He says, he was a young man of strict virtue. When he was accused, he acknowledged, that he had been acquainted with the consultation, but did not think himself obliged to betray a secret, with which he had been entrusted. However, he was condemned to be burnt alive. Whose fortitude in undergoing that death is here extolled and celebrated by Ammianus, in a high degree. And he is compared to *Peregrinus*, a well-known philosopher, who had burnt himself at the Olympic games in the sight of all Greece. After him many others were put to death in a cruel manner, and in different ways. And heaps of books were brought forth, and consumed in the fire, which had been sought for, and collected from many houses, as illicit: though many of them were works relating to the liberal sciences, and others were law-books. But they were brought out, and burnt in public view, in the presence of the Judges, to mollify the resentment of people at so numerous executions. And not long after the philosopher *Maximus*, who was so celebrated for his learning, by whom the Emperour Julian had been instructed, and from whom he had received much improvement, was accused of having been acquainted with the above-mentioned oracle. Which he did not  
" deny,

(i) Quibus post hæc cognita sequestratis, Eutropius Asiam proconsulari tunc obtinens potestate, ut factionis censeius arcessitus in crimen, abscessit innocuus . . . His accessit philosophus Simonides, adulescens ille quidem, verum nostra memoria severissimus. Qui cum audisset negotium per Fidulium deferretur, et causam non ex veritate, sed ex unius nutu pensari vidisset, didicisse se dixit praedicta, et commissa pro firmitate animi tacuisse . . . Ducti universi flebiliter jugulantur, praeter Simonidem: quem solum sacvus ille sementiae lator effertus ob constantiam gravem iussit flammis exuri. Qui vitam ut dominam fugitans ravidam, ridens salitas momentorum ruinas,

immobilis conflagravit. Peregrinum illum imitatus, Protea cognomine, philosophum clarum: qui cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiae quinquennali certamine sub Græciae conspectu totius, adfuso rogo, quem ipse construxit, flammis abiunctus est. Et post hunc diebus secutis omnium fere ordinum multitudo, quam nominatim recensere est arduum. . . . Deinde congesti innumeri codices, acervi voluminum multi conspectu judicium concremati sunt, ex domibus eruti variis, uti illiciti, ad leniendam caesorum invidiam: cum essent plerique liberalium disciplinarum indices variarum, et juris. Neque ita multo post Maximus ille philosophus, vir ingenti nomine doctissimus, cuius

“ deny, but said, he did not think himself obliged to divulge it. A. D.  
 “ However, he had told the persons concerned, that they would 374  
 “ all suffer exquisite punishments. He was sent to Ephesus, his na-  
 “ tive place, and was there beheaded. And now found by his  
 “ own experience, what it is to fall into the hands of an unjust  
 “ judge. *Diogenes* was falsely accused, who some while before had  
 “ been Governour of Bithynia. He was a man of a noble familie,  
 “ ingenious, skilfull in the law, a good pleader, and of a mild tem-  
 “ per. He was condemned to die for the sake of his great estate.  
 “ Then *Alypius*, Vicar of Britain, who had now lived long in a  
 “ private station, and was a man of an amiable character, was ta-  
 “ ken up, and with his son *Hierocles*, a youth of an excellent dis-  
 “ position, was accused of poysoning. But it was upon the sole  
 “ testimonie of one *Diogenes*, a very mean person. However *Aly-*  
 “ *pheus*, after having been first deprived of his estate, was only ba-  
 “ nished. The son, when they were having him out to death, was  
 “ happily saved.” So writes Ammianus.

Zosimus likewise has briefly given an account of the consultation with the tripod, which pointed out *Theodorus* as successor to Valens.  
 “ The (*k*) cause, he says, was brought before Modestus, Prefect of  
 “ the Praetorium. Many were accused. The prisons were full.  
 “ And great numbers of people fled from their habitations. The Em-  
 “ perour was greatly provoked. He became suspicious of all who  
 “ professed philosophie, or were at all distinguished for literature, or  
 “ had

cujus ex uberrimis sermonibus ad sapien-  
 tiam copiosus Julianus exstitit Impera-  
 tor, oraculi supra dicti versus vidisse in-  
 mulatus: seque comperisse adensus, sed  
 reticenda professionis consideratione non  
 effudisse, verum ultro praedixisse, consul-  
 tores ipsos supplicii poenalibus perituros:  
 Ephesum ad genuinam patriam ductus,  
 ibique capite truncatus. sensit docente pe-  
 riculo postremo, quaesitoris iniquitatem  
 omnibus esse criminibus graviozem. Cen-  
 strictus etiam *Diogenes* laqueis impiac  
 falsitatis, vir nobili profapia editus, inge-  
 nio, facundia forenti, suavitateque prae-  
 stans, dudum Bithyniae rector, ut opi-  
 num patrimonium ejus diriperetur, capi-  
 tali est poena adfectus. Ecce autem Aly-

pius quoque ex Vicario Britanniarum,  
 placiditatis homo jucundae post otiosam  
 et repositam vitam (quoniam hucusque in-  
 justitia tetenderat manus) in squalore  
 maximo volutatus, ut venefici reu cita-  
 tus est, cum Hierocle filio, adulescente  
 indolis bonae, urgente *Diogene* quodam  
 et vili et solo, omnique lamena excrucia-  
 to, ut verba placentia Principi, vel potius  
 accessitori, loqueretur: quo cum poenis  
 non sufficerent vivo exulto, ipse quoque  
*Alypius* post multationem bonorum extu-  
 late praeceptus, filium miserabiliter duc-  
 tum ad mortem, casu quodam prospero  
 revocatum excepit. *Ammian.* l. 29 cap.  
 i. p. 604. 605.

(*k*) *Zos.* l. 4. p. 743 744



A. D. 374. “ had places at Court. At this time was put to death that great  
 “ philosopher *Maximus*, as also *Hilarie* of Phrygia, as having given  
 “ a clearer explication of an obscure oracle, *Simonides*, *Patritius* of  
 “ *Lydia*, *Andronicus* of *Caria*: who were all eminent for learn-  
 “ ing, and suffered rather through envie, than for any just ac-  
 “ cusation brought against them.”

Eunapins likewise complains of the great numbers of men, who  
 were then put to death, promiscuously, innocent and guilty. And  
 among them the great philosopher *Maximus*, who had been told  
 of the consultation, and did not divulge it. “ But (l) at the same  
 “ time that he was informed of it, he told them, that they had  
 “ thereby ruined him. He foretold also the death of the conspira-  
 “ tors, and many others, and also the death of the Emperour him-  
 “ self, and that it should be in an uncommon manner, and without  
 “ burial. All which came to pass. As for *Maximus*, he was sent  
 “ for, and brought to Antioch, where the Emperour was. But  
 “ not thinking fit to punish him there, they sent him to Ephesus,  
 “ where was *Festus*, the Governour of Asia, a man of a most cruel  
 “ disposition, who after executing many others, guilty and innocent,  
 “ put to death also the great *Maximus*.”

Of this also Libanius complains, saying, they (m) would not  
 wait for the death of *Maximus*, till distemper put an end to his  
 life.

Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, having given an account of  
 this convention and divination, says: “ And (n) the Emperour  
 “ neglecting the precepts of Christianity, for which he professed  
 “ great zeal, put many to death, whom he suspected of a design  
 “ to seize the Empire. And now were destroyed many, who went  
 “ by the name of *Theodorus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodosius*, *Theodulus*, and  
 “ others, whose names had a like beginning. Among them was  
 “ one *Theodosiolus*, a worthie man, of a good familie in Spain.  
 “ And at that time many changed their names, and rejected the  
 “ names given them by their parents, because of the imminent dan-  
 “ ger they were in.”

Tille-

(l) *Eunap. de Vita Maximi.* p. 88.

(m) ... δέισαντα μετὰ ταῦτα ἕσπερον, μὴ

φθάσει τὸν ἐκείνου σίδηρον ἢ νόσος ἀπενέγκουσα  
 τὸν Μάξιμον. *Liban. de Vita sua.* p. 52.

(n) *Socrat. l. 4. cap. 19.*



Tillemont giving an account of this transaction remarks upon Socrates after this manner. “ Socrates (o) says, that this was the occasion of the death of *Theodosiolus*, or Theodosius, a nobleman of Spain, and a man of virtue. It is hard to believe, that he did not intend the Count Theodosius, unjustly executed at Carthage in the year 375. It was indeed for other reasons. But the people, who are always making conjectures, and oftentimes wrong, may have believed, that it was for having aspired to empire, and because of his name. Which would be sufficient ground for adding afterwards all the rest.” Valesius himself (p) in his notes upon Socrates has the same thought: though he does not make it out so clearly, as Tillemont. Pagi (q) was of the same opinion, and has shewed it as clearly as Tillemont. And therefore he also may be consulted.

Sozomen, giving an account of the same consultation, and the great displeasure of the Emperour thereupon, says, “ that (r) throughout the whole empire almost all who were eminent for philosophic were destroyed, and not only they, but many other men of letters likewise: so that it was dangerous for any to wear a fringed garment. And such was the madnesse of the Emperour, that he seemed to think, he could kill his successor. And therefore not only they were put to death, who had consulted the oracle, but they also, about whom the consultation was made. Infomuch that, as is said, he spared not those whose names began with those four letters, ΘΕΟΔ of which there were many others, and men of great eminence in the empire.”

Sozomen therefore speaks not quite so positively as Socrates. And yet allows himself to harangue upon it. But the truth of this, I suppose, may be called in question. Tillemont observes, and as seems to me, both candidly and judiciously: “ that (s) since neither Ammianus, nor Zosimus accuse Valens of so unreasonable and  
“ odious

(o) Tillem. *Valens*. art. xv. p. 183. 184.

(p) Quisnam sit hic Theodosius, incertum est. Neque enim Theodosium illum existimo, Theodosii Imperatoris patrem, de quo Ammianus Marcellinus loquitur passim in libris suis . . . Verba tamen illa, quae addit Socrates, ὁντι γεννα-

ῖος ἐκ τῶν εὐπατρίδων Ἰσπανίας, optime illi conveniunt. *Vales.* in *Socratis* locum.

(q) *A. D.* 373. num v.

(r) Παταλυσίως δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν διεθάρσαν κ' οἱ ἀπὸ πάσαν τὴν ἀρχαίῃ λαμπρῶς φιλοσοφῶντες, κ. λ. *Sozom.* l. 6 cap. 3. p. 694. A.

(s) *L'Emp. Valens*. art. xv. p. 183.

A. D. “ odious a cruelty, there is at leſt reaſon to doubt, whether he was  
374. “ guilty of it.”

And again, afterwards: “ If (*t*) indeed he did put to death ſe-  
“ veral perſons, becauſe they bore the name *Theodorus*, or other  
“ names reſembling it, nothing is more unjuſt, nor leſs reaſonable.”  
I would add, that not only Ammianus, and Zoſimus, but Euna-  
pius alſo, and Libanius, are ſilent about this particular. And far-  
ther, among the many perſons, whom they or others mention, as  
put to death, or as accuſed, upon this occaſion, there is not one,  
whoſe name begins with theſe letters, excepting only *Theodorus* him-  
ſelf, the principal perſon †† concerned. There is no ground there-  
fore for the obſervation of Sozomen, and divers others of late times,  
who have ridiculed Valens, as if he aimed to kill his ſucceſſor.

*Remarks upon this Account.* II. I have already enlarged in this hiſtorie, and, as ſome may think, to prolixity. And yet it remains, that I make ſome farther remarks upon what appears to me a very curious relation: And I the rather think my-ſelf obliged to it, becauſe it is placed by me in *the State of Gentiliſm under Chriſtian Emperours*. And I have here an opportunity to ſhew the temper and principles of Gentil people at this time, and particularly the principles of their learned men, as well as others.

1. In the firſt place, then, it ſeems to me ſomewhat ſtrange, that neither Ammianus, nor Zoſimus, nor any other ancient writer, ſhould exactly mention the place, or the time of this conſultation, which made ſo much noiſe in the world. Valens, as is obſerved by ſeveral of thoſe writers, was at Antioch, when the diſcoverie was made: and there the criminals were tried before Modeſtus, and other magiſtrates. But none have ſaid, that the conſultation was at Antioch, or at ſome other place not far from it. Nor is the time exactly mentioned. Poſſibly, it was not long before the diſcoverie. And yet it ſeems to have been known to ſeveral, before the judicial proceedings were begun, or any inquiries made about it by the magiſtrates.

2. To me it ſeems, that the cruelty of the proceedings upon this occaſion has been much aggravated.

1.) There

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 386.

†† There is one exception only, which is *Theodoſiolus*, by miſtake mentioned by *Socrates*, as has been ſhewn.

1.) There is no ground, as has been already shewn, to charge Valens with having put to death many persons, whose names began with those two syllables, *Theod.* That therefore is an unjust aggravation without reason, made by Socrates, and Sozomen, and other ecclesiastical historians, who have followed them. Sozomen's expressions likewise must be reckoned hyperbolical, if not extravagant, when he says, "that (u) at that time almost all the Greek Philosophers were taken off." And again, "that (x) almost all throughout the whole Empire, who were eminent for philosophy, were destroyed." Whereas, I presume, these executions were confined to that part of the Empire, which was under Valens.

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374.

But when I speak of aggravations of the cruelty of these proceedings, I chiefly intend *Ammianus Marcellinus*, from whom we have the most particular account of this transaction. Ammianus is, generally, a fair and impartial historian. But here, as seems to me, he (y) has not acted up to that character. I shall therefore observe several things said by him, and refer my observations to the consideration of my readers.

2.) Ammianus enlargeth mightily in the commendation of Theodorus. "For (z) when the persons present at the consultation, considered with themselves, who should be the person intended by the letters *Theod.* they were, as he says, soon led to think, it must

(u) τῶν δὲ ἑλληνιστῶν μικρὰ πάντες κατ' ἐκείνο καιρὸν διεφθάρησαν. *Soz. l. 6. c. 35. p. 693. C.*

(x) *Ibid. p. 694. A et vide supra, not. (r).*

(y) Tillemont seems to have been sensible of this. I put down what he says in his own words, and in his own language. Ammien, qui ce semble estoit alors à Antioche, ou au moins en l'Orient, le décrit fort amplement, rendant les plus odieuses qu'il peut et les informations qu'on fit pour decouvrir les coupables, et la punition tant de Theodore que de ses Companions. *L'Emp Valens. art. xiv. p. 180.*

(z) Atque cunctantibus, quisnam ea tempestate omnibus vigore animi antistaret, visus est aliis excellere Theodorus, secundum inter Notarios adeptus jam gradum. Et revera erat ita ut opinati sunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Gallia natus, et liberaliter educatus a primis pueritiae rudimentis, modestiâ, prudentiâ, humanitate, gratiâ, literis ornatissimus, semper officio locoque quem retinebat, superior videbatur, altis humilibusque juxta acceptus. Solusque pene omnium erat, cujus linguam non infrenem, sed dispicientem quae loqueretur, nullius clauderebat periculis latus. *Amm. l. 29. cap. 1. p. 597.*



A. D. 374. " must be *Theodorus*, who was the second in the Secretaries office,  
 " a man of a distinguished excellence, as indeed he was, being of  
 " a good familie in Gaul, well educated from his childhood, modest, prudent, human, agreeable, learned, who always appeared  
 " superior to the post in which he was, acceptable to all men,  
 " high and low, carefull of his words, and never exceeding beyond  
 " truth and reason."

This high character of *Theodorus* was the first things that led me to suspect Ammianus of partiality, and awakened my attention to other things in this narrative.

For Ammianus himself has acknowledged, that (*a*) this *Theodorus* had formed designs upon the Empire. It appeared from letters writ by him to *Hilarie* above-mentioned. Ammianus also acknowledgeth, that (*b*) designs had been at several times entered into against the Emperour's life, and that it had been more than once in imminent danger from conspiracies.

Moreover Zosimus says, " that (*c*) *Theodorus* was indeed of a  
 " good familie, and well educated, but he was yet young, and  
 " being in the heat of youth was easily misled by flatterers. He  
 " adds, that he suffered the just punishment of his rashness." However, it must be owned, that (*d*) *Sozomen* gives *Theodorus* the character of a worthy man, though a Gentil.

3.) Ammianus is the principal historian of this transaction. Let me then observe farther, that according to him, all who suffered now were men of excellent characters, or, if I may say so, more than excellent, even extraordinarie. Such are *Theodorus*, *Simonides*, *Maximus*,

(*a*) Deinde hæc eadem Eusebio sub  
 cruenta quaestione confessio; confutabant  
*Theodorum* literæ suæ, per ambages ob-  
 liquas ad *Hilarium* scriptæ: quibus spe-  
 jam firma concepta ex varibus, de re non  
 cunctabatur, sed tempus patrandæ cupidi-  
 nis quaeritabat. *Ib.* p. 603.

(*b*) Et quia fallere non minus videtur  
 qui gesta præterit sciens, quam ille qui  
 numquam facta fingit: non abnuimus,  
 (neque enim ambigitur,) salutem Valentis  
 et antea sæpius per occultas coitiones, et  
 tunc in extrema demersam: ferrumque ad  
 jugulum ejus prope adactum a militaribus,

fato reflectente depulsum, quem lacrimo-  
 sis in Thracia discriminibus destinarat. *Id.*  
*l.* 29. cap. i. p. 598.

(*c*) Ἡ τοῦ Θεόδωρου τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἐπι-  
 γραφεύσιν ἐναριθμημένος. Τὸν ἐν μὲν γεγο-  
 τότα τε καὶ τραφεύτα, νέον δὲ ἔτι καὶ τῷ τῆς  
 ἡλικίας θερμῷ καὶ κολάκων θωπείᾳ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 χεῖροισι σαλευόμενον. . . . Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄξιον  
 εἶδεν τῆς ἐξ χειρὸς δίκην. *Zos.* l. 4. p.  
 742. 743.

(*d*) . . . ὄνδρα τῶν ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις ἐπι-  
 σήμως στρατευόμενον, ἑλληνιστὴν καὶ ἐλλόγιμον.  
*Soz.* p. 673. D.



imus, Diogenes, formerly Governour of Bithynia, Alypius, and his son Hierocles. The accusers, according to him, are mean people, and the judges are all severe and cruel. Are not these strong symptoms of partiality?

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Simonides, the only person condemned to be burnt alive, is greatly commended by Ammianus, as a philosopher; and a young man of singular virtue. [His accessit philosophus Simonides, adulescens ille quidem, verum nostra memoria severissimus.] And his fortitude is greatly extolled.

4.) Then he says, *numerous books, and heaps of volumes were burnt in the presence of the judges, as illicit, which had been brought together from many houses, the more to mollify the resentment of the people against so numerous executions: when, at the same time, as he says, a great part of them were law-books, and systems of liberal arts and sciences.* Which, as seems to me, are the expressions of a man determined to give an invidious turn to the transactions, of which he is writing. For, I pray, was any thing more natural, after such a consultation, as Ammianus has himself described, than to give orders for inquiries after books containing mystic arts and incantations? It is very likely, that there should be an order of court for producing such books; and with threatnings of punishment, in case of concealment. Such an order might occasion the producing a large number of volumes, capable of making several large heaps, to be consumed in the presence of the Judges. For, I presume, there were many such books in the possession of Heathen people. And there was no need to join with them volumes of liberal arts and sciences, to make a large heap, and a good show. Chrysostom (d) who was a young man at this time, has told a storie, representing the great danger, which all were in, who then concealed any books of this sort.

5.) I cannot but think likewise, that the cruelty of Festus, then Proconsul of Asia, by whose order Maximus was beheaded, is much aggravated upon this occasion. For Ammianus himself has acknowledged, that (e) when Governour of Syria, he gave proofs of

A a a 2

mild-

(d) Chryf. in Act. Ap. hom. 38. Tom. 9. p. 293. Bened.

(e) Festus quidam Tridentinus ultimi

sanguinis et ignoti, in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus ut sodalis et contogatus, decernentibus fati ad Orientem trans-

A. D. mildnesse and lenity: though he will have it, that afterwards he  
374. was altered, and acted very differently.

Before we proceed, I must take notice, that we have in the Latin tongue (*f*) a *Breviarie of the Historie of the Roman people by Sextus Rufus*, who is supposed by divers learned men (*g*) to be Rufus Festus, who was Proconsul of Asia in the year 374. The argument for that opinion is so well expressed in a note of Valesius upon (*b*) Ammianus, that I have placed a large part of it below. He had passed through divers offices, till he arrived at that high station of Proconsul of Asia: as is observed by the same (*i*) Valesius, in another note upon Ammianus.

This Breviarie, in manuscripts and editions, is inscribed to *Valentinian*. But it is now the general opinion of learned men, that it should be said *Valens*, and writ after his war with the Goths, near the end of the year 369. at the soonest.

I see not in this Breviarie any marks of a disposition to cruelty. And it seems to me, that all the bitter reflections upon Festus, as a cruel man, which are in Ammianus, and Zosimus, and other Heathen writers, are owing to the part, which he acted as a magistrate in the condemnation of *Maximus*, and others, who had exposed themselves to the just displeasure of the Emperour.

(6. I

transgressus est: ibique administrata Syria, Magisterioque Memoriae peractio, bona lenitudinis et reverentia reliquit exempla. Unde regere Asiam Proconsulari potestate exersus, velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam. *Ammian. l. 29. cap. ii. p. 613.*

(*f*) Sexti Rufi V. C. Dictatoris, Magistri militum, Rerum gestarum Pop. Rom. ad Valentinianum Augustum. *Tom. i. p. 637. &c. Sylburg*

(*g*) *Vide Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 2. cap. viii. et ix. Fabric. Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 610. 611. Tillm. Valens art. viii. et Cellarius. p. 556. ex edit. Havercamp.*

(*b*) Hic est. ut opinor, Rufus Festus, V. C. qui Breviarum scripsit ad Valentinianum Aug. non autem ad Valentinianum, ut habent vulgatae ediciones, et scripti codices. Annon enim haec libri ejus clau-

sula Valentinianum respicit? *Ut ad hanc in gentem de Gothis, etiam Babylonicam tibi palma facis accedat. Accedit, quod in duobus mss. antiquissimis. Festi Dictatoris Breviarium exaratum est, ut in notis ad Victoris Epitomen testatus est Andreas Schottas. Est autem dictator, qui ad memoriam dicitur, qui et Αὐτοκρατορς Graece dicitur, ut notatum est a Cl. Salmasio ad Vopiscum in Caro. Cum igitur Marcellinus Festum Magistrum fuisse memoriae prodatur, et reliqua egregie conveniunt, nihil vetat, quo minus hunc Festum eundem cum Historico esse credamus. Vales. ad Ammian. l. 29. cap. ii. not. (l) p. 812.*

(*i*) Sic in lib. 29. Festus quidam ex Advocato Consularis Syriae, ex Consulari magister memoriae, deinde Proconsul Asiae fuisse dicitur. *Idem ad Ammian. l. 20. cap. x. not. (r) p. 276.*

6.) I must observe farther, that neither Ammianus, nor any other historians of this transaction, have complained of the executions of the wives or children of any of those, who were now put to death. A. D. 374.

Chrysostom (*k*) speaks of the widow of one *Theodorus*, who for a while was favoured by his Prince, and then rebelled against him, and was beheaded. It is true, she was poor : but she was still living. That she was the widow of *Theodorus*, the principal in this conspiracie, is the opinion of (*l*) Valefius, and (*m*) Tillemont : and appears to me very probable. And the same *Theodorus* had a son, (*n*) named *Icarius*, who (*o*) was Count of the East in the time of the Emperour Theodosius. Who therefore was not involved in his father's danger : and I suppose he was still a Heathen.

The only person, whose son was accused, as mentioned by Ammianus, is *Alypius*. Nevertheless he was not involved in his father's guilt. They were both accused. *Alypius*, after confiscation of his estate, was banished. And his son, *Hierocles*, when led to execution, was happily saved, as Ammianus observes, without saying, how. The means of his escape is supposed to be related by Chrysostom, though he does not mention him by name. In an oration, or homilie, shewing the power of the united prayers of many, he alledgeth this example. "Ten (*p*) years agoe, says he, some were " apprehended, as endeavouring to set up a tyrannie, as you well " know. At that time a person in the magistracie was convicted as " an accomplice in the conspiracie. And when they were dragging " him away to be put to death, the whole city ran to the Hippo- " dromus, and gathering together a great number of artificers, and " others, they rescue a man, not at all deserving of pardon. Thus, " says Chrysostom, when you are desirous to appease the displeasure " of an earthly Prince, you can joyn together with your wives and " children, and what follows."

The

(*k*) Chr. ad viduam juniorem. T. i. p. 343. καὶ τὴν Θεοδορεῖ τῇ ἐν διακρίσει ἀποθνήσκουσῃ  
 (*l*) Annot. ad Ammian. l. 29. cap. i. p. 597. not (*g*). Liban. de Vita Jun. p. 69. A.  
 (*m*) L'Emp. Valens. art. 14. et note (*o*) See Tillemont. Valens. art. xiv. et Theodos. i. art. xvi.  
 (*p*) De Incompreh. Dei Nat. hom. 3. T. i. p. 470. Bened.  
 (*n*) Δεῖσα δὲ ἡμῖν ἀρχόντα ἀγαθὸν ἀντὶ



A. D. 374. The person here intended, is supposed to be *Hierocles*, son of *Alypius*. And it is observable, that *Chrysostom*, who cannot be supposed to have been partial to *Valens*, says, *he was not worthy of pardon*.

These observations I ought to submit to the judgement of candid and inquisitive readers. But to me it has appeared, that in the accounts of this transaction there are many aggravations of the severity of the proceedings upon this occasion. *Theodorus*, as *Ammianus* acknowledgeth, was convicted of a design to subvert the government of *Valens*. I presume that none of those who were concerned in the consultation of the oracle, were innocent. Yea, as seems to me, they were guilty of treason. For (*p*) such it must be to make inquiries by divination concerning the life and death of Princes. And, were not they who were acquainted with this consultation, obliged to discover it to the Magistrates? If they did not, might they not be reasonably considered as accomplices? *Zosimus* says, that (*q*) *Hilarie of Phrygia* suffered for having given an explication of an obscure oracle: that is, he had been consulted about this oracle, to know, whether, indeed, it intimated, that *Theodorus* was to succeed *Valens* in the Empire. And, as he did not make a discoverie of this, I suppose, the Judges were of opinion, he had forfeited his life. The capital sentence pronounced upon him therefore was legal. This likewise was the case of *Maximus*. They (*r*) who had been concerned in the consultation, being desirous of some farther elucidations upon the answer received, went to *Maximus*, persuaded of his ability to give them satisfaction. And, as *Maximus* did not disclose the consultation to the magistrates, he might, I suppose, be reckoned an accomplice, and be judged legally obnoxious to punishment.

*Zosimus*

(*p*) *Majestatis crimen contrahit, quisquis super Principis genesi vel fato scrutatur, ut de Lepida ait C. Tacitus Annal. 3 cap. 22. cui inter alia crimina hoc quoque objectum fuit, quod per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris quaesivisset. Rationem reddit Tertullianus Apologet cap. 35. Cur opus est perscrutari super Caesaris salute, nisi a quo aliquid adversum illam cogitatur, vel optatur, aut post illam speratur, et sustinetur. Unde Paulus J. C. Sent. lib. v. Tit. 21. Qui de salute Prin-*

*cipis, vel summa Reipublicae, mathematicos, barolos, haruspices, vaticinatores consulit, cum eo qui responderit, capite punitur. Lindenb. annot. ad Ammian. lib. 29 cap. 2. not. (s) p. 613.*

(*q*) . . . ὡς δὴ χρησμόν τινα λαβὼν, εἰς τὸ σαφεστέρον ἐρμηνεύσας. *Zos* l. 4. p. 744. in.

(*r*) χρησμοὶ τινὲς ἐκπεσόντος δυσσέβερου τὸν χρησμόν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάξιμον ἀνέστηκαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶγμα ἐχ' ὀρελογίσαντες ὡς δ' ἐν αὐτῷ χρίσταιτος, τὶ σαφεστέρον βεβλόμενοι μαθῆναι. *Eunap. Maxim. p. 87.*



Zosimus complains grievously, that the great philosopher *Maximus*, and several others eminent for learning, were put to death. And, truly, it is a sad case. But what shall we say? If learned men are guilty of treason, they expose themselves to public resentment, and may justly suffer. Nothing can save them, but mercie. Which I wish they had experienced, or at least some of them, particularly *Maximus*. As he had been spared so long, and had now survived his great master, ten years, or more, and was now of a great age: I cannot but wish, that his fault had been connived at, though the sentence pronounced upon him was just.

Some innocent men may have suffered upon this occasion. But many must have been guilty. Nor can it be thought very strange, that Heathen writers should shew some favour to their friends. Libanius (*s*) says, that *Theodorus* was unjustly put to death. And yet Ammianus has acknowledged his guilt. And Zosimus allows, that he suffered the just punishment of his rashness. As does also (*t*) the younger Victor.

And when Libanius says, that (*u*) Valens hoped to have had him also accused, as one of the conspirators, I take it to be a mere flourish. He was willing to make a merit of some danger with the rest of his friends, though really he was safe enough. So likewise was Ammianus, I believe, though zealous for the rites of Gentilism: and in like manner many others, who approved themselves by their conduct to be quiet and peaceable subjects, and had neither been concerned in this traitorous consultation, nor had been advised with about it, and still concealed it.

3. I have still one observation more, to be mentioned here, and suited to the point we are considering, *the State of Gentilism under Christian Emperours*, which is this: That such consultations by way of Divination, for discovering before-hand changes in the Empire, or the name of the person, who should succeed the reigning Prince, must have tended to alienate the minds of Christian Princes from

(*s*) See before, note (*n*) p. 365.

(*t*) Qua cognitione principii deceptus Theodorus, cum sibi imperium praeferret, scelestae cupidinis supplicia persolvit. *Idior. Epit. cap. 48.*

(*u*) Δίξατε ἡν παρὰ τῷ Βαλέντι, φθόνος τὴν δόξαν πεποιμένους, πάντως εἰς ἐλεγχον με πεσεῖν δι' ἐνός γε τίτων ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλῆα ἐν ἀγομένῳ. κ. λ. *De Vita sua, p. 56.*

- A. D. from Heathen people, and induce them to lessen their privileges as  
374. such, and lay restraints upon their worship.

Sozomen, begining his account of this transaction, which has occasioned all these observations, says: " At (z) that time almost  
" all the Greek Philosophers were destroyed. For some who were  
" eminent for philosophie, being uneasie at the great progresse of  
" Christianity, were desirous to know, who should succeed Valens  
" in the Empire. For this end they tried all sorts of divination,  
" and constructed a wooden tripod, which they consecrated with  
" solemn rites of invocation."

Sozomen's conjecture, concerning the occasion of this consultation, must be allowed to be very probable. Indeed, I do not believe, that the Heathen people, after the conversion of Constantin, were so good subjects as the primitive Christians, who had lived, and suffered so much under Heathen Emperours before that period. Ammianus, beside what he says of this particular transaction, acknowledgeith, that the life of Valens had been in danger several times. The conduct of Heathen people at this time may be reckoned the more unreasonable, because Valens has been supposed to be very favourable to them. " As (a) Theodoret says, Valens allowed all others to worship in their own way. He waged war  
" with none, but those who held the apostolical (meaning the homousian) doctrine. During the whole time of that reign, the  
" fire burned upon the altars. The Gentils offered incense and  
" sacrifices to their idols, and held their feasts publicly in the  
" market-places. They who were initiated in the rites of Bacchus  
" ran about covered in goatskins, tearing dogs to pieces with the  
" wild furie, usual in the solemnities of Bacchus."

Undoubtedly, at that season, the Gentils enjoyed a good deal of liberty, as was shewed by us (b) not long ago: though they were laid under some restraints.

Our

(z) . . . Τινες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν φιλο-  
σοφίᾳ προσέρεν ἐνημιζοντο, πρὸς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν  
τῆς χριστιανικῆς δυσφορῆντες, ἐβελύσαντο προ-  
μαθεὶν τὸν ἐρξῆς Ὀυαλέντι Ρωμαίων ἡγιστό-  
μενον, μαντείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς περὶ ταῦτα  
ἐχρήσαντο. κ. λ. Soz. l. 6. c. 35. p. 693.

(a) Ὁ δὲ Ὀυάλης πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
ἐπέτρεψε θρησκεύειν ἢ βόλουντο, καὶ τὰ θρησκεί-  
μενα θεραπεύειν. κ. λ. Theod. l. 8. c. 21. p.  
226.

(b) See p. 344. 345.

Our writers of Universal Historie, speaking of Valens, say, “ All (c) the ecclesiastical writers agree, that he allowed to the many sects which then prevailed, nay even to the Jews and Pagans, the free exercise of their religion : but persecuted the Catholicks with the utmost cruelty.”

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III. I have done with this consultation. But before I proceed to any other article, I think it not improper to insert here the historie of the philosopher *Maximus*. I have said little of him in my chapter of *Julian*. But he may not be omitted. A man, who was so favoured by Julian, and so highly esteemed afterwards by Heathen people, must have a place in this work.

We have lately seen, with what tokens of high respect he is mentioned by Ammianus, whom we have placed at the year 380. though his work was not finished till some while afterwards. Eupapius, when he gives the account of their going to Maximus for an explication of the oracular answer, which they had received, speaks (d) of him, as an oracle, and more than an oracle, and better acquainted with the mind of the Gods, than the oracle itself. And proceeding to relate his death, he says, “ they (e) sent for him “ to come to Antioch, where the Emperour was : but he so clearly shewed the falshood of the things laid to his charge, and how “ every thing foretold by him had come to pass, that they were ashamed to put him to death there : and thinking it no less a “ crime, than to kill the deity, who dwelt in him. They therefore sent him to Festus, the cruel Governour of Asia, who readily obeyed their orders, putting to death guilty and innocent, “ and among them the great Maximus.” Such is the way, in which these writers speak of *Maximus*.

*Maximus* now suffered death in the year 374. He had met with a great difficulty not long after the death of Julian. The reign of Jovian was short. He therefore had no leisure to prosecute the friends,

(c) *Fol* xvi. p. 350.

(d) *Eunap. Max.* p. 87. 88.

(e) . . . . διουθεντες; δὲ αὐτῷ φῶνον, ὥς πάντα ἐπὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἠλέχθη, καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐγγύχησάντων, καὶ ὅτι προέπεν ἀκρι-

βῶς ἅπαντα, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Μιξίμω σώματι, θεῶν τινα κολαζόντες . . . πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ προκατακόψα; οἷτις καὶ ἀναίτιαι, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Μιξίμον αὐτοῖς ἐπέσχεζε. *Eunap. Max.* p. 88. 89.



A. D. friends, or ministers of Julian. But upon the accession of Valentinian, and then of his brother Valens, the two philosophers, 374. *Priscus* and *Maximus*, were sent for to come to Constantinople. Against (*f*) *Priscus* no accusations were received. After examination he was allowed to be a good and innocent man, and as such was honourably dismissed, to go and live in Greece.

“ But against *Maximus*, as (*g*) *Zosimus* says, Valentinian was “ much provoked, he having represented him to Julian, not only as “ zealous for Christianity, but likewise injurious to the rites of Gen- “ tilism.” *Eunapius* says, “ that (*b*) *Maximus* was then impri- “ soned, and grievously racked, with a view of extorting from him “ a large sum of money, which he was supposed to have hoarded “ up. But at length he was dismissed with a fine only, which he “ should pay hereafter. The torture inflicted on him was so griev- “ ous, that, as *Eunapius* says, *Maximus* sent his wife to procure “ some poyson, that he might put an end to his life. But when “ it was brought, he declined taking it. However his wife took a “ part of it, and died, and was buried by her friends.” After that, as I suppose, *Maximus* lived quietly, till the time of the consul- tation above-mentioned.

That *Maximus* was in great favour with Julian, all know. The account, which, *Eunapius* gives of his going to Court, upon the accession of that Emperour, is to this purpose. “ Soon (*i*) after “ his arrival at Constantinople, and after the death of Constantius, “ Julian sent a messenger with letters to *Maximus*, and *Chrysanthi- “ us*, inviting them to come to him. They thought proper to ask “ counsel of the Gods. But the tokens, which they received, were “ discouraging. Whereupon *Chrysanthius* plainly told *Maximus*: “ *there can be thoughts of going to seek preferment. We must stay, “ where we are. Perhaps, it may be needfull for us to hide ourselves.* “ On the contrarie, *Maximus* urged, We (*k*) are not to content “ ourselves with a single refusal. We ought rather to force the “ gods,

(*f*) ΑΛΛ' ὁ μὲν Πρίσκος ἐδὲν ὑποσῶς κα-  
κεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσμαρτυρηθεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, καὶ  
ῥεχρυσθῆναι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐγένεον. ἐπαυλῆθεν  
εἰς τὴν ἐλπίδα. *Eunap. Max.* p. 82

(*g*) *Zof.* l. 4. p. 735 in See above, in  
the chapter of *Zosimus*, p. 357.

(*b*) *Vita Max.* p. 83. 84.

(*i*) *Eunap. Max.* p. 77. . . 79.

(*k*) . . . μὴ πάντως εἰκὲν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀ-  
παυτῆσασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκβιάζεσθαι τὴν τῶ θεῶν σύ-  
σιν, ἧς οὐκ ἐπιλείνομεν πρὸς τὸν θεράπηντα.  
*Ibid.* p. 78.



“ gods, till they give us a favourable answer, suited to our wishes.  
 “ *Chrysanthius* replied, that he dared not to disobey the first admo-  
 “ nitions, which had been received, and went away. *Maximus*  
 “ (*l*) renewed his inquiries, till he obtained such an answer as he  
 “ wanted.”

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“ And then he set out for Constantinople. And all the people  
 “ of Asia, magistrates, and men of every rank, accompanied him  
 “ with their good wishes and acclamations. The women were as  
 “ assiduous in their respects to his wife, entreating to be remem-  
 “ bered by her: with all which she seemed much pleased, and  
 “ highly exalted. Thus *Maximus* went to Court with the good  
 “ wishes of all Asia.”

“ *Maximus*, (*m*) as Eunapius owns, had not been long at Court,  
 “ before he appeared much elevated in mind by his exaltation. His  
 “ dresse was more costly and splendid, than became a philosopher!  
 “ He became difficult of access, and did many things of himself,  
 “ without the knowledge of the Emperour.”

Upon this account my readers may now make such remarks as  
 they see good: only remembring, that it is not the account of a  
 Christian, but of Eunapius, a zealous Greek, and great admirer of  
*Maximus*. To me it appears highly probable, that a man, who  
 went to Court with such a temper as *Maximus* did, must have been  
 guilty of many things, whilst he was there, which were offensive  
 and disagreeable. And, if *Maximus* had been taken off by Jovi-  
 an, or Valentinian, soon after the death of Julian, I believe, it  
 would not have been reckoned a very extraordinarie proceeding,  
 but agreeable to the political maxims, which have often prevailed  
 in the Courts of Princes. But *Maximus* was then spared. And  
 there appears to have been a judgement of equity and mildness.  
 For soon after the accession of Valentinian, *Priscus* and *Maximus*  
 were sent for, as we have seen. And after examination it was al-  
 lowed, that *Priscus*, though he also had been a favourite of Julian,  
 had done nothing amiss, and was honourably dismissed. Which

B b b 2

shewed

(*l*) Ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἐπέμενεν ὅπαντα  
 πρῶττον, ἵνα ἔτιχεν ἂν ἐβόλετο, καὶ κατε-  
 πέυμεν ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος ἀνέντιμος ἐπόμενε  
 ἀνδριάντος. . . p. 73.

περὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, πολλὴν τε ὀβριότητα ἢ κατὰ  
 φιλόσοφον περιχέμενος. καὶ πρὸς ἐντεῦθεν ἂν  
 χαλεπώτερος καὶ δυσχερέστερος ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς  
 ἢ νόμιμα πράττοντα. *Ibid.* p. 79.

(*m*) Ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος βαρὺς ἦν ἡδὴ

A. D. 374. shewed a disposition in the reigning Prince to judge equitably. And, if *Maximus* had been as innocent, he might, and would have been dismissed, and set at liberty in like manner.

And though his conduct, when at Court in the time of Julian, had not been unexceptionable, nor now afterwards, in the time of the above-mentioned consultation, but justly liable to censure and punishment, I cannot but wish, he had been spared. I think, he might have been despised, and slighted. Which would have been more honourable to a Christian Prince, than an act of strict justice.

I beg leave to conclude with this observation: That though *Maximus* was greatly respected, and much admired by the Emperor Julian, and many learned Heathens, as a great Philosopher, and was also reputed to have commerce with the Gods, I do not think, he was a wise man.

SECT. III. The Petition of the Roman Senate to Valentinian the Younger, in 384. that the Altar of Victorie, which had been removed by Gratian, might be restored.

I. *The Historie of this Altar in ancient Times, and of the several removals of it by Christian Emperours.* II. *A Translation of the Petition presented by Symmachus, in the Name of the Senate.* III. *The Answers, made by Ambrose of Milan, and Prudentius.* IV. *Two Questions relating to this Matter considered.* V. *The Historie and Character of Symmachus.*

A. D. 384. I. **T**HERE was at Rome, in the Senate-house, or at the entrance into it, an (*a*) Altar of Victorie. It was portable, and wherever the Senate assembled, there it was (*b*) placed. We meet

*The Historie of this Altar.*

(*a*) Cave says, it was placed upon a triumphal chariot, and stood in the entrance or portico of the Capitol. *Introd.* p. xxii.

(*b*) Ex Suetonio colligimus. . . Victoriæ simulachrum in Senatu positam fuisse. Quod transierebatur in quaecumque ad-

meet with some accounts of this altar in ancient times. By Suetonius we are informed, that (c) the Senate, the more to adorn the funeral of Augustus, ordered, that the image of Victorie, which stood in the Senate-house, should be carried in procession before the body. It is mentioned also by Lampridius (d) in his Life of Alexander Severus, and by Herodian (e) in his historie of Antoninus Heliogabalus.

The Emperour Constantius (f) when he was at Rome in 356. or 357. ordered this Altar of Victorie to be removed. But that order was not long in force. The Altar was restored by Julian in 361. or 362. Here it continued a good while. For we know not of any order about it in the reign of Valentinian the first, who died in 375. He did not think of it, or from a principle of moderation he tolerated it, and was unwilling to disoblige his Gentil subjects.

In the year 382. Gratian ordered the Altar of Victorie to be removed, and seized the lands allotted to maintain the priests and the sacrifices. This (g) law of Gratian is referred to by Honorius, and confirmed by him. Gratian likewise abrogated the privileges of the Vestal Virgins, which were very considerable. Hereupon the Senate sent a deputation to the Emperour. But were not admitted into his presence: complaints of which we shall see presently. But in the year 384. not long after the death of Gratian, the Senate sent another deputation, with Symmachus, Prefect of the City, at their head, to Valentinian the second, or the younger, who was  
not

dem pro ratione loci, in quo habitus Senatus: Chamillard ad Prudent. l. i. p. 533.

(c) Senatus et in funere ornando, et in memoria honoranda, eo studio certum progressus est, ut inter alia complura censerint quidem funus triumphali porta ducendum, praecedente Victoria, quae est in curia. Sueton. lib. 2. c. 101.

(d) Mater ejus prae die quam pareret, somniavit, se purpureum dracunculum parere. Pater eadem nocte in somniis vidit, alis se Victoriae, quae in Senatu, ad coelum vehi. Lamprid. Alex. Sever. c. 14 p. 879.

(e) Herod. lib. v. p. 567.

(f) Constantius augustae memoriae, nondum sacris initiatus mysteriis, contemnari se putavit, si aram illam videret. Jussit auferri, non jussit reponi. Ambros. Ep. 18 num. 32 p. 841. Seu de non restituenda ara Victoriae libellus 2. ap. Symmachum. p. 319.

(g) Omnia etiam loca, quae sacris error veterum deputavit, secundum Divi Gratiani constituta, nostrae rei jubemus sociari. &c. [Dat. ann. 415.] Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. x. l. 20. T. 6 p. 290.

A. D. 384. not then more than fourteen years of age. The addresse or petition, presented at that time, will be recited by us by and by at length. It is addressed (*b*) to *Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius*, according to the Roman custom: but it was intended for *Valentinian*, and is addressed to him in particular, as we shall see presently.

As soon as *Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*, heard of this deputation, he wrote a letter to the Emperour, containing such advice, as appeared proper at that time, and suited to fortify his resolutions. Afterwards he procured a copie of the Petition, and answered it more fully. This we know from the introduction (*i*) to the second book, or argument of *Ambrose*, of which we shall take particular notice hereafter. It is also mentioned by *Paulinus* (*k*) in his Life of that Bishop.

In the year 388. (*l*) as is supposed, there was another attempt made by the Gentils for restoring the Altar of *Victorie*, or at least the revenues, which *Gratian* had taken away. A part of the Senate, as (*m*) *Ambrose* says, by their deputies made this demand of *Theodosius*, then at *Milan*. *Symmachus*, now also lent them a helping hand, and (*n*) in a Panegyrick on *Theodosius* dextrously insinuated

(*b*) *D. D. D. Valentiniano, Theod. Arcod. semper Aug. &c. ap. Symm. l. x. ep. 54.*

(*i*) Cum vir clarissimus, Praefectus Urbis *Symmachus*, ad clementiam tuam retulisset, ut ara, quae de urbis Romae curia sublata fuerat, redderetur loco . . eodem quo comperi puncto, libellum obtuli . . quo licet comprehenderim, quae suggestioni necessaria viderentur, poposci tamen exemplum mihi Relationis dari. *Ambr. Ep. 18. p. 833.*

(*k*) Sed egresso *Theodosio* de Italia, et *Constantinopoli* constituto, *Valentiniano* intra Gallias posito, directa legatio est sub nomine Senatus a *Symmacho* tunc Praefecto Urbis, de repetenda Ara *Victoriae*, et sumptibus caeremoniarum. Sed ubi comperit Sacerdos, missio libello ad Imperatorem postulavit, ut ad se Relationis exemplaria dirigerentur, quibus ipse pro partibus suis responsurus esset. Quam Relatione accepta, praeclarissimum libellum

conscriptit, ut contra nihil unquam audiret *Symmachus* vir eloquentissimus respondere. *Vit. Ambr. num. 26 p. vii.*

(*l*) Vide *Baron. ann. 388. n. 93. Tillem. L'Emp. Theod. art. 46. Ancient Univ. Hist. Vol. xvi. p. 424.*

(*m*) Postea etiam clementissimo imperatori *Theodosio* coram intimavi, atque in os dicere non dubitavi, cui intimata Senatus legatione hujusmodi, licet non totus Senatus poposcerit, insinuationi meae tantam adfentionem detulit. . . &c. *Ambr. ad Eugen. ep. 57 p. 1011. in.*

(*n*) Cui [*Theodosio*] *Symmachus* ille, mirabili eloquio et scientia praeditus, tamen *Paganus*, praefatio laudum in consistorio recitato, subtili arte quam valuit, *Aram Victoriae* in Senatu restitui, *Christiano*, ut noverat, Principi, intimavit. Quem statim a suis aspectibus pulsum, in confesso lapide, rhedae non stratae impositum ea die manere praecepit. *Proseper. de Promiss. l. 3. cap. 38.*



ated a request to that purpose. But the Emperour, as is said, was so provoked, that he presently ordered him to come down, and to be that instant put into a chariot, in order to be conveyed into banishment, forbidding him under severe penalties to come any more within a hundred miles of Rome. But it was not long, before he was pardoned.

Afterwards, when Theodosius was gone back to Constantinople, the Senate sent another request in favour of this Altar to Valentinian, then in Gaul, but without effect. We are assured of this from (o) Ambrose. This must have been in the year 392. and the beginning of it, and not long before the death of Valentinian.

And in the same year, 392. after the death of Valentinian, (p) Eugenius restored the Altar of Victorie. This also is particularly mentioned by Paulinus in the words next following the quotation before made from (q) him. Moreover we have a letter of Ambrose to Eugenius, where he gives him the title of Emperour, and Augustus, and reproves him for issuing such an order, contrarie to his profession as a Christian: though (r) as it seems, that order was not granted, till after divers reiterated requests. And indeed Rufinus, who also was contemporarie, informs us, that (s) the expectations of Gentil people were greatly raised at that time: and victims were then multiplied at Rome, and all kinds of divination were practised. And Flavianus, then Prefect of Rome, and reckoned very skilfull in

(o) Iterum Valentiniano augustae memoriae principi legatio a senatu missa intra Gallias, nihil extorqueri potuit: et certe aberam, nec aliquid tunc ad ipsum scripseram. *Ambr. ibid p. 104.*

(p) Vide Baron. ann. 392. ii. iii. *Pagi ann. 392. ii.*

(q) Sed postquam augustae memoriae Valentinianus in Viennensi civitate . . . vitam finivit; Eugenius suscepit imperium, qui ubi imperare coepit, non multo post, petentibus Flaviano tunc praefecto, et Arbogaste comite, Aram Victoriae, et sumus caeremoniarum, quod Valentinianus augustae memoriae, adhuc in junioribus annis constitutus, petentibus denerat, oblitus fidei suae concessit. *De Vita Ambros. ubi supra.*

(r) Te imperante, petierunt legati, ut templis redderes, non fecisti. Iterum alteri postulaverunt, renitus es: et postea ipsis, qui petierunt, donandum putasti. *Ad Eugen. Ep. 57. n. 6 p. 1011.*

(s) et Pagani, qui errores suos novis semper erroribus animant, innovare sacrificia, et Romam funestis victimis cruentare, inspicere exa pecudum, et ex librarum praesentia securam Eugenio victoriam minare: superstitiosius nec agente, et cum omni animositate Flaviano tunc praefecto, cujus assertionibus magna enim erat ejus in sapientia praerogativa, Eugenium victorem fore pro certo praesumerant. &c. *Rufin. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23.*

A. D. in those rites, encouraged Eugenius with strong assurances of suc-  
 384. cesses and victories.

The Altar of Victory, undoubtedly, was not restored by Valentinian. Ambrose's intercessions must have prevailed against it, if the Emperour had been disposed to it: which I do not think he was. Nor can it be thought, that Theodosius allowed it to remain there, after it had been set up by Eugenius. Nevertheless Pyrrho, from some lines of Claudian (t) upon the sixth Consulship of Honorius, in the year 404 describing the rejoicings after the victory obtained over Alarich at Pollentia, is much inclined to think, that (u) the Altar of Victory was not removed, as Ambrose desired, or else was restored afterwards. But I do not think, those lines can be reckoned a good proof of this. For by *Victorie* may be there meant, the goddess Victory, who was worshiped in many temples, not the image of Victory standing in the Senate House.

*The Petition presented by Symmachus in the Name of the Senate.* II. Having now, as I presume, said what may be sufficient in the way of preface, I proceed to allege the Petition itself, which was presented to Valentinian, in the year 384. in the name of the Senate, by Symmachus. Which I shall translate entire from the beginning to the end: placing also the original at the bottom of the page. All may be sensible, that such performances are attended with some difficulty. But Cave (x) has already published an English translation, from which I have had some assistance.

“ To

(t) . . . Agnoscunt proceres, habituque Gabino  
 Principis, et ducibus circumstipata togatis  
 Jure paludatae jam curia militat aulae.  
 Adfuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis  
 Romanae tutela togae: quae divite pompâ  
 Patrii reverenda fovet sacra coetus,  
 Castrorumque eadem comes indefessa tuorum,  
 Nunc tandem fruimur votis, atque omne futurum  
 Te Romae seseque tibi promittit in aevum.

*Claudian. Carm. 28. ver. 594. . . 601.*

(u) Hinc patet, Victoriae simulachrum, aut non sublatum, ut suadebat Ambrosius, aut statim repositum. *Pyrrho ad ver. 597.*

(x) See the *Life of St. Ambrose* p. 377. &c. among the *Lives of the most eminent Fathers of the Church, who flourished in the fourth Century.*

“ To (y) our Lords the Emperours, Valentinian, Theodosius, and A. D.  
 “ Arcadius, Symmachus Prefect of the City.” 384.

“ As (z) soon as the most illustrious, and Your ever loyal Senate had taken cognizance, that the vices of the times were subdued by the laws, and that the infamie of late ages had been expiated by the piety of our present Princes, they, following so good an example, have laid hold of this occasion to express their long suppressed grief, and again to employ me as the messenger of their complaints. For though they were by bad men denied the privilege of an audience, they are persuaded, that the present Emperours will do them justice.

“ I therefore in a double capacity, as Your Prefect, entrusted with the public concerns, and as deputy of the citizens of Rome, recommend their request. In this we are all agreed, forasmuch as men are at length grown so wise, as not to espouse the factions of courtiers, when they are divided only about their own private interests. For to be loved, to be honoured, to be respected, is more desirable, than any grandeur. And who can bear to think, that private quarrels should obstruct the interests of the Commonwealth? The Senate justly disdains those men, who prefer the gratification of their own ambition to the honour of their Prince.

“ Indeed

(y) D. D. D. Valentiniano, Theod. et Arcad. semper Augg. Symmachus Praef. Urbis. *Ap. Symm. l. x. ep. 54. p. 287. Ec. et ap. Ambros. Tom. 2. p. 828. Ec. edit. Bened.*

(z) Ubi primum Senatus amplissimus, semperque vester, subacta legibus vitia cognovit, et a Principibus piis vidit purgari famam proximorum temporum: boni seculi auctoritatem secutus, evomuit diu pressum dolorem, atque iterum me querelarum suarum iussit esse legatum. Cui cideo Divi Principis denegata est ab improbis audientia, quia non erat iustitia de-

futura, domini imperatores, Valentiniane, Theodosi, et Arcadi inclyti. victores ac triumphatores, semper augusti.

2. Gemino igitur functus officio, et ut Praefectus vester gesta publica prosequor, et ut legatus civium mandata commendo. Nulla est hic dissensio voluntatum: quia jam credere homines desierunt aulicorum se studio praestare, si discrepent. Amari, coli, diligi, majus imperio est. Quis ferat, obfuisse Reipublicae privata certamina? Merito illos Senatus insequitur, qui potentiam suam famae principis praetulerunt.

3. Noster

A. D. 384 “ Indeed our great concern is to behave as the guardians of Your  
 “ safety and credit. For when we keep and defend the institutions  
 “ of our ancestors, the laws and appointments, and as it were the  
 “ fate of our countrey; what do we but advance the glorie of the  
 “ times? Which is never greater than when You think nothing  
 “ lawfull to be done, which is contrarie to the customs of our  
 “ fore-fathers. We therefore request, that state of religion may  
 “ be restored, which for long time has been profitable to the Re-  
 “ publick. Certainly, if we reckon up the Princes of each per-  
 “ suasion, one of Your near ancestors favored the rites of our fa-  
 “ thers, [*meaning Julian*] another, still nearer in time, [*Valentini-*  
 “ *an the first*] did not remove them. If therefore the piety of the  
 “ more ancient does not make out a sufficient example, let the  
 “ connivance of the latest be attended to. [*Meaning, probably, Va-*  
 “ *lentinian the first, and Valens.*]

“ Who is there so much a friend to the Barbarians, as not to  
 “ desire, that the altar of Victorie may be restored. We are care-  
 “ full for posterity, and would dread all prognosticks of calamities.  
 “ If the Deity is not duly revered, yet let the appearance of re-  
 “ ligion be preserved. Your Majesties are already very much, and  
 “ will be more indebted to Victorie. Let them slight this power,  
 “ who have had no benefit by it. Do not You despise a patronage,  
 “ which may produce triumphs. This power is desirable to all.  
 “ Let not any man deny, that to be fit to be worshiped, whose fa-  
 “ vour he professeth to wish for. And if the Deity is not duly re-  
 “ spected, let the ornaments of the Senate-house be left un-  
 “ touched.

“ We

3. Noster autem labor pro clementia  
 vestra ducit exorbias. Cui enim magis  
 commodat, quod instituta majorum, quod  
 patriae jura et fata defendimus, quam tem-  
 porum gloriae? quae tum est major, cum  
 vobis contra morem parentum intelligitis  
 nil licere. Repetimus igitur religionum  
 statum, qui Reipublicae diu profuit. Cer-  
 te numerentur principes utriusque sectae,  
 utriusque sententiae. Proximus eorum  
 caeremonias patrum coluit, recentior non  
 removit. Si exemplum non facit reli-  
 gio veterum, faciat dissimulatio prox-  
 imorum.

4. Quis ita familiaris est Barbaris, ut  
 aram Victoriae non requirat? Cauti in  
 posterum sumus, et tristium rerum osten-  
 ta vitamus. Reddatur tantum nomini ho-  
 nor, qui numini denegatus est. Multa  
 Victoriae debet aeternitas vestra, et adau-  
 cplura debebit. Aversentur hanc potesta-  
 tem, quibus nihil profuit. Vos amicum  
 triumphis patrocinium nolite deferere.  
 Cunctis potentia ista votiva est. Nemo  
 colendum neget, quam proficetur optan-  
 dam.

5. Quod



“ We beg of You, that we may be permitted now we are old, A. D.  
“ to leave to posterity those things, in which we were educated, 384.  
“ when young. The affection for custom is very great. The pro-  
“ ceeding of the blessed Constantius was deservedly of short dura-  
“ tion. And all such proceedings are to be avoided, which You  
“ know to have been soon disliked. We aim to perpetuate Your  
“ renown and credit, and desire that nothing may be done, which  
“ posterity shall judge needfull to be reformed.

“ And, (*if this altar be removed,*) where shall we swear to ob-  
“ serve Your laws and ordinances? What will then remain, to awe  
“ the profligate, and terrify them from perjurie? It is true, God is  
“ every where. Nor is there any place, where the perfidious can  
“ be safe. Nevertheless the outward solemnity of religion is of  
“ great use to restrain men from evil. That altar is the band of  
“ unity to all, and the pledge of fidelity to every individual. Nor  
“ is there any thing, which so effectually secures authority to our  
“ determinations, as that all the proceedings are managed by Se-  
“ nators sworn at this altar. Shall this seat be open to be profaned  
“ by perjuries? And shall that be approved by our excellent Prin-  
“ ces, whose persons and government are secured by the public  
“ oath of their people?

“ But it will be said: It is nothing more than was done by the  
“ blessed Constantius. Let us rather imitate the other actions of  
“ that Prince, who never would have attempted such a thing, if  
“ any one before him had so mistaken in the measures of govern-  
C c c 2 “ ment.

5. Quod si numinis [al. hujus ominis] non esset justa curatio: saltem ornamentis Curiae debuit abstineri. Praestate, oro vos, ut ea quae pueri suscepimus, senes posteris relinquamus. Consuetudinis amor magnus est. Merito Divi Constantii factum diu non stetit. Omnia vobis exempla vitanda sunt, quae mox remota didicistis. Aeternitatem curamus famae et nominis vestri, ne quid futura aetas inveniat corrigendum.

6. Ubi in leges vestras et verba jurabimus? Qua religione mens falsa terrebitur, ne in testimoniis mentiat? Omnia

quidem Deo plana sunt, nec ullus perfidis tutus est locus. Sed plurimum valet ad metum delinquendi, etiam praesentia religionis urgeri. Illa ara concordiam tenet omnium, illa ara fidem convenit singulorum. Neque aliud magis auctoritatem facit sententiis nostris, quam quod omnia quasi juratus noster ordo decernit. Patebit ergo sedes profana perjuriis, et hoc incliti Principes probabile judicabunt, qui sacramento publico tuti sunt?

7. Sed divus Constantius idem fecisse dicitur. Cetera potius illius Principis aemulemur: qui nihil tale esset aggressus, si

A. D. 384. " ment. For miscarriages of former Princes are lessons of instruction to their successors: and any one easily amends, when he has been warned by the evil example of those who went before him. That Prince, Your Majesties predecessor, was not aware of the discontent, which would be occasioned by that innovation. But will that defense be of any advantage to us, if we should imitate what we know to have been disliked?

" Let Your august Majesties take pattern from other actions of the same Prince, which are more worthie to be imitated. He did not diminish the privileges of the sacred Virgins: He conferred the priesthood upon the nobility: And he allowed out of the treasury the expenses of the Roman sacrifices, and other religious observances. And when he was at Rome, being attended by the Senate, through the streets †† of the immortal City, he cast his eyes with a pleased countenance upon the temples, read in their frontispiece the names of the Gods to whom they were dedicated, made inquiries after the original of the temples, and admired the munificence of the founders. And though he was of another religion, he never thought of abolishing the religion of the Empire. For every man has his own rites, and his own manner of worship. The supreme Deity, who governs the world, has assigned different guardians to every city. As to every man is given a soul at his birth, so has every nation a particular genius allotted to it.

" To

si quis ante se alius deviasset. Corrigit enim sequentem lapsus prioris, et de reprehensione antecedentis exempli nascitur emendatio. Fas fuit, ut parens ille clementiae vestrae in re adhuc nova non caveret invidiam. Num potest etiam nobis eadem defensio convenire, si imitemur quod meminimus improbatum?

8. Accipiat aeternitas vestra alia ejusdem Principis facta, quae in usum dignius trahat. Nil ille decerpit sacrarum Virginum privilegiis, replevit [at decrevit] nobilibus sacerdotia, Romanis caeremoniis non negavit impensas: et per omnes vias aeternae Urbis lactum secutus

Senatum, vidit placido ore delubra, legit inscripta fastigiis Deum nomina, percontatus est templorum origines, miratus est conditores. Cumque alias religiones ipse sequeretur, has servavit Imperio. Suus enim cuique mos, suus cuique ritus est. Varios custodes urbibus cunctis mens divina distribuit. Ut animas nascentibus, ita populis fatales genit dividuntur. Ut  
ani-

†† *They who are curious, may compare this with Ammianus's account, of the visit made by Constantius at Rome in the year 356. or 357. Ammian. l. 16. cap. x.*

“ To these considerations ought to be added the utility of religion. For since all reasonings are obscure and uncertain, whence can we better derive the knowledge of the Deity, than from the remembrance and documents of former prosperity? If then antiquity be sufficient to give authority to religion, we ought to preserve that faith, which has subsisted for so many ages, and to follow our parents, who have happily followed theirs.

A. D.  
384.

“ Let us imagine Rome herself to be now present, and pleading her cause with You in this manner: O You best of Princes, the fathers of Your countrey, revere my great age, to which these rites of religion have brought me, and let me still follow the ancient observances. Nor do I repent of so doing. Let me live in my own way. I am free, and have a right to do so. This way of worship has brought all the world into obedience to my laws. These rites drove Hannibal from my walls, and the Gauls from the Capitol. And have I lived so long to be corrected in old age? Let me know, what this new institution is. Sure I am, to reclaim old age, is an unseasonable, and dishonourable undertaking.”

“ We therefore ask of You security for the Gods of our countrey, which have been long worshiped by us. It is but reasonable to think, that whatever deity men adore, it is but one only. We look up to the same stars, the heaven is common to all, and the same world encloseth us. What matters it, in what  
“ method

animae nascentibus, ita populis fatales generii dividuntur. Accedit utilitas, quae maxime homini Deos adserit. Nam cum ratio omnis in operto sit, unde rectius quam de memoria atque documentis rerum secundarum cognitio venit numinum? Jam si longa aetas auctoritatem religioni facit, servanda est tot seculis fides, et sequendi sunt nobis parentes, qui secuti sunt feliciter suos.

9. Romam nunc putemus assistere, atque his vobiscum agere sermonibus: optimi Principes, patres patriae, reveremini annos meos, in quos me pius ritus adduxit. Utar ceremoniis avitis; neque e-

nim me poenitet. Vivam more meo, quia libera sum. Hic cultus in leges meas orbem redegit. Haec sacra Annibalem a moenibus, a Capitolio Senonas repulerunt. Ad hoc ergo servata sum, ut longaeva reprehendar? Videro, quale sit quod instituendum putatur. Sera tamen et contumeliosa est emendatio senectutis.

10. Ergo Diis patriis, Diis indigetibus pacem rogamus. Aequum est, quicquid omnes colunt, unum putavi. Eadem spectamus astra, commune coelum est, idem nos mundus involvit. Quid interest, quid quisque prudentiam verum inquirat:

uno



A. D. 384. "method men inquire after truth? It is not one path only, that  
 "leads to so great a secret. But it will be said, that these are the  
 "discourses of men who are much at leisure. No, it is not so.  
 "We do not aim to enter into dispute. We only tender requests.

"Consider, what benefit has accrued to Your treasury, by taking away the privileges of the Vestal Virgins. Under the most liberal Emperours that is denied, which the most parsimonious allowed. The honour is the chief reward of their chastity. As their fillets are the ornament of their head, so one of the ensigns of their priesthood is to be exempt from all offices. Which exemption is little more than a name, since their poverty excuseth them from great expenses.

"But possibly it will be said, that they advance their reputation, who lessen their revenue. For virginity consecrated to the public good, gains in merit, as it loseth in it's reward.

"But let not such saving methods be practised to encrease your revenue, which shall rob it of it's glorie. The treasury of good Princes is not to be augmented by the ruins of the Priests, but by the spoils of enemies. Nor would the greatest gain make amends for the envie, with which it would be attended. But because covetousness is a fault, to which You are strangers, this makes their case the more deplorable, who have lost their former subsistences. But whatever is alienated under those Princes, who have conquered the love of riches, and never practised rapine and extortion, only turns to the detriment of him who is the loser, without gratifying the appetite of him who seisseth it."

"And

uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum. Sed haec ocioforum disputatio est. Nunc preces, non certamina offerimus.

11. Quanto commodo sacri aerarii vestri Vestalium Virginum praerogativa detracta est? Sub largissimis Imperatoribus denegatur quod parcissimi praestiterunt. Honor solus est in illo velut stipendio castitatis. Ut vittae earum capiti decus faciunt, ita insigne ducitur sacerdotii, vacare muneribus. Nudum quodammodo nomen immunitatis requirunt, quoniam paupertate a dispendio tutae sunt. Itaque amplius laudi earum

tribuunt, qui aliquid rei detrahunt. Si quidem salutis publicae dicata virginitas crescit merito, cum caret praemio.

12. Absint ab aerarii vestri puritate ista compendia. Fiscus bonorum Principum non sacerdotum damnis, sed hostium spoliis augeatur. Ullumne lucrum compensat invidiam? At quia avaritia in vestros mores non cadit, hoc miseriore sunt, quibus subsidia vetera decerpta sunt. Etenim sub Imperatoribus, qui alieno abstinent, qui resistunt cupiditati, ad solam detrahitur amittentis injuriam, quod desiderium non movet auferentis.

13.



“ And now the treasure detains also those lands, which were  
“ given to the Vestals and their officers by the will of our dying  
“ progenitors. But let me beseech You and the ministers of Your  
“ justice, that they may enjoy the private legacies bequeathed to  
“ the holy uses of the city. Let men then securely make their last  
“ wills, and let them be assured, that they have not to do with  
“ covetous Princes, but with such as will ratify what they bequeath.  
“ Let it be a pleasure to you to make the world thus happy. This  
“ one thing creates disquiet to all dying persons. And does not the  
“ religion of the Romans come under the protection of the Ro-  
“ man laws? By what name shall we call an alienation of rights,  
“ which no laws, or circumstances of things ever justified? Freed-  
“ men receive legacies. Nor are slaves deprived of the privilege of  
“ receiving what is left by wills. They are only the noble Vestals,  
“ and the attendants on the sacred rites, upon which the public  
“ welfare depends, who are deprived of the privilege of receiving  
“ estates, legally bequeathed to them. What avails it to vow vir-  
“ ginity for the safety of the Republick, and to call in the aid of  
“ heaven to perpetuate Your Empire, to assist Your armies and le-  
“ gions with friendly powers, to offer up ardent and effectual pray-  
“ ers for the welfare of all, and at the same time to be denied the  
“ privileges common to all? Would it not at this rate be better to  
“ serve men, than the Gods? Thus we injure the Common-wealth,  
“ which has no interest to be ungratefull.

A. D.  
384.

“ Let

13. Agros etiam virginibus et ministris deficientium voluntate legatos fiscus retentat. Oro vos, justitiae sacerdotes, ut urbis vestrae sacris reddatur privata successio. Distent testamenta securi, et sciant, sub Principibus non avaris stabile esse quod scripserint. Delectet vos ista felicitas generis humani. Coepit causae hujus exemplum sollicitare morientes. Ergo Romanae religiones ad Romana jura non pertinent? Quod nomen accipiet ablatio facultatum, quas nulla lex, nullus casus fecit caducas? Capiunt legata liberti, servis testamentorum iusta commoda non

negantur. Tantum nobiles virgines, et fatalium sacrorum ministri excluduntur praediis haereditate quaesitis. Quid juvat, saluti publicae castum corpus dicare, et Imperii aeternitatem coelestibus fulcire praesidiis: armis vestris, aquilis vestris amicas applicare virtutes, pro omnibus efficaciam vota suscipere, et jus cum omnibus non habere? Itane melior est servitus quae hominibus impenditur? Rempublicam laedimus, cui nunquam expedit, ut ingrata sit.

A. D.  
384.

“ Let no man think, that I am pleading the cause of religion  
“ only. To such actions as these are owing all the calamities, which  
“ have befallen mankind. Our ancestors honoured the Vestal Vir-  
“ gins, and the Ministers of the Gods, with laws providing for  
“ them a competent maintenance, and suitable privileges. And  
“ those donations continued inviolable to the time of some degene-  
“ rate bankers, who have converted the revenues of sacred cha-  
“ stity into a stipend for the vilest porters. Immediately there fol-  
“ lowed a general famine, and all the countreys were disappointed  
“ in the hopes of a plentiful harvest. The fault was not in the  
“ ground. Nor do we charge it upon the stars. Nor did rust con-  
“ sume the grain, nor did weeds choak it. It was the sacrilege,  
“ that made the year barren. And how could men expect bread,  
“ when religion was robbed of it's due?

“ Verily if there be any other instance of such a calamity, let  
“ us impute this great famine to the vicissitudes of the seasons.  
“ There was a dry wind, which produced barrenness, and men  
“ now eat the buds of trees, and the poorer sort of countrey-peo-  
“ ple are again reduced to feed upon acorns. Did our fore-fathers  
“ ever lye under such a calamity, when the ministers of religion  
“ were maintained by an honourable allowance out of the public  
“ treasure? When were men compelled to shake the oak for food,  
“ or to sustain themselves with the roots of herbs? When did it  
“ happen, that the wants of one countrey were unsupplied by the  
“ plenty of another, whilst the allowed provision of corn was di-  
“ stributed

14. Nemo me putet, solum causam religionis tueri. Ex hujusmodi facinoribus orta sunt cuncta humani generis incommoda. Honoraverat lex parentum Vestales virgines ac ministros Deorum victo modico, justisque privilegiis. Stetit hujus muneris integritas usque ad degeneres trapezitas, qui ad mercedem vilium bajulorum sacrae castitatis alimenta verterunt. Secuta est fames publica, et spem provinciarum omnium messis aegra decepit. Non sunt haec vitia terrarum. Nichil imputamus astris. Nec rubigo segetibus obfuit, nec avena fruges necavit. Sa-

crilegio annus exaruit. Necessè enim fuit perire omnibus, quod religionibus negabatur.

15. Certe, si est hujus mali exemplum, imputemus tantam famem vicibus annorum. Gravis hanc sterilitatem aura constrinxit. Silvestribus arbutis vita producit, et rursus ad Dodonaeas arbores plebis rusticae inopia convolvit. Quid tale proavi pertulerunt, quum religionem ministros honor publicus pasceret? Quando in usus hominum concussa quercus? Quando vulvae sunt herbarum radices? Quando alternos regionum defectus defe-

ruit

“tributed in common to the people, and to the sacred virgins? A. D.  
“For the provisions made for the priests were a primarie cause of 384.  
“the fertility of the earth: and what was given to them was rather a benefit, than an expense. Can it be doubted, whether  
“what was bestowed upon them was for the benefit of all, when  
“the taking it away has been avenged by scarcity to all?”

“But it will be said, there is no reason, that the expenses of another religion should be born by the publick. Let not such a  
“thought find place in the minds of our excellent Princes, that  
“what has been given to some to hold in common, may be justly seized by the treasure. For since the Republick consists of  
“single persons, whatever proceeds from it is the property of individuals. You, as we acknowledge, govern all things. Nevertheless  
“You give every man his due, and justice sways with You more than  
“licentiousness. Do but consult Your own generous minds: and  
“You will not think, that those things belong to the publick,  
“which You have already appropriated to the use of others.

“Whatever revenues have been once devoted to the honour of  
“the City, cease thenceforward to belong to the donors. And what  
“was originally a largesse, by custom and use becomes a debt. That  
“man therefore endeavors to disturb your sacred minds with vain  
“fears, who insinuates, that You become accessarie with the donors, unless you incur the envie of cancelling such grants.”

“May

ruit secunditas mutua, quum populo et virginibus sacris communis esset annona? Commendabat enim terrarum proventus victus antistitum, et remedium magis quam largitas erat. An dubium est semper pro copia omnium datum quod nunc inopia omnium vindicavit?

16. Dicit aliquis, sumptum publicum denegatum alienae religionis impendiis. Absit a bonis Principibus ista sententia, ut quod de communi quibusdam tributum est, in jure fisci esse videatur. Nam cum respublica de singulis constet, quod ab ea proficiscitur, fit rursus proprium singulorum. Omnia regitis, sed suum cuique servatis, plusque apud vos justitia quam

licentia valet. Consulire certe munificentiam vestram, an haec publica velit existimari, quae in alios transtulistis. Semel honori Urbis delata compendia definunt esse tribuentium. Et quod a principio beneficium fuit, usu atque aetate fit debitum. Inanem igitur metum divino animo vestro tentat incutere, si quis asserit conscientiam vos habere praebentium, nisi detrahentium subieritis invidiam.

17. Faveant clementiae vestrae sectarum omnium arcana praesidia, et haec maxime, quae majores vestros aliquando juverunt, vos defendant a nobis corantur. Eum religionum statum petimus, qui Deo parenti culminis vestri servavit imperium,



A. D. 384. " May all the unknown guardians of all sects, and more especially those powers, which in times past were so propitious to Your ancestors, defend You, and may they be worshiped by us. We ask for no other state of religion, than that, which secured the empire to Your blessed father, [*Valentinian the first*] and gave him the happiness of a legitimate issue to succeed him. That elder blessed Prince looks down from heaven, and beholds the tears of the Priests, and considers the breach of their privileges, which he kept inviolable, as a reflexion upon himself."

" Shew also this respect to your blessed brother, [*Gratian*] and rectify that which was done rather by the counsels of others, than his own. Cover an action, which he was not aware was so displeasing to the Senate. For it now appears, that the deputation sent by us, was debarred access to him, that the sense of the publick might not come to his knowledge. It will be to the honour of past times, that You make no scruple to abolish that, which has been shewn to be no act of that Prince."

That is the petition of the Senate, presented to the Younger Valentinian by Symmachus. I have translated it entire. It is my province to collect, and transcribe Heathen authors, and let my readers see what they say favorable to us, or against us. Here Symmachus pleads the cause of Gentilism. We may be assured, that here are the best arguments, that could be alleged. Symmachus was a man of great abilities. He exerts himself to the utmost. And he speaks with great freedom. Nothing, to the advantage of his cause is suppressed. He speaks in the name of the Senate, and of Rome itself. And is under no restraints either of fear or favour.

*Answers  
of Ambrose,  
and Prudentius.*

III. I do not think it needfull to be so particular in my accounts of what was said by Ambrose, or others, in the way of confutation, or to induce the Emperour not to comply with the demands of the Senate. But I shall take some notice of it.

I begin

um, qui fortunato Principi legitimos suscepit heredes. Spectat senior ille divus ex arce siderea lachrymas sacerdotum, et se culpatum putat more violato, quem ipse servavit.

18. Praestate etiam Divo fratri velle alieni consilii correctionem. Tegite fac-

tum, quod Senatui displicuisse nescivit. Siquidem constat ideo exclusam legationem, ne ad eum judicium publicum perveniret. Pro aestimatione est temporum superiorum, ut non dubitetis abolere, quod probatum est, Principis non fuisse.



I begin with an account of the second letter of Ambrose sent to A. D. 374.  
Valentinian.

“ Three (z) things, says Ambrose, the most excellent Prefect of the city has insisted on in his Address, and which he thinks of great weight: That Rome desires the privilege of her old way of worship: That the usual allowances ought to be made to her Priests, and Vestal Virgins: And that when those allowances were taken away, a general famine presently ensued.”

Ambrose’s answer is prolix and verbose. I must contract it. And yet I will allege something relating to these three articles.

With regard to the first, he says, “ It (a) is never too late to be wise. It is no reproach to any age to repent, and reform, to amend faults, or correct errors. He likewise observes, that (b) Rome did not in late times worship the same gods, which she worshiped at the beginning: for they had multiplied their gods, and adopted the deities of the nations, which had been conquered by them: and had received rites, to which they had been long strangers.”

“ With (c) regard to the Vestal Virgins, of which they boasted so much, they were no more than seven. Great honours and privileges had been conferred upon them. But virginity, which

D d d 2

“ must

(z) Tria igitur in Relatione sua vir clarissimus Praefectus Urbis Symmachus proposuit, quae valida putavit. Quod Roma veteres, ut ait suos cultus requirat: et quod Sacerdotibus suis, Virginibusque vestalibus emolumenta tribuenda sint: et quod emolumentis Sacerdotum negatis famines secuta publica sit. *Ambros. libellus secundus contra Relationem Symmachii. Apud Symm. p. 322. et Ambrosii Epistola 18. p. 833. edit. Bened.*

(a) Non erubescō cum toto orbe longaeva converti. Verum certe est, quia nulla aetas ad perdiscendum fera est. Erubescat Senectus, quae emendare se non potest. Non anuorum canities est laudanda, sed morum: nullus pudor est ad meliora transire. *Ap. Symm. p. 323. ap. Ambros. p. 834.*

(b) Si ritus veteres delectabant, cur in

alienos eadem Roma successit? . . . Quid, (quod de ipso respondeam quod queruntur,) captarum simulachra urbium, victorque deos et peregrinos ritus sacrorum, alienae superstitionis aemuli receperunt. *Ap. Symm. p. 328. ap. Ambros. p. 840.*

(c) Habeant, inquit, Vestales virgines immunitatem suam. . . . Quot tamen illis virgines praemia promissa tegerunt? Vix septem vestales capiuntur puellae. En totus numerus, quem insulae vittati capit, purpuretarum vestium murices, pompa lecticae ministrorum circumfusa comitatu, privilegia maxima, lucra ingentia, praescripta denique pudicitiae tempora coegerunt. Non est virginitas, quae pretio emitur, non virtutis studio possidetur. &c. *Ap. Symm. p. 324. 325. ap. Ambros. p. 836.*

- A. 12. "must be paid for, and rewarded, is of little value. Virgins were  
 384. "numerous among the Christians, more than could be rewarded  
 "with great privileges. Nor did they desire any such thing."

Nor had the Heathen people, he thinks, any good reason to complain of withdrawing the ancient allowances from the Priests. For (*d*) by imperial laws (*e*) not long since published, Christian ministers were forbid to receive legacies from rich widows, and others: referring to a law of Valentinian and Valens made in the year 370. Of (*f*) which Jerome also takes notice. This therefore had been done before the law of Gratian, relating to Heathen Priests. Which law likewise, as I imagine, seized (*g*) only the lands, which had been settled upon the priests, and did not deprive them of the privilege of receiving presents and legacies of movable goods.

What is said by Symmachus of the famine in the year 383. Ambrose treats as a trifling argument. There (*b*) is no reason, he thinks, to consider that as a judgement of heaven, which may be imputed only to the vicissitude of seasons, which has been common in all times. And now plenty was returned, though the Altar of Victorie was not restored, nor had the laws, which had seized the lands of the Priests been abrogated. He says moreover, that the famine in the year 383. was not general. There was enough, and abun-

(*d*) Sacerdotibus suis et ministris queruntur alimenta publica non praeberi. Quantus hinc verborum tumultus increpirat? Contra, nobis etiam privatae successione emolumenta recentibus legibus denegantur, et nemo conqueritur. Non enim putamus injuriam, quia dispendium non dolemus &c. *Ap. Symm. p. 325 ap. Ambr. p. 836.*

(*e*) *Vid. Cod. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 2. Tom. 6. p. 48.*

(*f*) Fudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigae, et scorta, hereditates capiunt. Solis clericis et monachis hoc lege prohibetur: et prohibetur non a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur meruimus hanc legem. *Hieron. ad Nestet. ep. 34. al. 2. T. 4. p. 260. f.*

(*g*) Nemo tamen donaria delubris, et legata haruspibus denegavit: sola sublata sunt praedia, quia non religiose utebantur iis, quae religionis jure defenderent. *Ambros. lib. secund. Ap. Symm. p. 326. ap. Ambros. p. 837.*

(*b*) Quis ergo tam novus humanis usibus, ut vices stupeat annorum? Et tamen superiore anno pleraeque novimus provincias redundasse frogibus. De Galliis quid loquar subito ditioribus? Frumentum Pannoniae, quod non severant, vendiderunt. Et Foecunda Rhetia fertilitatis suae movit invidiam. . . . Ergo nec ille sacrilegio annus exaruit, et iste fidei fructibus annus effloruit. *Ap. Symm. p. 327. ap. Ambros. p. 838.*

abundance in Gaul, and Pannonia, and other countreys, subject to the Roman Empire. A. D. 384.

So argues Ambrose.

Prudentius likewise wrote two books entitled *Against Symmachus*, or *Against the Oration of Symmachus*. They were not writ before the year 403. What was the particular reason of his confuting Symmachus again, eighteen, or almost twenty years after Ambrose, does not, I think, clearly appear. But they who are so disposed, may consult the first note of Chamillard upon the first book of Prudentius.

The first book of Prudentius is a confutation of Gentilism. The second is an answer to Symmachus's oration, paragraph by paragraph. I shall take notice of a few things in this second book.

Symmachus argues for the Roman religion from antiquity: *If (i) length of time, says he, be of weight in things of religion, we ought to preserve that faith, which has subsisted for so many ages, and to follow our parents, who have happily followed theirs.* To which Prudentius answers, chiefly, two things. *First*: "If (k) the manner of living in the first ages ought to be preferred, we must renounce all the conveniences of life, which have been invented, or improved, in succeeding times. We must tread under foot all the improvements of arts and sciences, and return to the barbarism of the age of Saturn. *Secondly*, "Since (l) the beginning of the Republick, the religion of the Romans had been much altered: and since

(i) Jam si longa aetas auctoritatem religionibus faciet, servanda est tot seculis fides, et sequendi sunt nobis parentes, qui feliciter secuti sunt suos. *Ap Prudent. p. 611.*

(k) Si quicquid rudibus mundi nascentis in annis  
Mos habuit, sancte colore et servare necesse est;  
Omne revolvemus sua per vestigia seculum,  
Usque ad principium: placeat damnare gradatim  
Quicquid posterius successor repperit usus. &c.

*Contr. Symm l. 2. ver. 277. &c.*

(l) Roma antiqua sibi non constat, versa per ævum,  
Et mutata sacris, ornatu, legibus, armis:  
Multa colit, quæ non coluit sub Rege Quirino,  
Instituit quædam melius, nonnulla refugit.

*Ibid. ver. 303 &c.*

- A. D. “ (m) since the time of Romulus the number of the gods had been  
 384. “ greatly encreased, and new rites and ceremonies of the conquered  
 “ nations had been adopted.”

Symmachus complained, that (n) the public allowances to the Vestal Virgins had been withdrawn. This gave occasion to Prudentius to say several things, which, perhaps, ought not to be passed over by me without notice. He observes, “ that (o) they were  
 “ chosen when young, before they came to slight the lawfull bond  
 “ of marriage, or could be animated with a love of religion and  
 “ virtue. They consecrate their chastity at the altars against their  
 “ wills. They are deprived of a pleasure, which they do not desire.  
 “ If they are chaste in body, they are not so in mind. They  
 “ have no rest in their beds, where the invisible wound makes them  
 “ sigh for the nuptial torches.” However, after a while, they  
 might

(m) Sed quia Romanis loquimur de cultibus, ipsum  
 Sanguinis Hæcorei populum probo, tempore longo  
 Non multos coluisse deos, rarisque facellis  
 Contentum, paucos posuisse in collibus aras.  
 Innumeros post deinde Deos, virtute subactis  
 Urbibus, et claris peperit sibi Roma triumphis,  
 Inter fumantes templorum armata ruinas  
 Dextera victoris simulachra hostilia cepit,  
 Et captiva domum, venerans ceu numina vexit.

*Ver.* 342. . . . 350.

(n) Quanto commodò sacri aerarii vestri, Vestalium virginum prærogativa detracta est? sub largissimis Imperatoribus denegatur, quod parcissimi præstiterunt.  
*Symm. ap. Prud. p.* 658.

(o) Quae nunc vestalis sit virginitatis honestas,  
 Discutiam : . . .  
 Ac primum parvae teneris capiuntur in annis.  
 Ante voluntatis propriae quam libera secta,  
 Laude pudicitiae fervens, et amore Deorum,  
 Iusta maritandi condemnat vincula sexus.  
 Captivus pudor ingratis addicitur aris.  
 Nec contempta perit miseris, sed adempta voluptas  
 Corporis intacti : non mens intacta tenetur :  
 Nec requies datur ulla toris, quibus innuba caecum  
 Vulnus, et amissas suspirat femina taedas.

*Contr. Sym. lib. 2. ver.* 1063. . . . 1074.



might marry. Which also he ridicules, (p) though perhaps he should not. A. D. 384.

The (q) Vestal virgins were at first in number four, but were afterwards encreased to six or seven. None might be chosen under six, nor above ten years of age. They were to live thirty years in virginity. In the first ten years they were taught the mysteries of the priesthood: In the next ten years they practised the rites and ceremonies of their order: in the third they taught them to others. The period of thirty years would expire, before they were forty years of age: when they might marry, but few did.

The priesthood of the Vestal virgins was always in great estimation. And I suppose, they were generally chosen out of the best families. Julius Cesar (r) gave his last Will into the custodie of the eldest Vestal.

It may be thought strange, that these Virgins should be present at the cruel combats of gladiators. Yet it was one of their privileges, to have an honourable and conspicuous place in the theatre allotted to them. We are assured of it by (s) Suetonius. Nor has (t) Prudentius failed to mention this custom, and make free remarks upon

(p) Nubit anus veterana, sacro perfuncta labore,  
Defertisque focus, quibus est famulata juvenus.  
Transfert emeritas ad fulera jugalia rugas,  
Discit et in gelido nova nupta tepescere lecto.

*Ib. ver. 1081. . . 1084.*

(q) *Vid. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Roman. T. 2. p. 122. ed Hudson.*

(r) Postulante ergo L. Pisone focero, testamentum ejus aperitur. . . Quod Idibus septembribus proximis in Lavicano suo tacerat, demandaveratque Virgini Vestali maximae. *Sueton l. i. cap. 83.*

(s) Feminis, ne gladiatores quidem, quos promiscue spectari solenne olim erat, nisi ex superiore loco spectare concessit. Solis virginibus Vestalibus locum separatim, et contra Praetoris tribunal, dedit. *Sueton. Aug. cap. 44.*

(t) Interea, dum torta vagos ligat insula crines,  
Fatalesque adolet prunas innupta sacerdos,  
Fertur per medias, ut publica pompa, platéas.

Inde ad confellum caveae pudor alius, et expers  
Sanguinis it pietas, hominum visura cruentos  
Congressus, mortefque, et vulnera vendita pastu  
Spectatura sacris oculis . . . . .

*Ib. lib. 2. ver. 1085. . . 1110.*

A. D. upon it. I may add, by the way, that Arnobius (*u*) also in his  
384. books against the Gentils has made some reflections upon this custom.

Prudentius (*x*) also answers very largely to the complaints of Symmachus relating to the famine, in the year 383. as Ambrose had done before. But I do not think it needfull to transcribe him. I only refer to him.

About this time one of the Vestals suffered herself to be corrupted. And Symmachus himself called upon the proper officer, to take care, that both she, and the man with whom she had been familiar, should be properly punished. We have two letters of Symmachus writ upon that (*y*) occasion.

As Ambrose takes no notice of this, in his answer to the Petition of Symmachus, Baronius (*a*) thought, that it must have happened afterwards. But neither has Prudentius touched upon this matter, though his argument was composed much later. Why they take no notice of it, I cannot say. For learned moderns (*b*) observe upon it, as a remarkable event, and very mortifying to the interests of Gentilism.

#### IV. Here

(*u*) Sedent in spectaculis publicis sacerdotum omnium, Magistratuumque collegia, Pontifices Maximi, et Maximi Curiones. . . . Sedent Augures, interpretes

divinae mentis et voluntatis: nec non et castae virgines, perpetui nutrices et conservatrices ignis. *Arnob. l. 4. p. 151.*

(*x*) Ultima legati deficta dolore querela est . . .

Hinc ait et steriles frugescere rarius agros,  
Et tristem saevire famem, totumque per orbem  
Mortales pallere inopes, ac panis egenos.

*Prud. l. 2. ver. 909. . . . 915.*

(*y*) More institutoque majorum, incestum Primigeniae, dudum apud Albam Vestalis antistitis, collegii nostri disquisitio deprehendit: quod et ipsius quae contaminavit pudicitiam sacram, et Maximi, cum quo nefandum facinus admisit, confessionibus claruisse Gestæ restantur. Restat, ut in eos, qui ceremonias publicas abominando scelere polluerunt, legum severitas exeratur. *Symm. lib. 9 ep. 118. vid. et ep. 119.*

(*a*) *Baron. ann. 384 num. xiii.*

(*b*) Non sine numine quidem contigit illo ipsi anno, quo Vestalium castitatem praeconio suo commendabat Symmachus, ac ereptis stipendiis mala urbis assignabat, quod Primigenia apud Albam Vestalium antistes a Maximo corrupta fuerit, &c. *Basnag. ann. 384. num. v. l'id. et Baron. ubi supra, num. xi.*

IV. Here may now arise two Questions: first, where were the Christian Senators, when the Senate deputed Symmachus to Valentinian, desiring, that the Altar of Victorie might be restored? secondly, it may be inquired, whether these proceedings of the Christian Emperours were just and reasonable. A. D. 384. *Two Questions considered.*

The first question is: where were the Christian Senators, when the Senate deputed Symmachus with a request to Valentinian, that the Altar of Victorie, which had been taken away, might be restored? Were there no Christian Senators to interpose? or did they acquiesce in the determination of the rest?

In answering this question, I suppose, we may have some assistance from the first letter or remonstrance, which Ambrose sent to Valentinian, before he had obtained a copie of the Petition of Symmachus. There he seems to say, that (c) the majority of the Senate were Christians. And he says, "it (d) ought not to be supposed, that this present petition came from the Senate. No. A few Gentils take upon them the name of the body. And he says, that two years before, when a like petition was attempted, Damasus, Bishop of Rome, assured him, that at that time he received a letter from Christian Senators, and signed by very many of them, who complained, and said, that they never desired any such thing, nor could join in such a petition: nor was it fit, that the Emperour should grant such petitions to Gentils. They also made complaints privately, and publicly, and said, that they would not come to the Senate, if such a petition was granted."

So writes Ambrose. However, it seems to me, if I rightly understand him, that the Christian Senators had not interposed, when this Petition to Valentinian was drawn up in the Senate. He seems to

(c) . . . cum Curia majore jam Christianorum numero sit refectus. *Ambros. lib. primus. ap. Symm. p. 319. fin. ap. Ambros. p. 825. fin.*

(d) Sed absit, ut hoc Senatus petisse dicatur. Pauci Gentiles communi utuntur nomine. Nam et ante biennium ferme, cum hoc petere tentarent, nullo ad me sanctus Damasus Romanae ecclesiae

sacerdos, judicio Dei electus, libellum, quem Christiani Senatores dederunt, et quidem innumeri, expostulantes, nihil se tale mandasse: non congruere Gentilium istiusmodi petitionibus vos praebere consensum. Quæsti etiam publice privatimque, se non conventuros ad Curiam, si tale aliquid decerneretur. &c. *ap. Symm. p. 320. ap. Ambros. p. 826. m.*



A. D. 384. to allow, that no Christian Senators were then present. "It (*e*) will be asked, says he, why they were not present in the Senate, when the Petition was drawn up. He answers, their mind was sufficiently known, though they were not present. It was sufficient, that their mind was known to the Emperour."

Ambrose therefore supposeth, that Christian Senators were then very numerous, though he does not say, that any of them were present in the Senate, when this Petition was agreed upon. And Tillemont relying upon Ambrose says, that (*f*) even in the time of Gratian the Christian Senators were very numerous. But Frederick Spanheim thought, "that (*g*) the majority of the Senate were Gentils in the time of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius." For certain there were from early times some Christians in the Senate. Tertullian in his Apologie, writ before the end of the second centurie, speaks, as (*h*) if there were some considerable numbers of Christians in the Senate. And in another work writ some few years afterwards, he says, "that (*i*) the Emperour Severus openly withstood the furie of the people against some men and women of the first quality, whom he knew to be of this sect. And was so far from bearing hard upon them, that he gave them an honourable testimonie:" by *men and women of the first quality*, probably meaning Senators, and their wives. After which time the number of Christian Senators may have encreased before the conversion of Constantin, and afterwards. It may be difficult for us to determine exactly the proportion between the number of Christian and Gentil Senators. However I do not think, that the Christians were the

(*e*) Si fortasse dicatur: Cur dudum, non inter uerant Senatui, cum ista peterentur? Satis loquuntur quid velint, qui non interfuerunt: satis loquuti sunt, qui apud Imperatorem loquuti sunt. *ap. Symm. p. 320. ap. Ambr. p. 826.*

(*f*) Et des le temps de Gratien il y avoit un nombre comme infini de senateurs Chrétiens. *L'Emp. Theodos. art. 48.*

(*g*) I aganae superstitionis tenaces manserunt adhuc Gentes plurimae, et permixti Christianis Populi, Cives, Magistratus, Judices, Senatores, Consules, Proconsules, Vicarii, ac Praefides provincia-

rum. Quinimo sub Valentiniano, Theodosio, Arcadio, Senatui Romanum adhuc fuisse maximam ex parte Gentilem, patet ex epistolis Symmachi. *Spanhem Hist. Christiana. T. i. p. 839.*

(*h*) Hesterni sumus, et, et vestra omnia implevimus, . . . decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa. *Apol. cap. 37.*

(*i*) Sed et clarissimas feminas, et clarissimos viros, Severus sciens hujus sectae fuisse, non modo non laesit, verum testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in ospalam restitit. *Ad. Scap. cap. 4. p. 87.*



the majority of the Roman Senate in the time of Valentinian, when this Petition was presented by Symmachus. A. D. 384.

*Secondly*, it may be inquired, whether those proceedings were just and reasonable? “ Did the Christian Emperours act justly and rightly in removing the Altar of Victorie, which had long stood in the Senate-house? And did they act justly and rightly in seizing the estates and revenues, which had been long since settled by public authority, for the maintenance of Vestal Virgins, and other Priests, and for performing sacrifices for the welfare of the publick?”

To me it seems, that Christian Emperours acted rightly in removing the Altar of Victorie, and in refusing to restore it, after it had been taken away. I think, this might be rightly done, even supposing, that the number of Christian Senators was much inferior to the Gentils. For that there were some such, none can deny. Let us only recollect what Symmachus said, *that at the Altar of Victorie the Senators swore fidelity to the Emperour, and in all their votes in the Senate to determine according to the best of their knowledge.* But was that fit to be done by Christians? At this Altar the Senators took an Oath, when first chosen, and introduced, or annually. And usually, if not always, at their entrance into the Senate, they offered incense at this Altar, or gave some other token of respect. And frequently sacrifices were offered at this Altar. But was it fit, that such things should be done by Christians, or joyned in by them? or that they should be compelled to them? By no means. Nevertheless all such things would be expected of them by the Gentil Senators, so long as the Altar of Victorie stood there. And, as I apprehend, compulsion was unavoidable. But that would be persecution. Somewhat (*k*) of this kind is intimated by

E e e 2

Ambrose

(*k*) Totus hic Christianorum periclitatur Senatus. Si hodie Gentilis aliquis Imperator (quod abfit) aram statueret simulachri, et eo convenire cogeret Christianos, ut sacrificantibus interessent, . . . et in eâ Curia sententiam dicerent, ubi jurati ad aram simulachri sententiam rogarentur: (propterea enim interpretantur aram locatam, ut ejus sacramento unusquisque conventus consuleret in medium:) cum

Curia majore jam Christianorum numero sit referta, persecutionem esse crederet Christianus, qui cogeretur tali optione ad Senatum venire: quod fit plerumque. Nam etiam injuriis convenire coguntur. *Ambros. libellus primus: ap. Symm. p. 319. ap. Ambros. p. 815. Viæ iterum, ap. Symm. p. 321. fin. ap. Ambros. p. 828. in.*

A. D. 384. Ambrose in his first letter to Valentinian. There was therefore a necessity, that the Altar of Victorie should be removed by Christian Emperours. And it was reasonably done.

It remains, that we consider the seising of the lands, which had been allowed for the maintenance of the Vestals, and for performing the sacrifices offered by them, and by other Priests for the public welfare.

Here, I suppose, none can think, that Christian Emperours were obliged to maintain the Vestals, and other Priests, and their sacrifices, out of the public revenue. They might have allowed these things to be done by the Gentils. That is all that can be expected from principles of moderation, extended to the utmost. And this might have been done. And, certainly, there still were Gentil people enough at Rome, among their Senators, and other opulent families, to maintain six or seven Vestals, and other Priests, and to provide for the proper sacrifices. But this privilege would not satisfy. It would not be accepted of by Symmachus, and other rigid, and superstitious Gentils. They would have said: *that all public sacrifices, offered for the benefit of the State, must be allowed by public authority, and out of the public treasure, with the consent of the supreme powers. All their virtue and efficacy depended upon that: and without it they were of no value.* Consequently when those lands were seised, and other revenues were withheld, there would be an end of all those sacrifices, and they would fall to the ground, and no longer be performed. The most free and extensive toleration would not uphold them. Their subsistence depended upon the encouragement of public authority. Which, I think, could not be reasonably granted, nor expected, from Christian magistrates.

I shall just observe here, that Ambrose, in his letter to Eugenius, then Emperour, writ in 392. or 393. tells him, that (1) those revenues had not been taken away by his advice, but he advised, that they should not be restored.

V. Before

(1) Dedi libellos Imperatoribus duos, quibus significarem, sumptus Christianorum virum non posse reddere: et non fuisse me auctorem, cum tollerentur: auctorem fieri, quo minus decernerentur: deinde, quia dare eos ipsis simulacris videretur, non reddere. *Ad Eugen. ep. xv. al. lvii. p. 1010.*

V. Before we conclude this article somewhat should be said of A. D. Symmachus himself, who in the year 384. was deputed to the Em-<sup>384.</sup>perour by the Senate, and presented their petition to him.

His historie may be seen in (m) Tillemont, who has been copied <sup>The Hi-</sup>by (n) our writers of Universal Historie: and (o) in other authors. <sup>storie and</sup> <sup>Character</sup>

His name at length was *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus*, son of *L. Aurelius Avianus Symmachus*, who was Prefect of Rome in the year 364. He had one son only, named *Quintus Fabius Memmius Symmachus*. He was (p) grand Pontiff of Paganism, Quaestor, Praetor, and Corrector of Lucania, and the Prutians in 365. or 368. Proconsul of Africa (q) in 370. or 373. Prefect of Rome in 384. and ordinarie Consul in 391. By his interest his son was made Quaestor in the year 392. and Praetor in 397. or, as some think in 401. And it appears, that Young Symmachus was Proconsul of Africa in 415. and Prefect of Rome in 419. Some have thought him to have been Consul in 424. But that is now supposed to be a mistake.

Symmachus was in great reputation for eloquence, as an Orator, but none of his orations are preserved. We have however a collection of his Epistles, which had been kept by his secretarie, and a friend named *Elpidius*; which were published by his son after his death, in ten books, the last containing his letters to the Emperours: thus imitating the edition of Plinie's letters, both in the number of the books, and order of the Epistles. And they are much commended by (r) Macrobius.

Whilst Symmachus was Prefect of the City, in 384. and *Praetextatus* Prefect of the Praetorium, there (\*) were some reflexions made upon both of them, as if they had treated some Christians very

(m) *L'Emp. Theodose. i. art. 91.*

(n) *Vol. xvi. p. 448. &c.*

(o) *Vid. Voss. De Hist. Latin. lib. 3. Gothofred. Prosopogr. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 347. Fabric. Bib. Latin. Lib. 3. cap. xiv. Tom. i. p. 632.*

(p) *Vide Symm. l. i. ep. 41. et alibi.*

(q) *Me dudum Proconsularem virum, cedentem jam diu potentium moribus, an-*

*te capere magistratum quam expectare voluistis. L. x. ep. 16.*

(r) . . . pingue et floridum: in quo Plinius secundus quondam, et nunc nullo veterum minor noster Symmachus luxuriatur. *Macrobi. l. 5. cap. i.*

(\*) *See Tillem. L'Emp. Theodof. i. art. 24.*



A. D. 384. very injuriously. Symmachus in particular was charged with (s) having taken some Christians out of churches, to put them to torture, and with having imprisoned some Bishops, fetched by him from distant countreys, others from neighboring places. At hearing of this the Emperour (t) was so provoked, as to send an edict, addressed to the people, in which Symmachus was reproved very sharply. Symmachus then wrote to the Emperour, vindicating himself from those calumnies. And sent him a particular account of what had been done in the execution of his office, and with the deposition of the officers of justice, bearing witness to his innocence. He also received a letter from Damasus Bishop of Rome, in which he declared, that the Prefect had not been guilty of any injurie to the Christians. He farther says, he was assured by his officers, that among all the persons, shut up in prisons, charged with various crimes, there was not one Christian.

Symmachus appears to have been much chagrined by these calumnies, as any honest man might well be. And in his letter to the Emperour, he could not forbear to express a desire to resign an office, which (u) he had not sought, but had been put into it by the Emperour's own choice and designation.

I hope it will not be disagreeable to any of my readers, if I conclude this section with an (x) Inscription upon a monument erected to the honour of Symmachus by his son, where the several offices discharged by him are particularly mentioned.

Q.

(s) Quid enim non audeant, quidve intentatum relinquant, qui in arce terrarum, Christianae legis injuriis vindicata phana finxerunt? Flevit credo scenae istius fabricator, cum ecclesiae penetralibus raptos ad tormenta simularet, cum de longinquis ac de finitimis urbibus duci Antistites in vincula describeret. *Lib. 10. ep. 34.*

(t) Neque enim ferenum clementiae vestrae animum sine his argutiis compulisset sacro edicto populum convenire: ut

asperioribus quam pietati vestrae mos est liberis Praefectum, quem sine ambitu legistis, argueret . . . Respondeat literis Episcopi Damasi, quibus affectatores ejusdem religionis negavit ullam contumeliam tulisse. &c. *Ibid*

(u) Qui Praefecturam sine ambitu meruimus, sine offensione ponamus. *Ibid. Vid. et not. (t).*

(x) *Vide Macrob. Sat. l. 5. cap. i. in notis. et Tillemont. Theodos. art. 91. p. 808.*



Q. AURELIO. SYMMACHO. V. C.  
 QUÆST. PRAET. PONTIFICI  
 MAIORI. CORRECTORI  
 LUCANIAE. ET. BRITTIORUM  
 COMITI. ORDINIS. TERTII  
 PROCONS. AFRICAE. PRAET.  
 URB. COS. ORDINARIO  
 ORATORI. DISERTISSIMO  
 Q. FAB. MEM. SYMMACHUS  
 V. C. PATRI. OPTIMO.

SECT. IV. *The Correspondence between Maximus of Madaura and Augustin.*

I SHALL now observe the correspondence between Augustin and Maximus, a Grammarian of Madaura in Africa: Which is placed about the year 390. by (a) those who have carefully digested the historie of Augustin, that is, before he was Presbyter, and whilst the rites of Gentilism were openly practised in that country. And Tillemont observes, that this letter of Augustin is placed by Possidius at the head of his epistles against the Pagans. Moreover it is supposed, that Augustin was now at Tagaste, the place of his nativity, not far from Madaura.

A. D.  
390.

*I (b) am always pleased with your conversation, says Maximus to Augustin, with which you have sometimes favoured me. And I should be glad to have it oftener renewed. I now take notice of some difficulties, which not long since, though without breach of friendship, and in a pleasing manner, you proposed, relating to my sentiments. And I the rather do it, lest silence should be taken for an acknowledgement of*  
 con-

(a) Benedicini de Vita Augustin. l. 3. cap. iii num. 5. Tillemont S. Augustin. art. 57. et note 13.

(b) Avens crebro tuis affatibus laetifi-

cari, et instinctu tui sermonis, quo me paullo ante jucundissime salva caritate pul-  
 fasti, paria redhibere non destitui, ne si-  
 lentium meum poenitudinem appellare.  
 Sed

A. D. 390. *conviction. And I entreat you not to slight what I say, because I am in years, as if it proceeded from dotage. The Greeks among their other fables tell us, but without proof, that the mountain Olympus is the habitation of the gods. But we see and know, that in the forum of our city we have the presence of the good gods our protectors. And that there is one supreme God, without beginning, and without any natural issue, the great and glorious father of all, none denies, or doubts, it being a most certain truth. His powers diffused throughout the mundane system we invoke under many names, because we do not know what is his proper name. For the word God is a name common to all objects of worship. And in this way presenting severally many supplications to his powers, as to his members, we think we worship God entire.*

*But indeed I cannot dissemble, that I am quite out of patience with the error, which is now getting ground among us. For who can bear to think, that Mygdo should be preferred to Jove the Thunderer, and Sanae to Juno, Minerva, Venus and Vesta, and, horrible to think, that the arch-martyr Nymphanio should be preferred to the immortal gods: to omit now the names of innumerable others, hateful to gods and men, guilty of the greatest extravagances, and adding one crime to another, who under the appearance of a glorious death, have suffered, execrable as they were, an end well worthie of their evil deeds. And, truly, now fools frequent their sepulchres, forsaking the temples,*  
*and*

Sed quaeso, ut si haec quasi seniles artus esse duxeris, benignarum aurium indulgentia prosequaris. Olympum montem deorum esse habitaculum sub incerta fide Graecia fabulatur. At vero nostrae urbis forum salutarium numinum frequentia possessum nos cernimus, et probamus. Equidem unum esse Deum summum sine initio, sine prole naturae, seu patrem magnum atque magnificum, quis tam demens, tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Hujus nos virtutes per mundanum opus diffusas multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen ejus cuncti proprium ignoramus. Nam Deus omnibus religionibus commune nomen est. Ita sit, ut dum quasi quaedam membra carptim variis supplicationibus prosequimur, totum colere profecto videamur.

Sed impatientem me esse tanti erroris, dissimulare non possum. Quis enim ferat, Jovi fulmina vibranti praeferri Mydonein: Junoni, Minervae, Veneri, Vestaeque Sanaem, et cunctis, prohi nefas, diis immortalibus archimartyrem Nymphanionem, inter quos Lucitas etiam haud minore cultu suscipitur, atque alii interminato numero (diis hominibusque odiosa nomina) qui conscientia nefandorum facinorum specie gloriosae mortis, scelera sua sceleribus cumulantes, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum maculati repererunt. Horum busta, si memoratu dignum est, relictis templis, neglectis majorum suorum manibus, stulti frequentant, ita ut praesagium vatis illius indigne ferentis emineat,

Inque

and forgetting all respect to their venerable ancestors. So that I seem to see fulfilled the unwellcome presage of the Poet, Rome in the temples of the Gods swearing by shadows. And at this time I see again as it were renewed, the Aëtiac war, and Egyptian monsters contending with the Gods of the Romans, but I hope without success.

A. D.  
390.

But I beseech you, great Sir, that laying aside your eloquence, by which you are become so famous, and the subtle arguments of Chrysippus, your usual weapons, and logick, which serves only to make all things appear alike probable, you will indeed shew us, who is the God, whom you Christians claim as peculiar to yourselves, and whom you think you see present with you in obscure places. For we worship the Gods in the light, openly, and before all men, and offer up our supplications in the hearing of all, and by acceptable sacrifices render them propitious to us. And our desire is, that these things should be seen, and approved by all.

But it is high time for such an old man as I am, to conclude the argument, and say with the Mantuan orator, Every man has his fanſie. And now, good Sir, who have forsaken our way of worship, I make no doubt, this letter is to be destroyed by fire, or some other way. If it should be so, it is only the losse of so much paper. The argument shall be

Inque Deûm templis juravit Roma per umbras.

Sed mihi hac tempeſtate propemodum videtur bellum Aëtiacum exortum, quo Aegyptia monſtra in Romanorum deos audeant tela vibrare, minime duratura

3. Sed illud quaeso, vir ſapientiſſime, uti remoto ſacundiae robore atque exploſo, quâ cunctis clarus es, omiſſis etiam quibus pugnare ſolebas Chryſippeis argumentis, poſtpoſita paullulum dialectica, quae nervorum ſuorum luctamine nihil certi cuiquam relinquere nititur, ipſa re approbes, quis ſit iſte deus, quem vobis Chriſtiani, quaſi primum vindicatis, et in locis abditis praefentem vos videre componitis. Nos etenim deos noſtros luce palam ante oculos, atque aures omnium mortalium piis precibus adoramus, et per ſuaſes hoſtias propitios nobis efficiamus, et

a cunctis haec cerni et probari contendimus.

4. Sed ulterius huic certamini me ſenex invalidus ſubtrahò, et in ſententiam mantuani rhetoris libenter pergo: I rahiſt ſua quemque voluntas. Buc. Eclog. 3. Poſthac non dubito, vir eximie, qui a mea ſecta deviaſti, hanc epiſtolam aliquorum furto detractam flammis, vel quolibet pacto perituram. Quod ſi acciderit, erit damnum chartulae, non noſtri ſermonis, cujus exemplar penes omnes religioſos retinebo. Dii te ſervent, per quos et eorum atque cunctorum mortalium communem patrem, univerſi mortales, quos terra ſuſtinet, mille modis concordia diſcordia veneramur et colimus. *Ap. Auguſtin. Ep. 16. al. 43. T. 2.*



A. D. 390. *be kept for the use of all pious men. May the Gods preserve you, through whom, we and all people whom the earth bears, in a thousand different ways, with an agreeing discord, worship and praise the common father of them and all men.*

That is the genuine letter of a zealous Gentil Grammarian. He was apprehensive, it would be destroyed. But it has been preserved, and kept safe among Augustin's papers. It has also been handed down to us. And we read it without much offense, and without any danger of being perverted by it. We are pleased with his acknowledgement of one supreme Deity creator of all, and with the marks of civility to a learned and ingenious Christian, then eminent for his abilities, though as yet he was only between thirty and forty years of age. But we cannot but think, there appears some distrust of the goodnesse of his cause, when he desires his correspondent in his answer to lay aside the advantage to be made by eloquence, acute reasoning, and logick. Moreover, he bears testimonie to the great progresse of Christianity in the world, which too had been very much owing, as here intimated, to the steady and patient perseverance of Christians in the profession of those principles, which they supposed, they had received upon good grounds. But we must think it hard, and unequitable, that the Christians, who some time since had died as martyrs for their religion, at *Madaura*, or other places in Africa, should be charged with *extravagances*, and represented as *criminals unworthie to live upon earth*. At the same time we must suppose this to be the true spirit of Gentilism. And those eminently good men, whose lives had been unjustly taken from them, must forever have suffered in their memories, if Gentilism had continued to prevail. So that the change, which had been made in the world in favour of Christianity, not only gave liberty to it's present professors, but also restored, and secured the credit of those who had suffered in former times. For, certainly, there never were better subjects, nor more innocent and virtuous men, than the Christians, who lived in the first ages, before the conversion of Constantine.

" Augustin, in his answer to this letter, (c) treats it, as ludicrous,  
 " and unsuitable to so serious a subject, and therefore not deserving

(c) Seriumne aliquid inter nos agimus, an jocari libet? &c. *Ep. 17. al. 44 init.*



ing a particular reply. He wonders, that (*d*) *Maximus*, an African, living in Africa, and writing to a native of the same country, should ridicule the African names of some Christian Martyrs, as harsh and absurd: when the Romans had like names among them for their Priests, and for their Gods, and Goddesses. He (*e*) forbears to upbraid him with those rites, which were concealed from all but a few: or the rudeness and extravagance of the Bacchanalian festivals, when the greatest Magistrates of their city ran about the streets like furies and madmen. He deserts to enter farther into the debate, till *Maximus* is more serious. However, he puts him in mind, that (*f*) there is in his city a church of Catholic Christians, by whom no dead men are adored, nor any being worshiped as a deity, who had been made by God, but only the one God himself, who made and formed all things."

I have one remark to add, which perhaps is not quite needless. *Maximus* by this letter bears testimonie not only to the progress of Christianity in his own time, and that there were then many Christians at *Madaura*, and in other parts of Africa. But he is also a

F f f 2

witnesse,

(*d*) Nam quod nomina quaedam Punica mortuorum collegisti, quibus in nostram religionem festivas (ut tibi visum est) contumelias jaciendas putares, nescio utrum refellere debeam, an silentio praeterire. . . . Miror, quod nominum absurditate commoto, in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus Eucaddires, et in numinibus Abaddires. Non puto ego ista cum scriberes in animo non fuisse . . . quanta in vestra superstitione ridenda sunt. Neque enim usque adeo te ipsum oblivisci potuisses, ut homo Afer scribens Afriis, cum simus utrique in Africa constituti, Punica nomina exagitanda existimares . . . Verum tamen si ridere delectat, habes apud vos magnam materiam facetiarum: deum Stercutium, deam Cloacinam, Venerem calvam. . . . *Ibid. num. 2. 3.*

(*e*) Quod autem dicis, eo nostris vestra sacra praeponi, quod vos publice colitis deos, nos autem secretionibus conventiculis

utimur: primo, abs te quaero, quomodo oblitus sis Liberum illum, quem paucorum sacratorum oculis committendum putatis. Deinde tu ipse judicas nihil aliud te agere voluisse, cum publicam sacrorum vestrorum celebrationem commemorares, nisi ut nobis decuriones et primates civitatis per plateas vestrae urbis bacchantes ac furentes, ante oculos quasi spectacula poneremus: in qua celebritate, si numine inhabitamini, certe videtis quale illud sit, quod adimit mentem *num. 4.*

(*f*) Ad summam tamen, ne te hoc lateat, et in sacrilega convitia imprudentem trahat, scias a Christianis catholicis, quorum in vestro oppido etiam ecclesia constituta est, nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari, quod sit factum et conditum a Deo, sed unum ipsum Deum, qui fecit et condidit omnia. Differunt ista latius, ipso vero et uno Deo adjuvante, cum te graviter agere velle cognovero. *Ibid. num. 5.*

witnesse, that Christianity had been received there long before. He speaks of many Martyrs in Africa, who must have suffered before the conversion of Constantin. And my readers may remember, that in the writings of *Apuleius*, also of *Madaura*, who flourished about the year 263. in the times of the two Antonins, we saw good proofs of his knowledge of the Christians, and their principles, and his dislike of (g) them.

SECT. V. The Demolition of the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other Temples in Egypt in 391. and some other Temples elsewhere.

I. *The Historie of the Demolition of the Temple of Serapis.* II. *Learned Men concerned in the Defense, or in the Demolition of the Temple of Serapis: Olympius, Helladius, Ammonius, Heathens: Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria.* III. *Other Temples destroyed in Syria, and Phœnicia.*

A. D. 391. I. **T**HAT the temple of SERAPIS at Alexandria was demolished by order of Theodosius the First, is allowed. But learned men are not entirely agreed about the time, when it was done: some (a) placing it in the year 389. others in 391. Tillemont (b) is for 389. But he acknowledgeth, that the opinion is not without difficulties. Pagi (c) after (d) Gothotred, argues strongly for the year 391. with whom Basnage (e) agrees. Frederick Spanheim (f) likewise is for the year 391.

Accounts of this transaction may be seen in (g) our ecclesiastical history.

(g) See Vol ii. p. 252. . . . 256.

(a) Baron. ann. 389. num. 76. &c.  
Ancient Univ. Historie. Vol xvi. p. 427.  
&c.

(b) L'Emp. Theodos art. li. lii. &c.

(c) Pagi. ann 389. num. xii. xiii.

(d) Cod. Theod. de Paganis Tem. vi. p.

273.

(e) Basnag. ann. 391. num. ix.

(f) Spanhem. Hist. Christ. Sec. iv. p. 950.

(g) Rufin. H. E. l. 2. cap. 22. . . 30.  
Socrat. l. 5. cap. 16. 17. Sozom. l. 7. cap. xv. Theod. l. 5. cap. 21. 22.

historians. And some notice is taken of it by (*b*) Eunapius, who ex-  
presseth himself with great dislike and resentment.

A. D.  
391.

A large description of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria may be seen in (*i*) Rufinus, which I need not transcribe. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote, whilst it was yet standing, says, it (*k*) was inferior to none, except the Capitol at Rome. And in (*l*) Macrobius, another Heathen writer, may be seen a description of the Image of Serapis. Rufinus says, “ it (*m*) was monstrously large, it’s arms “ reaching from one wall of the temple to the other. And says, “ it was composed of all sorts of metals, and woods. The opinions “ of the Pagans concerning the origin of this Image, he says, “ were various. Some said, it represented Jupiter, and were of “ opinion, that the bushell upon it’s head denoted, that he govern- “ ed all things in weight and measure: or, it signified the plenty “ of the fruits of the earth, by which mortals are nourished. O- “ thers said, it denoted the river Nile, by the waters of which “ Egypt is enriched. Some there were, who said, that the image “ was so formed in honour of our *Joseph*, by whose wise distribu- “ tion of corn the land of Egypt had been provided for, in time of “ a famine. Others gave different accounts.”

The occasion of the demolition of the temple of Serapis, is related in this manner. “ There (*n*) was a large old building, which “ had

(*b*) *Eunap. in vita Aedes.* p. 60. 62.  
63.

(*i*) *Ruf. ib. cap. 23.*

(*k*) His accedunt altis sublata fastigiis templa, inter quae eminet Serapæum, quod licet minuatur exilitate verborum, atris tamen columuariis amplissimis, et spirantibus signorum figmentis, et reliqua operum multitudine ita est exornatum, ut post Capitolium, quo se venerabilis Roma in æternum attollit, nihil orbis terrarum ambiciosius cernat. *Ammian. l. 22. cap. xvi. p. 373.*

(*l*) *Macrobi. Saturn. l. i. cap. 20. p. 298. 299.*

(*m*) In hac Simulachrum Serapis ita erat vastum, ut dextra unum parietem alterum læva perfringeret. Quod mon-

strum ex omnibus generibus metallorum lignorumque compositum ferebatur. . . . De cujus origine diversa fertur opinio Paganorum. Alii Jovem putant, cujus capiti modius superpositus: vel quia cum mensura modoque cuncta indicet moderari, vel vitam mortalibus frugum largitate praeberi. Alii virtutem Nili fluminis, cujus Aegyptus opibus et foecunditate pascatur. Quidam in honorem nostri Joseph formatum perhibent simulachrum, ob divisaem frumenti, quâ famis tempore subvenit Aegyptius. Alii. &c. *Rufin. ib. cap. 23.*

(*n*) Basilica quaedam publici operis, vetusta atque admodum neglecta fuit, quam Constantius imperator domasse episcopis perfidiam suam praedicantibus terebatur.

A. D. 391. " had been a temple of (o) *Bachus*. It was now much neglected,  
 " and almost in ruins. It is said to have been given by *Constan-*  
 " *tius* to some *Arian Bishops*. This building *Theophilus*, Bishop  
 " of *Alexandria*, begged of the *Emperour*, with a design to erect a  
 " church there for the accommodation of *Christians*, whose num-  
 " ber had been greatly encreased. In (p) clearing the rubbish,  
 " and opening the vaults under ground, were found some obscene  
 " figures, which the Bishop, the more to disparage the *Gentil su-*  
 " *perstition*, ordered to be brought forth, and exposed to public  
 " view: at which the *Gentil people*, and especially the *Philoso-*  
 " *phers*, were greatly offended. And from angrie and reproachfull  
 " words they proceeded to take up arms. The *Christians* were  
 " then obliged to return blow for blow. They were the more nu-  
 " merous. Nevertheless few *Gentils* were killed, of the *Christians*  
 " a great number, and many were wounded. After which the  
 " *Gentils* retreated to the temple of *Serapis*, as to a fortresse, taking  
 " along with them as captives, some *Christians*, whom they com-  
 " pelled by various tortures to sacrifice. The contention conti-  
 " nued very sharp for some while. At (q) length the *Gentils* chose  
 " for their leader *Olympius*, who had taught *philosophie* at *Alexan-*  
 " *dria*, and now told them, that they ought (r) not to neglect the  
 " religion of their countrey, but be willing to die for it, if need-  
 " full. At that time *Euagrius* was *Prefect* of *Egypt*, and *Roma-*  
 " *nus* *General* of the soldiery. They exhorted the *Gentils* to be  
 " peaceable, and put them in mind of the laws, and (s) at length  
 " sent

batur. Quae longâ incuriâ nihil validum praeter parietes habebat. Visum episcopo, qui per idem tempus gubernabat ecclesiam, hanc ab Imperatore deprecari, ut crescentibus fidelium populis, orationum quoque crescerent loca. *Rufin. cap. 22.*

(o) *Sozom. p. 723. C.*

(p) Τὰ δὲ τῆς Σαράπιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, γέ-  
 λωτός ἐσθ' ἔκινυ μέγα, τὰς ὁμάδας φέρεσθαι κε-  
 λέυσας διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Ταῦτα ἔτι  
 γενόμενα ὁρῶντες δι' κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἑλ-  
 λήνους, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ φιλοσοφῶν ἐπαγγελλόμε-  
 νοι, τὴν λύπην ἐκ ἡ-εργάν. *Socrat. l. 5. cap.*  
*16. p. 274. D. Conf. Sozom. l. 7. c. xvi. p.*  
*723. D.*

(q) Verum haec per dies singulos pri-  
 mo cum motu, deinde cum fiducia et des-  
 peratione gerere, atque intra templum  
 clausi, rapti et praeda vivere. Ad pos-  
 tremum grassantes in sanguine civium du-  
 cem sceleris audaciae suae deligunt *Olym-*  
*pium* quendam, nomine, et habitu philo-  
*sophum*, quo antesignano arcem defende-  
 rent, et tyrannidem tenerent. *Rufin.*

(r) *Sozom. p. 724. B.*

(s) . . . res gesta ad Imperatorem re-  
 fertur. Ille qui ingenita mentis clemen-  
 tia errantes mallet emendare quam per-  
 dere, rescribit, illorum quidem vindictam,  
 quos



“ sent to the Emperour an account of what had happened. Who A. D.  
 “ extolling the virtue, and envying the happineſſe of thoſe who had 391.  
 “ died in deſenſe of their Religion, he conſidered them as Martyrs,  
 “ and would not allow, that vengeance ſhould be taken of thoſe  
 “ who had put them to death. However, he ſent orders, that the  
 “ temples at Alexandria ſhould be demolished, putting the execu-  
 “ tion of thoſe orders into the hands of *Theophilus*, who was to be  
 “ aſſiſted therein by the Prefect *Euagrius*, and the Count *Romanus*.  
 “ When the Emperour’s Reſcript was received, the Gentils were  
 “ filled with conſternation. They then abandoned the temple,  
 “ and diſperſed, ſome retiring privately to their own houſes, others  
 “ withdrawing from the city, and either concealing themſelves in  
 “ neighboring places, or flying into diſtant countreys. *Olympius*,  
 “ (t) deſerting his friends, withdrew ſecretly, taking the oppor-  
 “ tunity of a ſhip, which was ſailing to Italie. Among (u) thoſe  
 “ who retired from Alexandria, Socrates particularly mentions two  
 “ grammarians, *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, under whom, ſays he, I  
 “ ſtudied, when very young at Conſtantinople. *Helladius* was prieſt  
 “ of Jupiter, *Ammonius* of the Ape. He adds: And *Helladius* was  
 “ wont to boaſt in the companie of ſuch with whom he could be  
 “ free, that in the late contention he had ſlain nine men with his  
 “ own hands.”  
 “ The tumultuous part of the Gentils being withdrawn, (x)  
 “ *Theophilus*, with the aſſiſtance of the people, and the ſoldiery,  
 “ ſcon

quos ante aras ſanguis effuſus martyres ef-  
 fecit, non eſſe poſcendam, in quibus do-  
 lorem interitus ſuperaverit gloria merito-  
 rum. *Rufin.*

(t) καὶ λαβὼν πάντας, ἐξῆλθε τῇ ſεραπείᾳ,  
 καὶ πλοῖον τυχεῖν, εἰς ἰταλίαν ἀνιῆσθαι. *Soz. p.*  
*725. A.*

(u) Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αλεξανδρείας ἔφυ-  
 γον, κατὰ τὰς πόλεις μεριζόμενοι· ὧν ἦσαν οἱ  
 δύο γραμματικοὶ, Ελλάδιος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, παρ’  
 οἷς ἐγὼ κομίζῃ νέος ἂν ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντίνῃ πόλει  
 ἐποιήσα. Ελλάδιος μὲν ἦν ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς ἑ-  
 λαιᾶς, Ἀμμώνιος δὲ Πιθήκων. κ. λ. *So-*  
*crat. l. 5. c. 16. p. 275*

(x) Verum, ut dicere ceperam, reſcrip-  
 to recitato, parati quidem erant noſtro-

rum populi ad ſubvertendum erroris auc-  
 torem. Perſuaſio tamen quaedam ab ip-  
 ſiſ Gentilibus fuerat diſperſa, quod ſi hu-  
 mana manus ſimulachrum illud contigiffet,  
 terra dehifcens illico ſolveretur in chaos,  
 coelumque rueret in praeceps. Quae res  
 paullulum ſtuporem quendam populis da-  
 bat. Cum ecce unus ex militibus, fide  
 magis quam armis munitus, correptum  
 libennem inſurgens omni niſa maxillae-  
 veteratoris illidit. Clamor attollitur u-  
 trorumque populorum. Neque tamen aut  
 coelum aut terra deſcendit. Inde iterum  
 atque iterum repetens putris ligni fumo-  
 ſum genu coedit, quo deſecto, igni adhi-  
 bito tam facile quam lignum aridum con-  
 flagavit.

- A. D. 391. " soon accomplished his design. It was a prevailing opinion among the Gentils, that if any man should offer to touch the image of Serapis, somewhat very extraordinarie would happen. Nevertheless one of the soldiers, whose faith, as Rufinus says, was not at all inferior to his courage, with all his might struck it on the cheek with a halbert, and cut off part of it. Immediately there arose a great cry of all sorts of people, both Christians and Gentils. But neither did the heavens fall, nor the earth open itself to swallow up the bold transgressor. And repeating his blows, it was all broken to pieces. The several parts of it were then carried in triumph by the Christians through the streets of the city, and at length were thrown into a huge fire, kindled for that purpose in the amphitheatre, and there consumed to ashes. At the same time the temple was demolished, and nothing left but the foundation, as (y) Eunapius says, which was too heaevie to be removed. According (z) to Rufinus, instead of the temple of Serapis were erected on one side of it a church, and on the other side a martyrdom.
- " The (a) whole city of Alexandria was full of busts and small images of Serapis, which were set up in niches, or other places, in every house. But they were now all destroyed, without leaving any."

*Sophronius* (b) Jerome's friend, wrote a distinct account of the demolition of the temple of Serapis. But that work has not reached us. However, it may have been read by Rufinus, or some other of our ecclesiastical historians. Indeed Rufinus may be reckoned a con-

flagravit. Post hoc revulsum crevicibus et depresso modio trahitur caput, tunc pedes aliaque membra caesa securibus, et rapta funibus detrahuntur, ac per singula loca membratim in conspectu cultricis Alexandriae senex veternosus exurit. Ad ultimam truncus qui super fuerat in amphitheatro concrematur. Vanaeque superstitionis et erroris antiqui serapis hic finis fuit. *Rufin. cap. 23. Conf. Theodoret. l. v. cap. 22.*

(y) *Vit. Aedef. p. 64.*

(z) Nam et serapis sepulchro profanis aedibus complanatis, ex uno latere mar-

tyrium, ex altero conturgit ecclesia. *Rufin. cap. 27.*

(a) Sed et illud apud Alexandriam gestum est, quod etiam moeraces Serapis, qui per singulos domos, in parietibus, in ingressibus, in postibus etiam, et fenestris erant, ita abscissi sunt omnes et abradi, ut ne vestigium quidem usquam remaneret. *Rufin. cap. 29.*

(b) Sophronius, vir apprime eruditus, laudes Bethlehem, adhuc puer, et nuper de subversione Serapis insignem librum composuit. *Hieron. De V. l. cap. 134.*

contemporarie. For which reason I have made the more use of A. D. him: though I have not thought it needfull, or safe, to take every ' 391. thing without examination.

The cubit, by which the rising of the Nile in Egypt was measured, had been usually lodged in the temple of Serapis. His statue and temple having been demolished, it was given out by the Gentil people, that the Nile would no longer overflow. Nevertheless it rose the following year to an uncommon height. Constantin (c) had before removed that cubit into a church of the Alexandrians. But by Julian's order it had been replaced in the temple of Serapis. Now it was again restored to the Christians.

*Theophilus*, and other Bishops, went on to destroy all the temples of the gods at *Canopus*, near one of the mouths of the Nile, a few leagues below Alexandria, and in all other cities throughout Egypt. " Says Socrates, (d) the temples were thus destroyed, but the Images of the gods were melted down, and converted into utensils for the church of Alexandria, the Emperour having given them for the benefit of the poor." To this, very probably, Eunapius refers, when he says, " that (e) the Roman officers at Alexandria demolished the temple of Serapis, and laid violent hands upon the images and sacred offerings, no man daring to withstand them. They not only obtained a compleat victorie, but got also a rich booty: having among them an order, strictly observed, to keep concealed whatever they gained by robbery." Nor need it be doubted, that there is some truth in what he says. He adds, " And (f) now Monks are placed at Canobus, who introduced the dried bones of men called Martyrs, but really the worst of criminals, to be there honoured as gods, and as ministers, and ambassadours, to convey the prayers of Christians to heaven."

Socrates

(c) *Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. i. cap. 18. in.*

(d) Τὰ μὲν ἔν' ἱερὰ κατεσφράζετο· τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν μετεχωρήετο εἰς λεχέτια, ἢ εἰς ἑτέρας χρείας τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας, τῷ βασιλεῖος χαρισμένῳ τὸς θεῶς εἰς δαπανήματα τῶν πτωχῶν. *Socrat. l. 5. c. 16. p. 275. C.*

(e) . . . καὶ τάξεις ἦν αὐτοῖς πολεμικὴ, τὸ ἀρελόμενον λαθεῖν. *Vit. dedef. p. 64.*

(f) Τὸς δὲ μοναχὸς τίνας καὶ εἰς Κάνωβον καθιδρύσαν, . . . ὅσα γὰρ καὶ κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐλαφύτων συναλίζοντες, εἰς τὸ πολιτικὸν ἐκόλαζε δικασήσαν. . . κ. λ. *Ib. p. 65.*



A. D. 391. Socrates says, “ that (*g*) *Theophilus* broke in pieces, or melted down all the images of the Gods in Egypt, except one only, which he preserved, and had it set up in a public place, least, as he said, the Gentils should hereafter deny that they had worshiped such Gods. And I know, says Socrates, that *Ammonius*, the Grammarian, was much offended at this. He said, the religion of the Greeks had been horribly abused: and that one image only had been preserved, with no other view, than to expose them to ridicule.”

What image that was, does not, I think, clearly appear. But it is generally supposed to have been an image of the Ape. Which *Lucian* (*b*) reckons among the gods worshiped by the Egyptians, or, as his expression is, which were raised from Egypt to heaven. And here *Ammonius* is said by Socrates to have been a priest of the Ape.

*Learned Heathens now at Alexandria.* II. We should now take some farther notice of the learned Heathens, which have been mentioned in this historie of the destruction of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria. One of these is *Olympus*, or *Olympius*, the other two are *Ammonius* and *Helladius*, to whom may be added *Theophilus*.

*Olympius.* Socrates, (*i*) as we have seen, says, “ that when *Theophilus*, Bishop of Alexandria, exposed some obscene figures found in the Heathen temples, the Gentils, and especially the Philosophers, were greatly provoked, and could not bear it without resentment.” By *Rufinus* (*k*) we are assured, that when the Gentils took up arms against the Christians, and betook themselves to the temple of Serapis, as a citadel, they chose *Olympius* for their leader, who

(*g*) Πάντας δὲ τὰς θεὰς συντρίψας ὁ Θεόφιλος, ἐν ἀγαλμα τῆς τῆς θεῆς ἀρχαίου τινος τιμῆς κατέλυσας, δημοσίᾳ προέστησεν, ἵνα, φησὶ, χρεῖται προΐοντος μὴ ἀρνήσονται οἱ Ἕλληνες τοιούτους προσκυνοῦντας θεὰς. Ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ πάντι δυνάμει δὲ δὲ Ἀμμωνίου τὸν γραμματικόν, ὃς ἔλεγε δευρὸς περὶ τῶν τῶν ἑλλήνων θρησκείας, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὁ εἰς αἰδοῦντος ἐχανεύθη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γέλωτι τῆς ἑλλήνων θρησκείας φυλάττηται. Socrat. p. 275.

(*b*) *Lucian. Deor. Conviv. p. 713. Tom. 2. Græc.*

(*i*) *Socrat. l. 5. cap. 16. p. 274. D. And see here p*

(*k*) Ad postremum grassantes in sanguine civium ducem sceleris et audaciae suae deligunt Olympum quendam, nomine et habitu philosophum, quo antesignano arcem defenderent, et tyrannidem tenerent. *Ruf. l. 20. 22.*



A. D.  
374

who had the habit and character of a philosopher. Sozomen says, that (1) *Olympius*, who was there with them, and wore the habit of a Philosopher, told them, that they ought not to neglect the religion of their countrey, and that they ought to be willing to dye for it, if there was occasion, and when he saw them concerned for the destruction of the images, he exhorted them not to be discouraged: for they were made of corruptible materials, and were images only, and therefore were liable to be destroyed. But they were inhabited by certain powers, which fled away to heaven. Thus, says Sozomen, he harangued to the multitude of Greeks, which were with him at the temple of Serapis. Nevertheless, soon after the arrival of the Emperour's rescript, as the same Sozomen says, this zealous, and courageous Philosopher, withdrew from the Serapeum privately, and taking shipping, sailed away to Italie." *Olympius* therefore was with the other Gentils at the temple of Serapis, when they fought with the Christians. And he acted with them and animated them, as a General, and as a Heathen Philosopher. After which he left Alexandria, and went by ship to Italie.

I see no reason to doubt the truth of any of these things, about which there is great agreement in our ecclesiastical historians. But there is somewhat more to be added concerning *Olympius* from an ancient Heathen writer. It is an article in *Suidas*, supposed, to be taken by him from *Damascius*. Of which therefore I shall here give a literal version at length.

"*Olympius*, (m) brother of *Generosa*. He came from Cilicia to Alexandria, to worship Serapis. He was in all respects an admirable person, tall, and well made, of a beautifull and liberal countenance, affable and agreeable to all in conversation, and of such wisdom as to be usefull to all, who were disposed to hearken to his counsels. Nor could any man be of so hard and in-

G g 2

flexible

(1) Ἐπετα δὲ καὶ Ὀλύμπιος τις ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ ῥήματι συνὼν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πείθων χρῆναι μὴ ἀμελεῖν τῶν πατριῶν, ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θησκειν καθαιρουμένων δὲ τὸν ἱερέα, στυμνόντας ὄραν, συνεβούλησε μὴ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς θρησκείας, ὕλην φαρτῆν καὶ ἐν δόγματι λαόνων εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείναι

μὲν ὑπομένειν δυνάμεις δὲ τινὰς ἐνδοκῆσαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀποπέμψαι. Ἐκαστὸς μὲν, τοιάδε εἰσηγούμενος καὶ πληθὺν ἐλλήνων ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐν τῷ σερατείῳ διέτριβεν. Sozom. l. 17. c. 15. p. 724. 725.

(m) Vide Suid.

A. D. 391 "flexible a temper, as not to be swayed by the words that proceeded out of his mouth. Indeed the charms of his speech were such, that they might be justly reckoned rather divine than human. For all which reasons he was appointed by the Alexandrians Master of the sacred rites, and at a time, when the affairs of the State were going down like a torrent. He therefore, as he had opportunity, inculcated to all the ancient legal institutions, and the great happiness, which all who observed them exactly might expect from the Divine Being. Such was Olympius, who was full of God, insomuch that he foretold to his friends, that Serapis was about to forsake his temple. Which also came to pass."

That article, as before said, is supposed to be taken by Suidas from (n) Damascius. Indeed the name of Olympius does not appear in Photius's extracts from Damascius. Nevertheless a large part of this paragraph is there word for word. And Suidas might take this article from Damascius himself. Which to me does not appear improbable. Valesius thought, that (o) this article in Suidas was taken from Eunapius. But the other account is more likely.

This earnest and affectionate commendation of Olympius deserves our notice. The Gentil people did all they could to uphold their religion. Their Philosophers, and other learned men, encouraged them by their example, and exhortations. And the people revered their leaders. This character of Olympius appears to me much studied, and highly finished. I have translated it, as well as I can. But I refer also to the original Greek in Suidas. For I do not think, I have done it justice in my translation.

*Ammonius and Hel-  
ladius.* Beside *Olympius*, we have seen in Socrates mention made of two other learned men, very zealous for their religion, both whilst they were at Alexandria, and when they afterwards lived at Constantinople.

(n) Totus hic articulus ex Damascio sumptus est. Apud Photium enim in Excerptis ex Damascio pag. 1036. 1037. omnia ista verba . . . vix syllaba vel vocula aliqua mutata leguntur. Unde facile conjicias, et reliqua, quae Suidas hic habet, ex eodem Damascio excerpta esse. *Kuster. in loc.*

(o) Et Suidas in voce Ὀλυμπος. Ubi luculentum affert fragmentum de hoc Olympo ex Historia Romana Eunapii Sardiani, ut ex Stilo conjicere licet. *Vales. ann. in Sozom. l. 5.*

stantinople. At this last place Socrates, when young, studied A. D. under them. Whence it may be argued, that they also were young 391. men, when the temple of Serapis was destroyed at Alexandria in the year 391. He calls them Grammarians. But they were also priests. *Helladius* was priest of Jupiter, *Ammonius* of Simias, or the Ape. We cannot forbear to observe, that many Heathens, who were eminent for their learning, and upon other accounts, were also priests to their gods. Here we have two instances. The Younger *Pliny* also, as we saw (*p*) formerly, was Augur. It was a priesthood, upon which he set a great value. *Arrian*, who published the Discourses of *Epietetus*, and was the author of many works, and a man of the first rank among the Romans, was (*q*) priest of Ceres and her daughter. All the Roman Emperours, as I suppose, upon seating themselves on the throne, took upon them the character of High Priest, or *Pontifex Maximus*. Mark Antonin (*r*) was introduced by Adrian into the college of the priests, called *Salii*, at the age of eight years. And Mark made himself compleat master of all the rules of that order, so as to be able to discharge himself all the functions of that priesthood. And now, as may be supposed, he gained, in childhood, a deep tincture of superstition, which grew up with him, and was retained by him ever afterwards. And this early priesthood may be added to the (*s*) other causes and reasons of his disaffection to Christians, and their principles. *Olympius*, as it seems, was not a priest. He was a Philosopher. But he had a great zeal for the Greek religion, as most of the Philosophers then had, and he was so skillfull in the rites of it, as to be qualified to be a teacher of them to others.

There is still one person more to be taken notice of, before we *Theophilus* leave this storie. It is *Theophilus*, Bishop of Alexandria, who was a principal agent in the destruction of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and other temples, all over Egypt. He was a zealous, and active man. But was blamable upon many accounts: as was observed (*t*) formerly. Cave (*u*) who computes his episcopacie from 385.

(*p*) See the second volume of this work. p. 49. 70.

(*q*) See vol. ii. p. 97. 98.

(*r*) As before, p. 165.

(*s*) As above, p. 181. &c. of vol. 2.

(*t*) *Credib. P. 2. ch. cxiv. fol. x. p. 23.* &c.

(*u*) *Hist. Lit. Tem. i. p. 279.*



A. D. 385. to 412. says, "he strenuously opposed the Gentil superstition, and not only destroyed the temples of idols to the foundation, but also exposed the frauds of the Priests, by which they had deceived the people." As Tillemont says, "he (x) shewed a great deal " of zeal against idolatrie, and in building churches, and erecting " monasteries." But he allows, that upon divers occasions he betrayed pride, and ambition, and practised injustice. He (y) even admits, the truth of the character of this Bishop, which is in Isidore of Pelusium. Eunapius, as quoted above, accused some of making a rich booty, when the images of the gods were destroyed. Tillemont supposeth, that (z) *Theophilus* himself was intended in that charge. I add no more, but I refer to Tillemont's sixth and seventh articles in the historie of *Theophilus*.

Other  
Temples  
demolished  
in 388.

III. Other Heathen temples were destroyed about this time. I shall recite here a storie or two from our ecclesiastical historians. And I shall recite them in their own words. If they betray credulity, and superstition, yet I shall recite them fairly, as they are. For it must be acknowledged, that they have mixed error and falshood together with the truth of the Christian Religion. It cannot be denied, and we and they must take the shame of it. The Emperour Theodosius, as Theodoret (a) says, resolved to extirpate Gentilism. And gave orders for pulling down their temples. "*Marcellus* (b) an excellent man in all respects, was the first Bishop, who undertook to destroy the temples of the place in which he presided, trusting more to the help of God, than to any assistance from men. *John*, Bishop of Apamea, formerly mentioned, was dead. This *Marcellus* had been ordained in his room, " a man truly divine, and *fervent in spirit*, according to the direction of the Apostle. There came to Apamea the Prefect of the " East, [Cynegius] having with him two tribunes, with the soldiers under their command. The people were quiet through fear " of

Rom. xii.  
11.

(x) *Theophile. art. vi. Tom. xi p. 452.* loit leurs temples. *Ibid. art. vii. p. 457.*  
 (y) Il seroit difficile, comme on a dit, de recuser sur cela S. Isidore de Peluse. (a) *Theodoret. l. v. cap. 21. p. 226. . . 228.*  
 l. i. ep. 152. *Ibid.*  
 (z) Eunape l'accuse d'avoir profité secrettement des richesses dont il depouil- (b) Πρωτος μέντοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχιερέων Μάρκελλος. κ. λ. p. 226. D.



“ of the soldiers. He endeavored to destroy the temple of Jupi- A. D.  
 “ ter, which was very large and magnificent. But seeing that the 388.  
 “ structure was very firm and solid, and that the stones were of ex-  
 “ traordinarie size, and cemented with lead and iron, he judged it  
 “ impossible to remove them by any human power. Marcellus  
 “ seeing the timidity of the Prefect, sent him away to other cities.  
 “ Himself made his supplication to the Deity, for directions how  
 “ to accomplish his design. In the morning there came to him of  
 “ his own accord a man, who was neither a carpenter, nor a ma-  
 “ son, nor skillfull in any employment, but only had been wont  
 “ to carry wood and stones upon his shoulders. He assured Mar-  
 “ cellus, that he could easily pull down the temple, if he would  
 “ but allow him pay for two workmen, which was readily promi-  
 “ sed him. He then proceeded in this manner. The temple was  
 “ built upon an eminence, surrounded by a portico on all the four  
 “ sides, with large pillars, reaching up to the top of the temple.  
 “ The pillars were sixteen feet in circumference, of a very firm  
 “ stone, not easie to be pierced by the iron instruments of the ma-  
 “ son. The workmen dug round each pillar, going from one to  
 “ another, and laid wood of olives under them. In that manner  
 “ he had undermined three of the pillars, and then set fire to the  
 “ wood. But (c) a black demon appeared, and hindred the ope-  
 “ ration of the fire. This was done several times. Seeing then  
 “ that they were not able to advance, they came to Marcellus,  
 “ when he was asleep at rest in the afternoon, and told him of it.  
 “ Whereupon he went to the divine temple, and put water under  
 “ the divine altar. And prostrating himself with his face to the  
 “ ground, he entreated the mercifull Lord, to restrain the influ-  
 “ ence of the demon, and at once to manifest his weaknesse, and  
 “ his own power, least the unbelieving should take occasion to lar-  
 “ den themselves yet more and more. Having finished his prayer,  
 “ he signed the water with the sign of the crosse, and gave it to  
 “ his deacon *Equitius*, who was full of faith and zeal. And bid  
 “ him go presently, and sprinkle the place with the water, and  
 “ then put fire to it, trusting in the power of God. Which being  
 “ done, the demon, not enduring the force of the water, fled a-  
 “ way.

(c) . . . δάιμων τις φαίνόμενος μέλας, ἢ καλίων τῆς φλογὸς τὴν ἐνέργειαν κ. λ. p.  
 227. D.

A. D. 388 “ way. The fire then kindling the water like oyle, burnt with  
 “ fiercenesse. The wooden props were presently consumed, and  
 “ the three pillars, by which they had been supported, fell to the  
 “ ground, and the other twelve pillars with them. The side of  
 “ the temple, which adjoynd to them fell likewise. The sound  
 “ was heard throughout the whole city. When they heard how  
 “ the demon had been put to flight, all the Christians in the place  
 “ lift up their voices in hymns to the God of the universe. That  
 “ divine man destroyed all the other temples thereabout. And  
 “ there are many other wonderfull things, that might be said of  
 “ him. For he wrote letters to the invincible Martyrs, and re-  
 “ ceived letters from them. At length he also obtained the crown  
 “ of martyrdom. But I forbear to proceed any farther, that I may  
 “ not be tedious to the readers.”

What has been omitted by Theodoret, we may find in (*d*) So-  
 zomen, to whom therefore we now proceed. He says, “ that (*e*)  
 “ in many places the Greeks defended their temples, and fought  
 “ for them. This was the case of the people of *Petra* and *Are-*  
 “ *opolis* in Arabia : of *Rapha* and *Gaza* in Palestine : of *Heliopolis*  
 “ in Phenicia, and particularly of the Syrians in *Apamea*, near the  
 “ river *Axius* : who, as I have been informed, did several times  
 “ call in to their assistance the Galileans, and people of other vil-  
 “ lages near mount Libanus. At length their audaciousnesse pro-  
 “ ceeded so far as to kill *Marcellus* Bishop of the place. For (*f*)  
 “ perceiving, that they were not otherwise to be brought off from  
 “ their old way of worship, he was very intent upon destroying  
 “ their temples in the cities and villages. And when he heard that  
 “ there was a large temple in *Aulonis*, which was in the territorie  
 “ of the *Apameans*, taking with him some soldiers and gladiators,  
 “ he went thither. But when he came near, he staid at a place  
 “ out of the reach of darts. For he was lame in his feet, and was  
 “ unable to fight : nor could he pursue, or flee. When the soldi-  
 “ ers

(*d*) *Sozom. l. 7. cap. xv. p. 725. 726.*

(*e*) Εἰσέτι δὲ κατὰ πόλεις τινὰς προθύμως  
 ὑπερμαχόντο τῶν τῶν ἐλληνιστῶν. *p. 725.*  
*B. C.*

(*f*) Λογισόμενος γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἔλλως αὐτοῖς  
 ἐάσειον μετατεθῆναι τῆς προτέρας θρησκείας, τὸς

ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς κώμας νύκτε κατεβρέφα-  
 το. Πυθόμενος δὲ μέγιστον εἶναι ναὸν ἐν τῷ  
 Αὐλῶνι, κλίμα δὲ τότε τῆς Ἀπαμείων χώρας,  
 στρατιώτας τινὰς καὶ μοναμάχους παραλαβὼν, ἐπὶ  
 τοῦτο ἦεν. *p. 725. C. D.*

“ ers and gladiators were employed in pulling down the temple, some  
 “ of the Greeks understanding that he was alone, in a place quite  
 “ out of the battle, they went thither. And coming upon him all  
 “ on a sudden, they laid hold of him, and threw him into the fire,  
 “ where he died. For a while this was a secret. But afterwards,  
 “ when the authors were known, the sons of Marcellus were de-  
 “ sirous to have the death of their father avenged. But a synod of  
 “ that countrey forbid it, saying, it was not fit, that vengeance  
 “ should be taken for such a death, for which they had cause to  
 “ be thankfull, both he that had died, and also his kindred and  
 “ friends, as having been thought worthie to dye for God.”

These two stories are joyned together by (f) Nicephorus, and told by him in connexion, placing them in the same order that I have done, first rehearsing the historie in Theodoret, and then that from Sozomen.

And now upon these accounts we may make some remarks.

1. In the first place, it must appear somewhat strange to all, that so learned a man as Theodoret should speak of a demon of a black colour, and ascribe to him the interruption, which Marcellus met with in accomplishing his design. It is also very strange, that he should ascribe the downfall of the temple of Jupiter at *Apaméa* to a miraculous interposition. The demolition of that temple was effected by natural means, as well as the demolition of the other temple at *Aulonis*, mentioned by Sozomen. The workman, who offered his service to Marcellus, was not an architect, but he had labored under good architects. When he came to Marcellus, he assured him, that he could easily overthrow the temple, if he would allow him pay for two helpers under him. And doubtless he so undermined the pillars, and wall of the temple, that all fell to the ground, when he had set fire to the wooden props, which he had set up to support them, for a while, that they might not fall, till he and his under-workmen were withdrawn.

2. The first of these temples, that at *Apaméa*, if not also the other, at *Aulonis*, was demolished by *Marcellus*, before there were any imperial edicts for pulling down Heathen temples.

This,

(f) *Niceph. l. 12. c. 17. p. 276. . . . 278.*

A. D.  
388.

This, I think, may be well argued from Theodoret's introduction to the storie told by him. For it was done soon after that the *Præfekt of the East* came to Apaméa, meaning *Cynegius*, as *Valesius* also supposed. But *Cynegius* died in 388. when there were yet no orders from *Theodosius* for pulling down of temples. By *Zosimus* we are assured, that (g) the Commission of *Cynegius*, who was now going to Egypt was only to forbid sacrifices, and shut up the temples. Which is agreeable to the sentiment of *James Gothofred* in his (h) notes upon the oration of *Libanius* for the Temples.

3. The zeal of *Marcellus* is indeed very extraordinarie, and I humbly conceive unjustifiable. He acted without imperial authority. And if he had such authority, I cannot say, that such laws are equitable. I think, that the Bishops should neither have demolished Heathen temples themselves, nor advised the Emperour to shut them up, and pull them down. Is it not an extraordinarie thing, to see a Bishop of the Christian rite, leave the place of his residence, and go into the countrey, with a troop of soldiers and \* \* gladiators at his heels, to demolish a beautifull and magnificent edifice, which might in time be converted into a temple for the worship of the living God? Whether he acts upon his own private judgement only, or with imperial authority, it makes no great difference. The duty of Christian Ministers is to *preach the word, to be instant in season, and out of season, to exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine*. And they should have advised the Christian Emperours to tolerate and protect all peaceable subjects of every denomination: punishing all, and only those who disturbed the peace by a riotous

(g) *Zos* l. 4. p. 762. The words of *Zosimus* are transcribed above, at p. 261. note (a).

(h) Quo tempore etiam passim in oriente, et quidem in Syria, templa per Monachos, Episcopos, et Clericos, diruebantur, vel ut diruerentur, iidem agebant. Quales sane hoc tempore exstiter Joannes Chrysostomus, tum presbyter Antiochenus, ab. A. D. 386. ad 398 ut vitæ ejus scriptores edocent: item *Marcellus* Apamææ episcopus, de quo *Theodoretus* l. 5 cap. 21. cum nulla adhuc constitutio

a *Theodosio* M. de templis occludendis diruendisve promulgata fuisset, quod *Libanius* hac oratione exerte testatur. *Gothofred*, in *Liban Orat.* p. 39. 40. See also *Tillem. L'Emp. Theodos.* art. 58. p. 672. in the notes

\* \* \* For *μοναχες*, gladiators, I have had a mind to put *μοναχες*, monks. But it is the same reading both in *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus*. Otherwise I should have chosen the later, out of respect to *Marcellus*: though either is bad enough.



a riotous behaviour. There can be no question made, but in this way truth would have prevailed, and much more, and better, than by the injurious proceedings of the Bishops and Clergie of this time. I presume, that the Apostle Paul had a true-zeal for his Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and that he knew, as well as any others, the best way of propagating his religion in the world. Who says, *the servant of the Lord must not strive*, [fight, μάχεσθαι,] *but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient: in meeknesse instructing them that oppose themselves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgement of the truth.* A. D. 388.

Finally, therefore, the Synod of that countrey was much in the right to determine, that the death of *Marcellus* ought not to be avenged. He had brought it upon himself by his violent proceedings against his neighbours, who indeed were erroneous, but nevertheless were quiet and peaceable, so far as appears, and therefore should not have been disturbed, nor provoked.

Nor would the Emperour *Theodosius*, as we may remember, allow (i) them to be avenged, who had suffered death from Heathen people, in their attempts to demolish the temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

## SECT. VI. *A pretended Heathen Oracle, foretelling the period of the Christian Religion.*

**A**UGUSTIN, in his Work of the City of God, tells us, “ that (a) some Gentils uneasy at the long duration of the Christian Religion, published some Greek verses, as received  
H h h 2 “ from

(i) See before, p. 407.

(a) Sed haec quia evangelica sententia est, mirum non est ea repressos fuisse deorum multorum falsorumque cultores, quo minus fingerent daemonum responsis, quos tanquam deos colunt, definitum esse quanto tempore mansura esset religio Christiana. Cum enim viderent, nec tot tantisque persecutionibus eam potuisse consumi, sed his potius mira incrementa sum-

fisse, excogitaverunt nescio quos versus Graecos, tanquam consulenti cuidam divino oraculo effusos, ubi Christum quidem ab hujus tanquam sacrilegii crimine faciunt innocentem, Petrum autem maleficiis fecisse subjungunt, ut coleretur Christi nomen per trecentos sexaginta quinque annos, deinde completo memorato numero annorum sine mora sumeret finem. *De Civ. Dei* l. 18. cap. 53.

A. D. 398. “ from an Oracle, which some person had consulted, wherein it  
 “ was declared, that it should subsist for three hundred and five  
 “ and sixty years, and then fall to the ground : Where also Christ is  
 “ represented as innocent, and it is said, that Peter by his magical  
 “ arts had brought it about, that Christ should be worshiped so  
 “ long”

Upon this Oracle Augustin makes divers observations. He also considers, when the beginning of this period should be dated : “ He  
 “ (b) thinks, not from the nativity of Jesus, but from his resurrec-  
 “ tion, or the pouring out of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples,  
 “ when the revelation of the gospel was compleated, and men were  
 “ every where called upon to believe in Jesus Christ crucified, and  
 “ risen from the dead. According to this computation, and in his  
 “ way of reckoning, that period of three hundred and five and  
 “ sixty years, would expire in the Consulship of Honorius and Eu-  
 “ tychianus, the year of Christ 398. And, in the next, in the  
 “ Consulship of Manlius Theodorus, according to the oracle of  
 “ demons, or the fiction of men, the Christian Religion would  
 “ cease to be any where. But in that very year, without inquiring  
 “ what was done in other parts of the earth, he says, the Counts  
 “ Gaudentius and Jovius, by order of the Emperour Honorius, de-  
 “ stroyed the temples, and broke the images of false Gods in Car-  
 “ thage, the principal city of Africa. Since which time, now for  
 “ the

(b) Sed quoniam prius quam passus es-  
 set, et resurrexit a mortuis, nondum fides  
 omnibus fuerat definita, . . . melius in  
 hac quaestione solvenda inde initium su-  
 mmus, praesertim quia tunc datus est  
 Spiritus Sanctus . . . Ibi ergo exorsus est  
 hujus nominis cultus, ut in Christum Je-  
 sum, qui crucifixus fuerat, et resurrexe-  
 rat, crederetur. . . . Ac per hoc colligitur  
 etiam dies, ex quo annus ipse sumsit ini-  
 tium, scilicet quando missus est Spiritus  
 Sanctus, id est, per Idus Maias. Nume-  
 ratis proinde Consulibus trecenti sexaginta  
 quinque anni reperiuntur impleti per eas-  
 dem idus consulatu Honorii et Eutychiani.  
 Porro sequenti anno, Consule Manlio  
 Theodoro, quando jam secundum illud  
 oraculum daemonum, aut figmentum ho-

minum, nulla religio Christiana, quid per  
 alias terrarum partes forsitan factum sit,  
 non fuit necesse perquirere. Interim quid  
 scimus incivitate notissima et eminentissi-  
 ma Carthagine Africae Gaudentius et Jo-  
 vius comites Imperatoris Honorii, quar-  
 to-decimo Kalendas Aprilis falsorum de-  
 orum templa everterunt, et simulacra fre-  
 gerunt. Ex quo usque ad hoc tempus  
 per triginta forme annos quis non videat,  
 quantum creverit cultus nominis Christi,  
 praesertim postea quam multi eorum Chri-  
 stiani facti sunt, qui tanquam vera illa di-  
 vinatione revocabantur a fide, eamque  
 completo eodem annorum numero ina-  
 nem ridendamque viderunt? *Id. ib. cap.  
 liv.*

“ the space of almost thirty years, the Christian religion has spread  
“ and flourished, and many have been converted to the faith, see-  
“ ing the evident falshood of that pretended oracle, on which they  
“ had for a while relied.”

We may hence see, that the Gentils did all they could to uphold their falling religion. But fictions, when detected, and exposed, in the end weaken the cause, for the sake of which they are contrived.

# SECT. VII. *The Demolition of the Temple of Coelestis at Carthage in 399.*

THE demolition of the temple of the goddesse *Coelestis* at Carthage is also spoken of at the year 399 by several of our (a) ecclesiastical historians. The historie of this event is taken from the book of Promises and Predictions, sometimes ascribed to Prosper of Aquitain, but not his, and probably writ by (b) an African. This *Coelestis* is by some supposed to be the same as *Astarte*, the Goddesse of the Sidonians.

A. D.  
399.

“ At (c) Carthage in Africa, says that writer, there was a magnificent temple of prodigious magnitude, encompassed also by  
“ temples of all the gods. The place was surrounded with beautiful walls, the streets well paved with stones, and adorned with  
“ pillars: the whole in compass not much less than two miles. It  
“ having been shut up some while before, and after that neglected,  
“ it was grown over with thorns and thistles. And when the Christians proposed to apply it to the uses of their own religion, the  
“ Gentil people exclaimed against it, crying out, that there were  
“ dragons and asps, which guarded the temple, so that it would  
“ be

(a) *Pagi* 399. xi. xii. *Basnag.* 399. viii. *Tillem. Honoré.* art. xiii.

(b) See the *Credib.* P. 2. ch. cxxxv. vol. xi. p. 138.

(c) Apud Africanam Carthaginensi Coelestis inesse ferebant templum nimis amplum, omnium deorum suorum aedibus valla-

tum. Cujus platea lithostrata, pavimento ac pretiosis columnis et moenibus decorata, prope in duobus fere millibus passuum provendebatur. Cum diutius clausum incuria, spinosa virgulta circumseptum obruerent, velletque populus Christianus usui verae religionis vindicare, dracones,

A. D. 399. " be dangerous to come near. But the Christians, instead of being terrified thereby, were the more animated with a desire to clear the ground, and consecrate the place to the truly heavenly King, their Lord. It was now time of Easter. And in the presence of a great multitude of people, when that great prelate, and father of many Priests, placed his chair in the seat of the goddesse Coelestis, and took possession of it; I my-self, says the writer, was there with my friends and companions. And rambling about with curious eyes, as young people are apt to do, we saw an inscription in large brass letters, in the front of the temple: THE PONTIFF AURELIUS DEDICATED THIS TEMPLE. When we observed it, we could not but admire the disposal of Providence, which had afforded a prophetic intimation of this event, and that this temple should be now consecrated by the prelate *Aurelius*:" meaning him, who was then Bishop of Carthage.

This temple had been shut up for some while, ever since the year 391. or thereabout, as is supposed, agreeable to some law of Theodosius about that time for shutting up the Gentil temples.

The inscription here referred to is supposed by learned men (*d*) to have been upon a pedestal, over which was placed the image of the Goddesse Coelestis.

To

cones, aspidesque illic esse ob custodiam templi, Gentilis populus clamitabat. Quo magis Christiani fervore succensi, ea facilitate omnia amoverunt illaesi, quâ templum vero Coelesti Regi ac Domino consecrarent. Nam cum sancta Paschae solennis ageretur festivitas, collecta illic et undique omni curiositate etiam adveniens multitudo, Sacerdotum multorum pater, et dignae memoriae nominandus antistes Aurelius, coelestis jam patriae civis, Cathedram illic loco Coelestis et habuit, et sedit. Ipse tunc aderam cum sociis et

amicis, atque, ut se adolescentium aetas impatiens circumquaque vertebat, dum curiosi singula quaeque pro magnitudine inspicimus, mirum quoddam et incredibile nostrum se ingessit aspectui, titulus aeneis grandioribusque literis in frontispicio templi conscriptus: AURELIUS PONTIFFEX DEDICAVIT. Hunc legentes populi mirabantur, Praefago spiritu acta, quae praescius Dei ordo certo iro fine concluderat. *De Promiss. et Praedict. Dei. Part. 3. Cap. 38.*

(*d*) Vide Pagi. 399. xii.



To the Invincible  
Coeleſtis  
Aurelius Onesi-  
mus  
Dedicates this Image.

INVICTAE  
COLESTI  
AUR. ONESI  
MUS : D. D.

SECT. VIII. *An Image of Hercules destroyed by the  
Christians at Suffeſta in Africa.*

ABOUT the same time (\*) a temple of Hercules was attacked A. D.  
by the Christians at *Suffeſta*, a Roman Colonie, and the 399.  
image of Hercules was destroyed. But the Gentils resisted, and  
killed at least sixty Christians. Upon this occasion Augustin wrote a  
short but severe letter to the magistrates and principal men of the  
Colonie. He tells them, “ that (a) they had lost all regard for  
“ the Roman laws, and cast off the fear and reverence due to the  
“ Emperours. He tells them, that for a sum of money they could  
“ purchase

(\*) *Vide Pagi 399. xiii. Tillem. L'Emp.  
Honoré. art. xiv.*

(a) Immanitatis vestrae famosissimum  
scelus, et inopinata crudelitas terram con-  
cutit, et percutit coelum, ut in plateis ac  
delubris vestris eluceat sanguis, et resonet  
homicidium. Apud vos Romanae sepul-  
tae sunt leges, judiciorum rectorum cal-  
catus est terror. Imperatorum certe nul-  
la veneratio, nec timor. Apud vos LX  
numero fratrum innocens effusus est san-  
guis, et si quis plures occidit, functus est  
laudibus, et in vestram curiam tenuit prin-  
cipatum. Age nunc, principalem veniamus  
ad causam. Si Herculem vestrum

dixeritis, porro reddemus. Adfunt me-  
talla, saxa nec defunt. Accedunt mar-  
morum genera, suppetit artificum copia.  
Ceterum Deus vester cum diligentia icul-  
pitur, tornatur, et ornatur. Addimus et  
rubricam, quae pingit ruborem, quo pos-  
sint vestra sacra sonare. Nam si vestrum  
Herculem dixeritis, collatis singulis numi-  
nis ab artifice vestra emimus Deum. Red-  
dite igitur animas, quas manus vestra  
contorlit : et sicuti a nobis vester Hercu-  
les redhibetur, sic etiam a vobis tanto-  
rum animae reddantur. *Aug. Ep. 50. al.*  
238.

“ purchase for them another Hercules. There is no want of metal, or stone, or fine marble. And artificers may be had. Another Hercules may be procured, as well turned, and beautiful, as the other. But they were not able to restore the souls of those whom they had destroyed.”

So writes Augustin. He ridicules them handsomely. But I see no threatenings of severe vengeance. However, he charges them strongly with violation of the Roman Laws, and disrespect to the authority of the Emperours. And I suppose, leaves the punishment to the Imperial Officers.

SECT. IX. *A Disturbance at Calama in Numidia, in the year 408.*

A. D. 408. **T**HE Gentil superstition, as (a) Pagi says, was destroyed gradually. First of all, sacrifices were forbid, then other rites, and lastly feasts, and other solemnities.

I shall therefore now take notice of a disturbance that happened at *Calama*, a Roman colonie in Numidia, as related by Augustin, and placed by some in the year (b) 408. by others in 409. It followed soon after a law enacted by Honorius in the year 407. or 408. in which the solemnities of the Gentils are expressly prohibited.

The disturbance is particularly related by Augustin in one of his letters. “ On (c) the first day of June, in contempt of laws lately enacted, the Pagans celebrated one of their sacrilegious solemnities, without prohibition from any, passing through the streets, and dancing before the church in an insolent manner, not practised even in the times of Julian. And when some ecclesiastics attempted

(a) Ex his liquet, quibusnam gradibus Gentilium superstitio pessundata fuerit. Primo quidem sacrificia tantum prohibita: mox et alii ritus gentilitii: tandem etiam et convivia solemnitatesque aliae vetitae. *Pagi. ann. 399. num. ix.*

(b) Vide Pagi. A. D. 399. xiv. Tillem. *St. Augustin. art. 171.*

(c) Contra recentissimas leges, Calendis Juniis festo Paganorum sacrilega solemnitas agitata est, nemine prohibente, tam insolente ausu, ut quod nec Juliani temporibus factum est, petulantissima turba saltantium in eodem prorsus vico ante fores transiret ecclesiae. Quam rem illicitissimam et indignissimam clericis prohibere

“ attempted to interrupt them, they threw stones against the church.” A. D. 408.

“ About eight days after, when the Bishop put the chief men of the city in mind of the law, of which they were not before ignorant, and when they were going to take some care of the affair, as the laws directed, those intolent people again threw stones at the church. The next day the ecclesiastics, in order to restrain those people by the dread of the laws, went to the magistrates, desiring to enter a proceſſe againſt them. But were reſuſed. On the ſame day, as if the Divine Being had interpoſed to fill them with terrouſ, there fell a heavie hail in return for their ſhower of ſtones. But as ſoon as it was over, they began the third time to throw ſtones, and alſo ſet fire to ſome of the dwellings of the eccleſiaſtics. And they actually killed one ſervant of God, [*meaning, as I ſuppoſe, a Monk,*] whom they met with, the reſt hiding themſelves where they could, or running away to be out of danger. The Biſhop [*Poſſidius, Auguſtin's friend,*] hid himſelf in a private place, where he heard the noiſe of thoſe who were ſearching for him, with intent to kill him, and ſaying among themſelves, that they had yet done nothing till they could find him.” Auguſtin goes on, complaining, that the magiſtrates all this while were very negligent, though Chriſtians, as it ſeems,

*Nectarius,*

bere tentantibus, eccleſia lapidata eſt. Deinde poſt dies ferme octo, cum leges notiſſimas episcopus ordini replicaveſſet, et dum ea quae juſſa ſunt, velut implere diſponunt, iterum eccleſia lapidata eſt. Poſt-ridie noſtris ad imponendum perditis me-um, quod videbatur apud Acta dicere vo- lentibus publica jura negata ſunt. Eo- demque ipſo die, ut vel divinitus terre- rentur, grando lapidationibus reddita eſt: qua tranſacta continuo tertiam lapidatio- nem, et poſtremo ignes eccleſiaſticis tec- tis et hominibus intulerunt: unum ſervum Dei, qui oberrans, occurrere potuit, oc-

ciderunt, ceteris partim ubi poterant la- titantes, partim qua potuerant fugientes: cum interea contruſus atque coarctatus quodam loco ſe occultaret episcopus, ubi ſe ad mortem quaerentium voces audie- bat, ſibi increpantium, quod eo non in- vento gratis tantum perpetraveſſent ſcelus. Geſta ſunt haec ab hora ſere decima uſ- que ad noctis partem non minimam. Ne- mo compeſcere, nemo ſubvenire tentavit illorum, quorum eſſe gravis poſſet aucto- ritas, . . . &c. *Aug. Ep. 91. al. 202. §. 8.*

A. D. 408. *Nectarius*, a Pagan, native of Calama, and a man of distinction in the place, and now in years, hearing of this disturbance, and apprehensive of the consequences, wrote a respectfull letter to Augustin, earnestly entreating for mercie. "He acknowledgeth, (*d*) that the offense was great. But he hopes, that the resentment might be mitigated. He is pleased, as he says, to think, that he is writing to a man of so good understanding, as Augustin: tells him, how becoming tenderneſſe muſt be in the episcopal character. He reminds him, that it is the place of his nativity, for which he juſtly has a great affection, and wiſheth to leave it, when he dies, in a flourishing condition. Damages, he ſays, may be repaired: other puniſhment might be forbore. Above all, let not innocent men ſuffer with the guilty."

To that letter Augustin preſently wrote an answer. It is the letter, out of which the foregoing extracts have been made, as Augustin there relates diſtinctly the behaviour of the people of Calama.

With regard to the petition of *Nectarius*, in favour of them: his answer is in general to this purpose. "That (*e*) he and other Biſhops are diſpoſed to ſhew all the gentleneſſe, which becomes Chriſtians. At the ſame time it was fit to inflict ſuch puniſhment, as might be ſufficient to deter others from following a bad example."

That letter was afterwards answered by *Nectarius*: to which Augustin alſo made a reply. But I do not think it needfull for me to make

(*d*) Sed quoniam crescit in dies singulos dilectio et gratia civitatis, quantumque aetas fini proxima est, tantum incolumen ac florentem relinquere patriam cupimus. Idcirco gaudeo primum, quod apud instructum ducipunis omnibus virum mihi hic est terminus institutus. In Calamensi colonia multa sunt, quae merito diligamus. vel quod in ea geniti sumus, vel quod eidem magna contulisse videmur officia. Haec ergo, domine praestantissime et merito suscipiende, non levi populi sui erratu prolapsa est. Quod quidem si juris publici rigore metiamur, debet plecti severiori censura. Sed episcopum fas non

est, nisi salutem hominibus impertire, et pro statu meliore causis adesse, et apud omnipotentem Deum veniam aliorum mereri delictis. Quamobrem quanta possum supplicatione deprecor, ut si defendenda res [non] est, innoxius defendatur, ab innocentibus molestia reparetur. . . De damnis facilis potest haberi taxatio, tantum supplicia deprecamur. *Ad August. Nectarii Ep. 90. al. 201.*

(*e*) Nobis itaque cordi est, neque Christianam amittere mansuetudinem, neque perniciosum ceteris imitationis exemplum in illa civitate relinquere. . . *Ep. 91. al. 202. num. 6.*



make any more extracts, or to take any farther notice of those letters now.

S E C T. X. *The Overthrow of Rbadagaisus, a Gothic Prince, in 405.*

**I**N the year (a) 405. or 406. whilst Alarich was still in Italie, A. D. 405.  
or hovering over it, there appeared another very formidable enemy against the Romans, a Gothic Prince likewise, named *Rbadagaisus*, or *Rbodogaisus*, not a Christian, as Alarich was, but a Pagan, and a Scythian, as he is sometimes called, for his fierceness and barbarity.

I begin my accounts of this affair with Zosimus, who writes to this purpose. “ Whilst (b) Alarich was intent upon those things, “ Rbadagaisus came into Italie with a vast number of men, not less “ than four hundred thousand, consisting of Gauls and Germans “ from the other side the Rhine and the Danube. At the very first “ tidings of which all were filled with great consternation. When “ all the other cities, and Rome itself, were so apprehensive of the “ extreme danger they were in, that they almost despaired of safety : Stilicho taking with him all the forces which were at Ticinum “ in Liguria, to the number of about thirty thousand, together with “ such auxiliaries of the Alans and Huns as were at hand, without “ waiting for the approach of the enemy, suddenly crossed the “ Arn. By (c) which means he came upon the barbarians, before “ they were aware, and cut them all off with an universal destruction, excepting a very few, whom he afterwards incorporated “ with his own forces.”

The same storie is in Olympiodorus, another Gentil Historian. He does not mention the number of the men, but he says, that (d)

I i i 2

the

(a) Baron. A. D. 406. *Basnag. A.* 405. iii. iv. *Tillem. L'Emp. Honoré. art.* xxii. xxiii. A. 405.

(b) Zof l. v. p. 803.

(c) Καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπροσδοκίτοις ἐπιπεσόν, ὥταν τὸ πολέμιον πανωλεθρία διέσθην· ὥστε μηδὲνα χερσὶν ἐκ τούτων περισωθῆναι,

πλὴν ἐλεχίους, ὅσους αὐτὸς τῇ Ρωμίων προσέθηκε συμμαχία. *Ibid.*

(d) Ὅτι τῶν μετὰ Ροδογαίτῃ Γότθων ἐκκεραλιώται, Ὀπτιμάτοι ἐκαλῶντο, ἐς δ' ἀδελφὰ συντένοντες, χιλιάδας κ. λ. *Ap. Phot. Cod.* 80. p. 180.

A. D. the Goths, who were with Rhodogaisus, had twelve thousand  
408. Chiefs or Generals.

Christian historians have enlarged more in their accounts of Rhadagaisus, and with good reason. " Orosius (*e*) who calls him a " Goth, and a Scythian, speaks of him, as the most cruel and " terrible enemy the Romans ever had. On a sudden he overrun " almost all Italie. He had in his army more than two hundred " thousand men. The Pagans at Rome, and every where, were " very tumultuous. The city, they thought, could by no means " withstand such an enemy, who had the assistance of the gods, to " whom he sacrificed every day. The City must soon fall into his " hands. They had none to help them, now the Gods and their " rites were banished. In short the Christian Religion, they said, " had quite ruined the State, and brought them into this miserable " condition. Nevertheless this formidable enemy was overcome, " and

(*e*) Rhadagaisus. omnium antiquorum praesentiumque hostium longe immanissimus, repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam. Nam fuisse in populo ejus plusquam ducenta millia Gothorum ferunt. Hic supra hanc incredibilem multitudinem indomitamque virtutem paganus et Scythia erat: qui, ut mos est barbaris hujusmodi gentibus, omnem Romani generis sanguinem diis suis propinare devoverat. Hoc igitur Romanis arcibus imminente, fit omnium Paganorum in Urbe concursus: honem adesse cum utique virum copia, tum maxime praesidio deorum potentem: urbe autem ideo destitutam et mature perituram, quia deos et sacra perdiderit. Magnis querelis ubique agitur, et continuo de repetendis sacris celebrandisque tractatur. Fervent tota urbe blasphemiae, vulgo nomen Christi tanquam lues aliqua praesentium temporum opprobriis gravatur. . . Duo tunc Gothorum populi cum duobus potentissimis regibus suis per Romanas provincias baccarentur: quorum unus Christianus, propiorque Romano, et, (ut res docuit) timore Dei mitis in coede, alius Paganus, barbarus, et vere Scythia . . . Sed non si-

nit Deus rem potentiae suae, virtutem hominum et maxime hostium videri. Conterritum divinitus Rhadagaisum in Foefulanos montes cogit: ejusque, (secundum eos qui parcissime referunt) ducenta millia hominum, inopum consilii et cibi, in arido et aspero montis jugo, urgente undique timore concludit. . . . Parum hoc est, nisi captum et catenatum ac subjugatum sciant quem timere Romani, illumque idololatram tuum, cujus sacrificia se magis pertimescere quam arma timebant, sine praelio victum ac victum sub jugo catenisque despuant. Igitur rex Rhadagaisus, solus spem fugae lumen, clam suos deferuit, atque in nostros incidit, a quibus captus, ac paulisper retentus, deinde interfectus est. Iam vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuisse fertur, ut vilissimarum pecudum modo, singulis aureis passim greges hominum venderentur. Sed nihil superesse Deus de eodem populo finit. Nam illico cunctis qui emebant morientibus, quod improbi emtores eorum non impenderunt turpiter pretiis, expenderunt misericorditer sepulturis, *Orosius* l. 7. cap. 37.

“ and his numerous armie destroyed. The victorie was compleat,  
“ and easie, and almost miraculous. The City did afterwards fall  
“ into the hands of another enemy: but he was a Christian, and  
“ shewed mercie to Christians: in which the Pagans also shared.”

A. D.  
405.

“ Augustin (*f*) was at Carthage, when Rhadagaisus overrun Ita-  
“ lie, and drew near to Rome with his numerous armie. The  
“ Pagans made no doubt, but Rhadagaisus would overcome, who  
“ sacrificed daily to the gods, whom the Romans had now discard-  
“ ed, and so far from worshiping them, had forbid under penal-  
“ ties the offering any sacrifices to them.”

Undoubtedly the danger was imminent. And if those Barba-  
rians, and Pagans, had besieged, and taken Rome, which they had  
already devoured in their thoughts, the ruin would have been great  
and terrible. “ But as Augustin observes, more than a hundred  
“ thousand of those Goths and Barbarians were destroyed in one  
“ day, whilst the Roman armie suffered little or nothing. Rhada-  
“ gaisus fled, he and his sons were put to death. And it manifestly  
“ appeared, that the sacrifices, on which the Pagans set so high a  
“ value, were not necessarie for the safety of the City and Em-  
“ pire.”

“ Au-

(*f*) Quod tamen nostra memoria re-  
centissimo tempore Deus mirabiliter et  
misericorditer fecerit, non cum gratiarum  
actione commemorant: Sed quantum in  
ipsis est, omnium, si fieri potest, homi-  
num oblivione sepelire conantur. Quod  
a nobis si tacetur, similiter erimus in-  
grati. Cum Rhadagaisus rex Gothorum  
agmine ingenti et immani jam in Urbis  
vicinia constitutus, Romanis cervicibus  
immineret, uno die tanta celeritate sic  
victus est, ut ne uno quidem non dicam  
extincto, sed vulnerato Romanorum,  
multo amplius quam centum millium  
prosternerentur ejus exercitus, atque ipse  
cum filiis mox captus poena debita neca-  
retur. Nam si ille tam impius cum tan-  
tis et tam impiis copiis Romanum fuisset in-  
gressus, cui pepercisset? Quibus honorem  
locis Martyrum detulisset? In qua perso-  
na Deum timeret? Cujus non sanguinem  
fusum, cujus pudicitiam vellet intactam?

Quas autem isti pro diis suis voces habe-  
rent quanta insultatione jactarent, quod  
ille ideo vicisset, ideo tanta potuisset, quia  
quotidianis sacrificiis placabat, atque in-  
vitabat deos, quod Romanos facere Chri-  
stiana Religio non sinebat? Nam propin-  
quante jam illo his locis, ubi nutu sum-  
ma majestatis oppressus est, cum ejus  
fama ubique crebresceret, nobis apud Car-  
thaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, sparge-  
re, jactare Paganos, quod ille diis prote-  
gentibus et opitulantibus, quibus immo-  
lare quotidie ferebatur, vinci omnino non  
posset ab eis qui talia diis Romanis sacra  
non facerent, nec fieri a quoquam per-  
mitterent. . . . Ita verus Dominus, gu-  
bernatorque rerum, et Romanos cum mi-  
sericordia flagellavit, et tam incredibiliter  
victis supplicatoribus daemonum, nec sa-  
luti rerum praesentium necessaria esse sa-  
crificia illa monstravit. *Aug. De Civ. Dei*  
*l. 5. cap. xxiii.*

“ Augustin says, there were many, (meaning I suppose Pagans,) who were desirous that this event, if possible, should be forgotten, and buried in oblivion. But he was of opinion, that this deliverance, which had lately happened, and was known to all, and which God had so very wonderfully, and so very mercifully vouchsafed, should be thankfully remembred.”

I shall now place below the account of this event, as given in the (g) Chronicle of Marcellinus.

And I beg leave to say, that we have seen the testimonies of two Heathen writers concerning it. They bear witness to the character, and the number of this Gothish Prince, and his armie, and the suddenness and compleatness of the victorie obtained over him. Nor have the Christians magnified beyond them. But the observations are their own. And it is referred to the reader to consider, whether they are not just.

Augustin has mentioned this event in another (b) place, in a Sermon to the people, where he tells the storie over again, and makes a good improvement of it.

## SECT. XI. *Rome besieged, taken, and sacked by Alarich the Goth, in the year 410.*

A. D. 410. **I** MUST not entirely omit the historie of *Alarich*: But I am desirous to be as brief, as possible. For which reason I shall mention principal things only, omitting the rest.

His storie may be seen in (a) Olympiodorus, and (b) Zosimus, and (c) Claudian, Heathen writers, as well as in divers Christian (d) historians.

Alarich

(g) Rhadagaisus Paganus et Scytharum ducentis millibus suorum totam Italiam inundavit. Huldin et Sarus Hunnorum Gothorumque reges Rhadagaisum continuo devicerunt, ipsius capite amputato, captivos ejus singulis aureis distrahentes. *Marcellin. Chr. p. 37. edit. Scalig.*

(b) *Serm. 105. cap. x. Tom. v. Bened.*

(a) *Ap. Phot. cod. 80. p. 178. &c.*

(b) *Zos. l. 5. p. 783. &c.*

(c) *Claud. Carm. 26. de Bello Getico. et Carm. 24. De Sexto Consulatu Honorii.*

(d) *Socrat. l. 7. cap. x. p. 346. Soz. l. 9. cap. vi. vii. viii. Philostorg. l. 12. p. 532. &c. Vid. et Oros. et Augustin.*



Alarich was a Goth, and therefore called a Barbarian. But he was a man of a great and generous mind, and a Christian, of the Arian denomination. He had served as a General under Theodosius, among the Barbarians, who joined themselves to him in the expedition against Eugenius and Arbogastes in the year 394. But not being well used afterwards, as he thought, he became an enemy to the Romans, and after wasting Greece, and Thessalie, and Macedonia, and committing many acts of hostility, he came into that part of Italie, which was called Liguria: where (e) was fought, in the year 402. or 403. the difficult battle of Pollentia, now Pollenza, and where Stilicho was conquerour. After which it has been thought, that with (f) good management Alarich might have been quite subdued, (g) or reconciled, upon reasonable terms: and might have been ever after a firm and usefull friend and ally of the Roman Empire.

But however that may be, we find, that in the begining of the year 408. Alarich made an attempt upon Rome itself, as we were informed by (b) Zosimus some while ago: when the Senate agreed to pay Alarich the sum of four thousand pounds in gold: though it was not approved of by all. In the same year, in the month of August, Stilicho was put to death. And before the end of the year Alarich came before Rome, and besieged it again, some of the stipulated conditions, as is supposed, not having been performed. At which time, as we were also told before by (i) Zosimus, the city being reduced to great straits, they agreed to pay Alarich five thousand pounds of gold, and thirty thousand pounds of silver, four thousand

silks

(e) O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia seclis!  
O meritum nomen felicibus apta triumphis!  
Virtutis fatale solum, memorabile cultum  
Barbariae!

*Claudian. Carm. 26. de Bello Get. p. 635... 638.*

(f) Taceo de Alarico rege cum Gothis suis saepe victo, saepe concluso, semperque dimisso. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 37. in.*

Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem pro pace optima et quibuscumque sedibus suppliciter ac simpliciter orantem, occulto foedere fovens,

publice autem et belli et pacis copia neglecta, ad terendam terrendamque Rempublicam reservavit. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 38. sub. int.*

(g) *Vide Basnag. ann. 403. num. ii.*

(b) *Above, at p. 270. 272.*

(i) *.. at 273. 274.*

A. D. 410. silk garments, three thousand skins of purple dye, and three thousand pounds of pepper. But these, or some other conditions of peace, not having been duly performed, Alarich came before Rome again, the second, or the third time, and besieged it, and took it, in the month of August 410. as is supposed. This calamity, however, was attended with some favourable circumstances, owing to the generosity of Alarich, and his profession, as a Christian. For as Orosius (*k*) says, when he gave his soldiers leave to plunder and make a prey of the city, he commanded them, to spare the lives of men, as much as possible. He likewise gave strict orders, that no injurie should be done to those who fled to Christian Churches, and especially to the churches of the Apostles Peter and Paul: which were particularly mentioned by him, because they were the largest. So likewise says (*l*) Augustin. Which orders were observed by the soldiery. And hereby the lives of some Pagans also were preserved. For all who fled to those privileged places, were safe. So writes Orosius and Augustin, who were contemporaries.

It was indeed a great calamity. But, as Orosius says, Alarich, of his own accord, left the city after three (*m*) days. And, as he thinks, Rome had suffered as much before several times, particularly when the city was invaded by the Gauls, and when it was set on fire by the Emperour Nero. Augustin says the same. Marcellinus,

(*k*) Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, irrumpit. Dato tamen praecepto, [prius] ut si qui in sancta loca, praecipueque in sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos in primis inviolatos securosque sinerent. Tum deinde, in quantum possent praedae inhiantes, a sanguine temperarent. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 39. in.*

(*l*) Testantur haec Martyrum loca, et basilicae Apostolorum, quae in ista vastatione Urbis ad se convenientes suos et alienos receperunt. . . . Sic evaserunt multi, qui nunc Christianis temporibus detrahunt, et mala quae illa civitas pertulit, Christo imputant. *Aug. De Civ. Dei. l. 1. cap. 1.*

Quicquid ergo Vastationis, trucidationis, depredationis, concremationis, af-

flictionis, in ista recentissima Romana clade commissum est, fecit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitata rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimae basilicae implendae populi cui parceretur, eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus abducerentur . . . hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempori tribuendum, quisquis non videt, caecus: quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus: quisquis laudanti reluctatur, infans est. *Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 1. cap. vii.*

(*m*) Tertia die barbari, quam ingressi fuerant Urbem, sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum aedium incendio, sed

nus, in his Chronicle, says, that (n) Alarich left Rome on the sixth day after he had taken it. A. D. 410.

When Alarich left Rome, he ravaged Campania, and other places of Italie, going toward Sicilie, and thence intending, as is supposed, to invade Africa. Philostorge says, that (o) Alarich died in Campania. But Olympiodorus says, he went as far as (p) Rhegium : which is more probable. However, they both agree in saying, that Alarich died by (q) distemper.

This event was reckoned very opprobrious to the Roman name. And many reflections were cast upon the Christians by the Gentils : who imputed this disaster to the progreffe of the Christian religion, and the neglect of the ancient rites, in the use of which the Roman Empire had long flourished. Those reflections were the occasion (r) of Augustin's writing his work of the City of God. They were also the occasion (s) of Orosius's writing his seven books of *Histoire against the Pagans* : often called his (t) *Hormista*, or Mundi Chronicon. Of which word, to mention it now by the by, I never saw a good account, though some good critics have attempted it. I have long been of opinion, that *Hormista* is a corruption of these two words, *Orbis Gestæ*, a very proper title for Orosius's work.

But

sed ne tanto quidem, quantum septingentesimo conditionis ejus anno, casus effecerat. Nam si exhibitam Neronis Imperatoris sui spectaculis inflammationem recenseam, proculdubio nulla comparatione æquiparabitur secundum id, quod excitaverat lascivia principis, hoc quod nunc intulerat ira victoris. Neque vero Gallorum meminisse in hujusmodi collatione debeo &c. *Oros. l. 7. cap. 39. p. 575.*

(n) Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit, partemque ejus cremavit incendio, sextoque die quam ingressus fuerat deprædata urbe egressus est. *Marcell. Chr. p. 38.*

(o) . . . Ἀλάρικος τὰ κατὰ καμπανίαν ἐληλύθει, καὶ καὶ νόσω φθίβετα. *Philost. p. 534. B.*

(p) *Ap. Phot. p. 181. sub fin.*

(q) . . . ὅτι Ἀλάρικος νόσω τελευτήσωντος, κ. λ. *Ap. Phot. p. 180.*

(r) Interea Roma Gothorum irruptione, agentium sub rege Alarico, atque impetu magnæ cladis everfa est, cujus everfionem deorum falsorum multorumque cultores, quos usitato nomine Paganos vocamus, in Christianam religionem referre conantes, solito acerbius et amarius Deum verum blasphemare coeperunt. Unde ego exardescens zelo domus Dei, adversus eorum blasphemias, vel errores, libros *De civitate Dei* scribere institui. *Aug. Retract. l. 2. cap. 13.*

(s) Adversus Paganos Historiarum libri septem. *Vid. ibid. lib. i. in Proæm.*

(t) *Hormistam*, id est, mundi Chronicon. Vide Testimonia de Orosio, apud Havercamp. et alibi.



But though the taking of Rome by Alarich was the occasion of many reflections upon the Christians: and those two learned Authors did thereupon very reasonably undertake a vindication of Christianity: I suppose, this event was very prejudicial to the interests of Gentilism, and consequently conducive to the progreſſe of the Christian Religion.

## SECT. XII. *The Correspondence between Augustin and Voluſian, in 412.*

A. D.  
412.

**I** NOW intend to give an account of the correſpondence between *Augustin* and *Voluſian* in the year 412.

It is ſuppoſed, though I do not perceive it to be certain, that (a) he was uncle to the younger *Melania* by the mother's ſide. Who, or what his father was, I do not find. His mother was a pious Chriſtian woman, who was deſirous of her ſon's converſion to Chriſtianity. But I do not ſee her name any where.

The name, *Voluſian*, muſt have been common among the Romans. *Rufinus Voluſianus* (b) was ordinarie Conſul in the year 311. and 314. There (c) were in the ſame fourth centurie ſeveral eminent men of this name, and in ſome of the higheſt offices of the Empire. This *Voluſian* was a man of great diſtinction. It has been ſuppoſed, that *Rutilius* (d) in his poem mentions him, as Proconſul of Africa. Which is not certain. However it is allowed, that (e) he was Prefect of Rome in the year 421.

I ſuppoſe, *Voluſian* to have been now at Carthage. *Augustin's* letter to him is to this purpoſe. “ He (f) affures him, that he  
“ ſincerely

(a) *Benedictin. Not. ad Augustin. ep.*  
132.

(b) *Vide Pagi ann. 314. num. i.*

(c) *Vid. Gothofred. Proſop. p. 391. 392.*

(d)  
Rexerat ante puer populos pro Conſule Poenos.  
Aequalis Tyriis terror, amorque fuit.

*Rutil. ver. 167. &c.*

(e) *Gothofred. ibid.*

(f) De ſalute tua, quam et in hoc ſe-

culo, et in Chriſto eſſe cupio, ſanctae  
matris tuae votis ſum fortaliſſe etiam ipſe  
non



“ sincerely wisheth him prosperity in this world, and that he should  
 “ be glad to see him a Christian, agreeably to the wishes of his  
 “ pious mother, at whose request he writes to him. He earnestly  
 “ recommends to him the studie of the sacred scriptures, and espe-  
 “ cially the Epistles of Christ’s Apostles, who often quote the wri-  
 “ tings of the ancient Prophets: and thereby he will be led to the  
 “ understanding of them also. If any doubts and difficulties arise  
 “ in his mind, he might send them to him in writing: and he  
 “ would answer them, as he is able. He thinks that to be prefer-  
 “ able to conversing together, which may not suit the many en-  
 “ gagements of either of them. And it may be difficult to find a  
 “ season, when both shall be at leisure.” Which may be suppo-  
 sed to imply, that Volusian had now some important post in the  
 government: but what it was, cannot be said.

Volusian in his answer to that letter treats Augustin very respect-  
 fully, and says, “ he (g) shall be very willing to commit himself to his  
 “ instructions. For no man ought to think himself too old to learn.  
 “ And he thanks him for the favour of allowing him to commu-  
 “ nicate his doubts to him. He then tells him, that in the conver-  
 “ sations of some friends the discourses had run upon various  
 “ topicks, and questions, according to the different tempers and  
 “ studies of the persons present, relating to Rhetorick, Poetrie,  
 “ Philosophie, and the various opinions of the severall Philosophers,  
 “ and their followers, with all which you are well acquainted. At  
 “ length one of the companie, and he no mean person, but one

K k k 2

“ among

non impar. Unde meritis tuis reddens salu-  
 tationis obsequium, hortor ut valeo, ut  
 literarum vere certeque sanctarum studio  
 te curam non pigeat impendere. . . Prae-  
 cipue Apostolorum linguas exhortor ut le-  
 gas. Ex his enim ad cognoscendos Pro-  
 phetas excitaberis, quorum testimoniis u-  
 tuntur Apostoli. Si quid autem vel cum  
 Legis, vel cum cogitas, tibi oritur quaes-  
 tionis, in quo dissolvendo videar necessa-  
 rius, scribe ut rescribam. Magis enim  
 hoc forte Domino adjuvante potero, quam  
 praefens talia loqui tecum, non solum  
 propter occupationes varias et meas et tuas,  
 (quoniam non cum mihi vacat, oc-

currit ut et tibi vacet) verum etiam prop-  
 ter eorum irruentem praesentiam, qui ple-  
 rumque non apti tali negotio, magisque  
 linguae certaminibus, quam scientiae lu-  
 minibus delectantur. . . . *Aug. Ep. 132.*  
*al.*

(g) Petis me, vir probitatis justitiaeque  
 documentum, ut aliqua ex ambiguis lec-  
 tionis peritae discenda perconter. Am-  
 plector gratiam muneris imperati, meque  
 libenter in disciplinas tuas offero, veteris  
 sententiae auctoritatem secutus, quae nul-  
 lam ad perdiscendum abundare credit ae-  
 tatem. . . Domine sancte, ac merito ve-  
 nerabilis pater, est operae pretium cog-  
 noscere

- A. D. " among many, rose up, and said : *Who is there here, who is well*  
 412. " *acquainted with the Christian doctrine, and able to solve my doubts,*  
 " *and give me reasonable satisfaction upon them.* At which we were  
 " all surprized, and quite silent for a while. After which he went  
 " on, and said : *I cannot conceive, that the Lord and Governour of*  
 " *the world should be lodged in the body of a virgin, and lye there ten*  
 " *months, and then be brought forth without prejudice to the virginity*  
 " *of his Mother.* To which he added divers other things, saying, it  
 " *was very strange, that he should lye hid in the body of an infant,*  
 " *whom the whole universe cannot contain.* Then he grows up, and  
 " *passeth through childhood and youth to manhood.* And all this while  
 " *the Governour of the world is absent from his throne, and concerned*  
 " *for one small body.* Moreover, he sleeps, is nourished by food, and  
 " *endures all the sensations of other mortals.* Nor are there any suffi-  
 " *cient indications of his greatnesse.* For dispossessing demons, healing  
 " *sick people, and raising dead men to life, are small matters to be*  
 " *performed by the Deity.* Here we interrupted him, and put a  
 " stop to his objections, and broke up the companie, thinking it  
 " better, to refer the inquiries to a more competent judge, and  
 " fearing,

nocere habitam inter nos proxime confabulationem. Quibusdam amicorum conventibus aderamus. Frequentes proferebantur illic pro ingeniis studiisque sententiae. Erat tamen sermo rhetorica partitio. Apud agnoscentem loquor. Nam etiam ista paulo ante docuisti. . . . Alii rursus poeticam elevabant faventes. Ne hanc quidem eloquentiae partem tacitam aut inhonoram relinquis. . . . Tunc ad familiarem tuam philosophiam sermo defleclit, quam ipse Aristotelico more tanquam Ilocaticam fovere consueveras. Quaerebamus et quid egerit praeceptor ex Lyceo: quid Academiae multiplex et continuata cunctatio: quid ille disputator ex porticu: quid Phyticorum peritia: quid Epicureorum voluptas: quid inter omnes infinita disputandi libido, tuncque magis ignorata veritas, postquam praesumptum est quod possit agnisci.

Dum in his confabulatio nostra remo-

ratur, unus e multis, Et quis, inquit, est sapientia ad perfectum Christianitatis imbutus, qui ambigua in quibus haereo possit aperire, dubiosque assensus meos vera vel verisimili credulitate firmare! Stupemus tacentes. Tunc in haec sponte prorumpit: Miror, utrum mundi Dominus et rector intemeratae feminae corpus impleverit, pertulerit decem mensium longa illa fastidia mater, & tamen virgo enixa sit sollemnitate pariendi, et post haec virginitas intacta permanferit. His et alia subnectit: Intra corpusculum vagientis infantiae latet, cui par vix putatur universitas, patitur puerilitatis annos, adolescit juvenute solidatur: tam diu a sedibus suis abest ille regnator, atque ad unum corpusculum totius mundi cura transfertur. Deinde in somnos resolvitur, cibo alitur, omnes mortalium sentit affectus. Nec ullis competentibus signis tantae majestatis indicia clarescunt, quoniam larvalis illa purgatio, de-

“fearing, least venerable mysteries should be violated, and error, A. D.  
 “once innocent, should degenerate into presumption. You see, 412.  
 “honoured Sir, a confession of ignorance. And you may discern  
 “what is expected from you, and suitable to your great reputation.  
 “Ignorance may be tolerated in other Bishops, without detriment  
 “to religion. But when we come to the prelate Augustin, we  
 “conclude that what he does not know, is no part of the Christian  
 “law. May the supreme Deity ever preserve you in safety.”

We must hence conclude, that Volusian was a man of great ingenuity, and learning. And whatever may be thought of his objections, it must be acknowledged, that the letter is polite. And, when Marcellinus, in a letter to be presently taken notice of, calls him *the illustrious Volusian*, he may be supposed to have a respect to his mental qualifications, as a Gentleman and Scholar, as well as to his high birth, and honourable station in the world. And indeed he tells Augustin, that (b) he believes he was sensible, Volusian's letter was well writ.

We are therefore now in the next place to take notice of that letter to Augustin writ by Marcellinus, a man of great eminence, who had been the Emperour's Commissioner (\*) at the Conference of the Catholicks and Donatists at Carthage in the year 411. A zealous Christian, whose excellent character may be seen in ( \* ) Augustin's letters, and (††) elsewhere.

He

debilium curae, reddita vita defunctis : haec, si et alios cogites, Deo parva sunt. Intervenimus ulterius inquirenti, solutoque conventu, ad potioris peritiae meritā distulimus, ne dum incautius fecereta temerantur, in culpam desisteret error innocuus. Accepisti, vir totius gloriae capax, imperitiae confessionem : quid a partibus vestris desideretur, agnosceis. Interest famae tuae, ut quaesita noverimus. Utcumque absque detrimento cultus divini in aliis sacerdotibus toleratur inscitia, at cum ad antistitem Augustinum venit, legi deest quidquid contigerit ignorari. Incolumem venerationem tuam

divinitas summa tueatur, Domine vere sancte ac merito venerabilis pater. *Augustin. Ep. 135. al. 2.*

(b) Sed tamen satis, sicut ipse probare dignaberis, culto accuratoque sermone, et Romanae eloquentiae nitore perspicuo, aliqua sibi exsolvi impendio postulavit. *Marcellin. ep. 136.*

(\*) *Vid. Breviculum Collationis cum Donatistis, primae diei, sub. in. ap. Augustin. Tom. ix.*

(\*) *Augustin Ep. 151. al. 259. §. 8. Tom. 2.*

(††) *Vid. Hieron. lib. 3. adv. Pelagian. T. 4. p. 546.*



A. D. He begins with telling Augustin, " that (i) Volusian had shewed  
 412. " to him, and to others, the letter, which he had received from  
 " him. Marcellinus expresseth great satisfaction in Augustin's letter,  
 " and in his readinesse to become an instructor to Volusian. He  
 " also tells Augustin, that at the request of his mother he had often  
 " visited Volusian, and had been visited by him. He did his best  
 " to solve his doubts. But he requests the farther and better  
 " assistance of Augustin: intimating, that there were many, who  
 " were willing enough to cherish his difficulties, and desirous to  
 " keep him still with them. And he tells Augustin, that Volusian  
 " would have said more, if he had not been afraid to be trouble-  
 " some by prolixity. The doctrine of the Lord's incarnation, upon  
 " which Volusian had touched in his letter, was indeed a subject of  
 " common discourse, and was much disliked, and censured by  
 " many. Augustin therefore would do well to clear it up. But  
 " there were also other things very proper for his consideration.  
 " For there were many, who falsely asserted, that our Saviour had  
 " done no more than other men. And he earnestly desires, that  
 " this may be carefully considered by Augustin, and that he will  
 " fully answer that difficulty. For they are continually talking of  
 " their *Apollonius*, and *Apuleius*, and other Magicians, whose mi-  
 " racles, they say, were greater than our Saviour's. But supposing  
 " him

(i) Vir illustris Volusianus beatitudinis tuae mihi literas legit, immo me cogente pluribus legit, quae scilicet omnia quae a te dicuntur, cum vere miranda sint, usquequaque miratus sum. . . . Hinc enim plurimum placuit, quod hominis gressus aliquanto titubantes boni propositi exhortatione statuere et firmare contendis. Est enim nobis cum eodem quotidiana pro viribus nostris, et pro ingenii paupertate disputatio. Sanctae quidem matris ejus precatatione compulsus cura mihi est eum frequentius salutandi gratia convenire, licet vicem in hac parte reddere etiam ipse dignetur. Accepta autem venerabilitatis tuae epistola, homo qui a veri Dei stabilitate, multorum quorum in hac urbe copia est, persuasione revocatur, ita motus

est, ut si, quantum ipse confirmat, literarum prolixitatem minime formidasset, omne beatitudini tuae quod habere potest insinuasset ambiguum. . . . Quae quidem quaestio usquequaque detrita est, et eorum super hac parte satis nota calliditas, qui dispensationem dominicae incarnationis infamant. Sed tamen etiam ego in hac parte, quia plurimis quicquid rescripseris profuturum esse confido, precator accedam, ut ad ea vigilantius respondere digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum quam alii homines facere potuerunt, gessisse mentiantur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis, et Apuleium, aliosque magicae artis homines in mediam proferunt, quorum majora contendunt exstitisse miracula.

Ipse



“ him to receive fatisfaction upon the doctrine of the incarnation, A. D.  
 “ there are still other difficulties, of which the same illustrious per- 412.  
 “ son desires to see some solution. For, as he says, the God of  
 “ the New Testament is supposed to be the God also of the old  
 “ Testament. But how could the same God reject the old sacrific-  
 “ ces, and institute a new way of worship. For nothing that  
 “ has been once rightly done, can be afterwards altered. Beside  
 “ that this would shew inconstance, which is altogether unworthie  
 “ of the Deity. Then he said, that the doctrine of the New Tes-  
 “ tament was inconsistent with good order among men, and the  
 “ welfare of society. For, as is generally said, these are precepts  
 “ of the Christian law, *Recompense to no man evil for evil : and,* Rom. xii.  
 “ *whosoever shall smite thee on one cheek turn to him the other also :* 17.  
 “ *and if any man will take away thy cloak, let him have thy coat* Matt. v.  
 “ *also, and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him two.* 39 . . 41.  
 “ All which are inconsistent with the public welfare. For who  
 “ can bear to be robbed by an enemy? And who is there, that  
 “ must not be willing to oppose by force of arms an invader of the  
 “ Roman territories? And more to the like purpose, which your  
 “ reverence can easily apprehend. Infomuch, that as he intimated,  
 “ though he was shy of enlarging, it was manifest, that great da-  
 “ mage had accrued to the State by means of Christian princes, who  
 “ in the main governed according to the Christian Religion.”

“ To

Ipse autem vir illustris, superius memo-  
 ratus, multa esse dixit praesentibus ali-  
 quantis, quae huic possent jungi non im-  
 merito quaestioni, si, ut ante dixi, non  
 ab ejus partibus epistolaris considerata  
 brevis fuisse. Quae tamen licet scri-  
 bere noluerit, tacere non est passus. Di-  
 cebat enim, quod etsi hodie incarnationis  
 dominicae ratio redderetur, reddi vix ad  
 liquidum possit, cur hic Deus, qui et Ve-  
 teris Testamenti Deus esse firmatur, spre-  
 tis veteribus sacrificiis delectatus est novis.  
 Nihil enim corrigi posse asseribat, nisi  
 quod ante factum non recte probaretur,  
 vel quod semel recte factum sit. immu-  
 tari nullatenus debuisse. Recte enim fac-  
 ta dicebat mutari nisi injuste non posse :

maxime quia ista varietas inconstantiae  
 Deum possit arguere. Tum deinde, quod  
 ejus praedicatio atque doctrina reipubli-  
 cae moribus nulla ex parte conveniat: ut-  
 pote, sicut a multis dicitur, ejus hoc  
 constet praeceptum, ut nulli malum pro  
 malo reddere debeamus, et percutienti a-  
 liam praebere maxillam, et pallium dare  
 persistenti tunicam tollere, et cum eo qui  
 nos angiare voluerit, ire debere spatio iti-  
 neris duplicato. Quae omnia reipubli-  
 cae moribus asserit esse contraria. Nam  
 quis tolli sibi ab hoste aliquid patiat, vel  
 Romanae provinciae deprædatori non ve-  
 lit belli jure reponere? et cetera quae di-  
 ci ad reliqua posse intelligit venerabilis  
 tua. Haec ergo omnia, ipsi posse adjun-  
 gi

- A. D. "To all these things, as your Reverence will readily acknowledge  
 412. "with me, a clear and full answer is wanting, and the rather, because what you shall write will come into many hands. Considering also, that at the time of those discourses there was present a person of great distinction, and a possessor of a large estate in the countrey of Hippo, who indeed bestowed commendations upon your reverence, but it was in the way of ironie. And said, that whenever these things had been talked of, he never received satisfaction concerning them. I must therefore put you in mind of your promise, to consider all these things, and compose some treatise upon them, which, I am persuaded, may be of signal advantage to the church of Christ, especially at this time."

I have transcribed these letters largely. I presume my readers will make proper observations. We see here what was then the state of things at Carthage. Christianity was the prevailing religion. But there were also many Gentils. The merits of the Christian doctrine were debated. The men of learning and eminence among the Gentils had their doubts and difficulties, which they openly proposed. Nor were they unknown to men of lower rank. The vulgar also argued upon them, in their way. And though many were greatly prejudiced against the Christian religion, some were open to conviction. They proposed their difficulties with a view of obtaining satisfaction. Such an one was the illustrious *Volusian*. This liberty or debate appears highly agreeable. Nor could a Christian Bishop better employ his time, than in solving those difficulties, and clearing them up to the satisfaction of inquirers, of all sorts. For this Augustin was as well qualified, as any man of his time. And in this service he laboured with great diligence, as his large

gi aestimat quaestioni, in tantum ut per Christianos principes, Christianam religionem maxima ex parte servantes, tanta (etiamsi ipse de hac parte taceat) reipublicae mala evenisse manifestum sit

Unde, sicut beatitudo tua mecum dignatur agnoscere, ad haec omnia (quoniam multorum manibus sine dubio tradetur sanctitatis tuae desiderata responsio) plenus debet et elucubratus solutionis splendor ostendi: maxime quia cum ista

gererentur, eximius Hipponensis regionis possessor et dominus praesens aderat, qui et sanctitatem tuam sub ironiae adulatione laudaret, et sibi, cum de his quaereret, minime satisfactum esse contenderet. Ego vero ad haec omnia promissionis non immemor sed exactor, libros confici deprecor, Ecclesiae, hoc maxime tempore, incredibiliter profuturos. *Ap. Aug. ep.*  
 136.

large Work Of the City of God, and other writings, testify. And A. D. if this freedom of debate had still continued, and been openly allowed and encouraged, and the arguments for Christianity had been proposed with mildness, it would have been honourable to the Christian religion, and it's farther progress would have been more advanced, than by any external force and violence whatever. 412.

Those letters, just mentioned, were the occasion of two more from Augustin: one to *Volusian*, in which he considers, the difficulties, proposed by him: another to *Marcellinus*, in which he answers those other objections, which had been mentioned by him.

In that to Volusian, he begins with his objections relating to the Incarnation, and tells him: "The (*k*) Christian doctrine does not teach, that God was so united to a body, born of a virgin, as to neglect the care and government of the universe, and contract his concern to that body only . . . . When (*l*) we say, that the Word of God, by whom all things were made, took upon him a body born of a Virgin, and appeared therein to men; we do not suppose, that he lost his immortality, or changed his eternity, or lessened his power, or deserted the government of the world, or that he left the bosom of the Father, in which he always is."

"He (*m*) was refreshed by sleep, and nourished by food, and had the other innocent infirmities of the human nature, by which it appeared, that he was really a man. That is indeed the truth. But some among us, whom we call hereticks, from a mistaken regard

(*k*) Veniendum potius est ad rem quam requiris. Ubi primum te scire volo, non hoc habere Christianam doctrinam, quod ita sit Deus infusus carni, qua ex virgine nasceretur, ut curam gubernandae universitatis vel deseruerit vel amiserit, vel ad illud corpusculum quasi contractam materiam collectamque transfulerit. *Ad Volusian. ep. 137. al. 3. num. 4.*

(*l*) Et putamus nobis de omnipotentia Dei incredibile dici aliquid, cum dicitur

Verbum Dei, per quod omnia facta sunt, sic assumis corpus ex virgine, et sensibus apparuisse mortalibus, ut immortalitatem suam non corruperit, ut aeternitatem non mutaverit, ut potestatem suam non minuerit, ut administrationem mundi non deseruerit, ut a sinu Patris, id est, a secreto, quo cum illo et in illo est, non recesserit. *Ibid. num. 6*

(*m*) Jam illud, quod in somnos solvitur, et cibo alitur, et omnes humanos sentit



A. D. " regard to his honour, and the more to extol his power, as they  
 412. " think, refuse to acknowledge this: and by denying his humanity,  
 " subvert the mercie of God, by which we are saved. If the Al-  
 " mighty should create a man, not formed of a woman, but sud-  
 " denly brought into the world, and set before us: Supposing him  
 " not to pass through the several stages of childhood and youth,  
 " never to eat, nor sleep: would it not be reckoned, that he was  
 " not really a man? This would be wonderfull. But the mercie of  
 " God would not be so apparent, as now it is. For in this way,  
 " being really a man, and the divinity being united to him, he is  
 " fitly qualified to be the Mediator between God and men."

But (n) it is farther objected, that *there were not sufficient evidences of his greatnesse. For dispossessing demons, healing sick people, and raising men to life, which some others have done, are only small matters to be performed by the Deity.* " Well, says Augustin, we also  
 " acknowledge, that the Prophets did such things. And what can  
 " be a greater miracle, than raising the dead? This was done by  
 " Elijah, and also by Elisha . . . Farther Moses, and the Prophets,  
 " who were men of great truth, prophesied of the Lord Jesus  
 " Christ, and ascribed great glorie to him, and spoke of him not  
 " only as equal to themselves, and superior to them, in the same  
 " power

sentit affectus, hominem persuadet hominibus, quem non consumsit utique, sed assumpsit. Ecce sic factum est, et tamen quidam haeret ci, perverse mirando laudandoque ejus virtutem, naturam humanam in eo prorsus agnoscere noluerunt, ubi est omnis gratiae commendatio, quâ salvos facit credentes in se, profundos thesauros sapientiae et scientiae continens, et fide mentes induens, quas ad aeternam contemplationem veritatis incommutabilis provehat. Quid si Omnipotens hominem ubicumque formatum non ex materno utero exarer, sed repentinum inferret aspectibus? Quid si nullas ex parvulo in juventam mutaret aetates, nullos cibos, nullos caperet somnos: nonne opinionem confirmaret erroris, nec hominem verum suscepisse, ullo modo crede-

retur. Et dum omnia mirabiliter facit, auferret quod misericorditer fecit? Nunc vero ita inter Deum et homines Mediator apparuit, ut in unitate personae copulans utramque naturam, et solita sublimaret insolitis, et insolita solitis temperaret. *Ibid. num. 9.*

(n) Sed, nulla, inquit, competentibus signis claruerunt tantae majestatis indicia: quia larvalis illa purgatio, debiliû curae, reddita vita defunctis, si et alii considerentur, Deo parva sunt. Fatemur quidem et nos talia quaedam fecisse Prophetas. Nam in tui signis quid excellentius, quam mortuos resurrexisse? Fecit hoc Elias, fecit hoc etiam Eliseus. . . Sed et ipse Moyses, et ceteri Prophetae veracissimi Dominum Christum prophetaverunt, et gloriam magnam ei dederunt, hunc non  
 tanquam



“ power of working miracles, but as the Lord and God of ail, and  
 “ made man for the fake of men. And he did the same miracles  
 “ they had done. But there were some other things peculiar to  
 “ him, his nativity of a virgin, his refurrection from the dead, and  
 “ afcenfion to heaven. He who can think all this a fmall matter  
 “ to be performed by the Deity, I know not what farther can be  
 “ expected.”

“ But (o) fome, perhaps, may demand other things, which  
 “ ought not to be done. They may urge, that another world  
 “ might be created by him. Which indeed is a great abfurdity.  
 “ But though it was not fit, that a new world fhould be made by  
 “ him, he did new things in this world, already made. He was  
 “ born of a virgin, and raifed from the dead to eternal life, and is  
 “ exalted above the heavens, which may be reckoned more than  
 “ making a world. Here perhaps they will fay, this we do not  
 “ believe. What then fhall be done to men, who defpife little  
 “ things, and will not believe greater? They believe, that dead  
 “ men have been raifed to life, becaufe others have done it, and it  
 “ is a fmall matter to be done by God. But that a man has been  
 “ made of a virgin, and raifed from the dead to eternal life above  
 “ the heavens, they will not believe, becaufe no other has done the  
 “ like, and it is worthie of God. . . . I entreat you, be not like to  
 “ fuch men.”

L l l 2

I

tanquam parem fibi, nec in eadem miraculorum potentia fuperiorem, fed plane Dominum Deum omnium et hominem propter homines factum venturum prænuntiaverunt. Qui propterea et ipfe talia facere voluit, ne effet abfurdum, quae per illos fecerat, fi ipfe non faceret. Sed tamen et aliquid proprium facere debuit: nafci de virgine, a mortuis refurgere, in coelum adfcendere. Hoc Deo qui parum putat, quid plus exspectet, ignoro. *Ibid.* §. 13.

(o) Arbitror enim talia flagitari, qualia gerens hominem facere non debuit. Nam in principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, et omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Num

homine affumto, alium mundum facere debuit, ut eum esse crederemus, per quem factus est mundus? Sed nec major mundus, nec isti aequalis in hoc mundo fieri posset. Si autem minorem faceret infra istum, similiter hoc quoque parum putaretur. Quia ergo non oportebat, ut novum faceret mundum, nova fecit in mundo. Homo enim de virgine procreatus, et a mortuis in aeternam vitam refuscitatus, potentius fortasse opus est quam mundus. Hic forte respondent, se tacitum hoc esse non credere. Quid ergo fiat hominibus, qui minima contemnunt, majora non credunt? Reddita vita defunctis, ideo creditur, quia fecerunt alii, et parum est Deo. Caro propria de virgine

- A. D. " I (*p*) have answered the difficulties in your letter. And yet  
 412. " must proceed. For, permit me to say, Who can forbear his as-  
 N. B. " sent to truths so attested by a perpetual order and connexion of  
 " things from the begining of time : former events confirming the  
 " present, and later events confirming those which are past and  
 " old ? By the divine wisdom, one man is chosen from among the  
 " Chaldeans, a man of steady virtue and piety, to whom the pro-  
 " mises of God are delivered, which were to be fulfilled in a long  
 " succession of ages yet to come : and in whom all the nations of  
 " the earth were to be blessed. This person, a worshiper of the  
 " one true God, the creator of the universe, when old begat a  
 " son, born of his wife, who also had been long barren, and was  
 " now in years, and without hopes of bearing children. From  
 " him proceeds a numerous people, which is greatly multiplied in  
 " Egypt, even under grievous oppression. From that state of ser-  
 " vitude they are delivered, and by manifold signs and wonders,  
 " they are brought into the promised land, and established there,  
 " the impious inhabitants being driven out of it, and they are made  
 " a king-

gine creata, et a morte in aeternam vitam super coelos levata, ideo non creditur, quia nemo fecit, et competit Deo. . . . Noli eis esse similis, obsecro te. *Ibid.* §. 14

(*p*) Disputantur haec latius, et omnes quaestionum necessariarum sinus perscrutati discussique panduntur. . . . Quem non moveat ad credendum tantus ab initio ipse rerum gestarum ordo, et ipsa connexio temporum, praeteritis fidem de praesentibus faciens, priora posterioribus et recentioribus antiqua confirmans ? Eligitur unus ex gente Chaldaeorum, pietate fidelissima praeditus, cui promissa divina post tantam seculorum seriem novissimis temporibus complenda prodantur, atque in ejus semine omnes gentes habiturae benedictionem praeunantur. Hic unum Deum verum colens universitatis creatorem, gignit filium senex, de conjuge, quam spe pariendi penitus destitutam sterilitas actasque jam fecerat. Propagatur ex illo numerosissimus populus, multipli-

catus in Aegypto, quo illam stirpem ex orientalibus partibus, promissis effectisque crebrescens dispositio divina transmiserat. Educitur ex Aegypti servitute gens valida, horrendis signis atque miraculis, pulsisque impiis gentibus in terram promissionis perducta et constituta, regno etiam sublimatur. Deinde praevalescente peccato, sacrilegis ausibus Deum verum, qui eis tanta beneficia contulerat, saepissime ostendens, variisque flagellata cladibus, et prosperitatibus consolata, usque ad Christi incarnationem declarationemque perducitur. Quem Christum, Dei Verbum, Dei Filium, Deum in carne venturum, moriturum, resurrecturum, in coelum ascensurum, praepollentissimo suo nomine, in omnibus gentibus dicatos sibi populos habiturum : inque illo remissionem peccatorum, salutemque aeternam futuram, esse credentibus, omnia gentis illius promissa, omnes prophetiae, sacerdotia, sacrificia, templum et cuncta omnino sacramenta sonuerunt. *num.* 15.

“ a kingdom. After that transgressions prevailing among them,  
 “ and God being offended, they suffer many calamities, and having  
 “ humbled themselves they are delivered, and after a great variety  
 “ of events they are upheld to the coming of Christ.

A. D.  
 412.

“ Well, (q) in due time Christ came, and in his birth, his  
 “ life, his words, his works, his sufferings, his death, resur-  
 “ rection and ascension, all the predictions of the Prophets are  
 “ fulfilled. He sends down the Holy Spirit, and fills the faithfull  
 “ met together in one house, expecting the promised gift. Being  
 “ filled with the Holy Spirit, they on a sudden speak in the lan-  
 “ guage of all nations, boldly confute error, preach the saving  
 “ truth, exhort to repentance of all past offenses, and assure of  
 “ forgiveness, through the divine favour. Signs and miracles ac-  
 “ company the preaching of this doctrine of true religion and vir-  
 “ tue. Great opposition is raised against them. They endure the  
 “ evils that had been foretold, they trust in the promises that had  
 “ been made, and they continue to teach the precepts which had  
 “ been delivered to them. Being few in number, they are dis-  
 “ persed over the whole world, and with amazing success they  
 “ convert the people, are multiplied among enemies, encrease by  
 “ persecutions, and under the pressures of afflictions they are spread  
 “ to the utmost ends of the earth. By the most unskillfull, by  
 “ the most contemptible, by a very few, the greatest wits, and the  
 “ most learned men are enlightened, ennobled, multiplied: men  
 “ of the greatest abilities, and the most celebrated for learning and  
 “ eloquence

(q) Venit et Christus, complentur in  
 ejus ortu, vita, dictis, factis, passioni-  
 bus, morte, resurrectione, ascensione,  
 omnia praeconia Prophetarum. Mittit  
 Spiritum Sanctum, implet fideles una in  
 domo congregatos, et hoc ipsum promif-  
 sum orando atque desiderando expectan-  
 tes. Impleti autem Spiritu-sancto, lo-  
 quuntur repente linguis omnium gentium,  
 arguunt fidenter errores, praedicant sa-  
 luberrimam veritatem, exhortantur ad  
 poenitentiam praeteritae culpabilis vitae,  
 indulgentiam de divina gratia pollicentur.  
 Praedicationem pietatis veraeque religio-

nis signa congruentia et miracula conse-  
 quuntur. Excitatur adversus eos saeva  
 infidelitas, tolerant praedicta, sperant  
 promissa, docent praecepta. Numero  
 exigui per mundum disseminantur, popu-  
 los facilitate mirabili convertunt, inter  
 inimicos augentur, persecutionibus cres-  
 cunt, per afflictionum angustias usque in  
 terrarum extrema dilatantur. Ex impe-  
 ritissimis, ex abjectissimis, ex paucissimis  
 illuminantur, nobilitantur, multiplican-  
 tur, praeclarissima ingenia, cultissima e-  
 loquia: mirabilesque peritias acutorum,  
 facundorum atque doctorum subjugant  
 Christo,



A. D. 412. “ eloquence are subdued, and brought under the discipline of  
 “ Christ, and induced to preach the way of piety, and salvation to  
 “ others. . . . Still the Church endures the persecutions of infidel  
 “ people. But she overcomes by suffering, and by professing the  
 “ uncorrupted truth amidst the unrelenting cruelty of opposers.  
 “ The truth having been revealed, which had been concealed un-  
 “ der prophetic mysteries, those sacrifices, by which it had been  
 “ prefigured, have ceased, the temple itself being destroyed, where  
 “ they were to be offered. And the Jewish nation, which has  
 “ been cast off for their unbelief, and removed from their own  
 “ countrey, are dispersed all over the world, that they might carry  
 “ every where the volumes of the sacred Scriptures, and so the  
 “ testimonie of prophecie, in which Christ and the Church are  
 “ foretold, being produced by our adversaries, there might not be  
 “ any the least suspicion, that they had been forged by us to serve a  
 “ purpose. And in them their unbelief also is foretold. The  
 “ temples and images of demons, and their sacrilegious rites are  
 “ gradually, and one after another, overturned agreeably to the  
 “ predictions of the Prophets. Heresies contrarie to the name of  
 “ Christ, but under his name, spring up, as they have been fore-  
 “ told. All these things, as we read them foretold, we see ful-  
 “ filled, and by all these so many and so great things already come  
 “ to pass, the expectation of what is still to come, is confirmed.  
 “ What mind desirous of immortality, and convinced of the  
 “ shortness of the present life, can resist the light and evidence of  
 “ this divine authority !

“ Indeed,

Christo, et ad praedicandum viam pietatis salutisque convertunt. . . . Atque inter haec omnia contra Ecclesiam Christi impiarum gentium infidelitas fremit. Evin- cit illa patiendo, et inconcussam fidem inter obstitentium saevitiam proficundo. Revelatae veritatis, quae diu promissis mysticis velabatur, sacrificio succedente, illa sacrificia, quibus hoc figurabatur, templi ipsius eversione tolluntur. Reproba per infidelitatem gens ipsa Judaeorum a sedibus extirpata,

per mundum usquequaque dispergitur, ut ubique portet codices sanctos, ac sic prophetiae testimonium, qua Christus et Ecclesia praenunciata est, ne ad tempus a nobis fictum existimaretur, ab ipsis adversariis proferatur : ubi etiam ipsos praedictum est non fuisse credituros. Tempia et simulachra daemonum, ritusque sacri- legi paullatim atque alternatim secundum praedicta prophetica subvertuntur. Haereses adversus nomen Christi, sub vela- mento tamen nominis Christi ad exer- cendam



“ Indeed, (r) I must say, that in the Christian doctrine is every thing valuable, and in the highest perfection. What discourses, what writings of any philosophers, what laws of any republicks, have any rules comparable to those two precepts, on which Christ says, depend all the Law and the Prophets, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself* ! Here also the welfare of the Publick is consulted. For a city cannot be founded and established, but by the ground and bond of faith, and by concord : when the common good is chosen, the chiefest and truest of which is God, and in him men love sincerely themselves and one another, and for his sake, to whom alone it is known, in what manner they love.

“ The (s) stile of the Scripture is such, as is suited to all sorts of persons, and to the things delivered. Bad tempers are corrected, weak minds are cherished, and the greatest wits are entertained. He only can be an enemy to this teaching, who knows not what is wholesome, or in his sickness loaths the proper medicine.”

“ Augustin (t) then concludes his letter to Volusian, in a most affectionate

cendam doctrinam sanctae religionis, sicut praenuntiatae sunt, pullulant. Haec omnia sicut leguntur praedicta, ita cernuntur impleta, atque ex his jam tot et tantis quae restant, expectantur implenda. Quae tandem mens avida aeternitatis, vitaeque praesentis brevitate permota, contra hujus divinae auctoritatis lumen cultumque contendat ? num. 16.

(r) Quae disputationis, quae literarum quorum libet philosophorum, quae leges quarum libet civitatum, duobus praeceptis, ex quibus Christus dicit totam Legem Prophetasque pendere, ullo modo sint comparandae, *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua : et diliges proximum tuum tanquam teipsum* ! Hic phylica, quoniam omnes omnium naturarum causae in Deo creatore sunt. Hic ethica, quoniam *Vita Bona et Honestas* non aliunde formatur, quam cum ea quae diligenda sunt,

quemadmodum diligenda sunt, diliguntur, hoc est Deus et proximus. Hic etiam laudabilis rei publicae salus. Neque enim conditur et custoditur optime civitas, nisi fundamento et vinculo fidei, firmaeque concordiae : cum bonum commune diligitur, quod summum ac verissimum est Deus, atque in illo invicem sincerissime se diligunt homines, cum propter illum se diligunt, cui, quo animo diligant occultare non possunt. *Ib.* §. 17.

(s) Modus autem ipse dicendi, quo sancta Scriptura contextitur, quam omnibus accessibilis, quamvis paucissimis penetrabilis. . . His salubriter et prava corriguntur, et parva nutriuntur, et magna oblectantur ingenia. Ille huic doctrinae inimicus est animus, qui vel errando eam nescit esse saluberrimam, vel odit aegrotando medicinam. num. 18.

(t) Incolumem feliciterque misericordissima Dei omnipotentia tueatur, Domine

- A. D. " affectionate manner, saluting him, and his pious mother, and  
 412. " sending to him salutations from *Possidius*, who was then with him,  
 " and encouraging *Volusian*, if he pleased, to write again, and send  
 " him all his objections, if any difficulties yet remained."

It has been observed, that (u) this Letter is a kind of abridgement of Augustin's large work of the City of God. Indeed, I think it to be an excellent letter, and a good argument for the truth of the Christian Religion. I persuade my-self, that many of my readers will be of the same opinion, and will attend to it, and receive satisfaction from it. For certain, we have now seen the genuine difficulties and objections of Heathen people at that time, and Augustin's solutions, and answers to them.

What (x) was the result of this correspondence, is not known. All that can be said, is, that if Volusian was uncle to Melania, he was not converted to the Christian faith, till near the time of his death, in the year 436.

There follows, as before (y) intimated, a Letter of Augustin to *Marcellinus* (z) in which the other difficulties mentioned by Marcellinus, are particularly considered, and well answered. But I am willing to suppose, that my readers are themselves well able to solve those difficulties. I therefore need not transcribe, nor abridge that letter, but only refer the more curious to it. Moreover the objections of that letter are partly answered in this letter of *Augustin* to *Volusian*.

mine illustris et merito insignis, ac praestantissime fili. Sanctam et in Christo dignissime honorandam matrem, cujus pro te Deus preces exaudiat, pro meritis vestris officiocissime saluto. Sanctus frater et coepiscopus meus Possidius praestantiam vestram multum salutat. num. 20.

(u) See Tillemont. *St. Augustin. art.* 224. num. T. 13. p. 594.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 595.

(y) See p. 441.

(z) *Augustin. Ep.* 138. Tom. 2.

SECT. XIII. *The Correspondence between the People of Madaura and Augustin.*

**I**T will not, I think, be improper to subjoin here in the next place *Augustin's* correspondence with the people of *Madaura*. The time is not exactly known, and these letters are put by the Benedictines in the class of such letters, of which the date is uncertain. *Time uncertain.*

The people of Madaura recommended *Florentin* to Augustin, desiring his assistance in an affair to be transacted at Hippo, where Augustin was. Their letter is not in being. But we see some parts of it in the answer, which Augustin wrote to them. "It (a) was inscribed, *To our father Augustin eternal salvation in the Lord.* And the subscription was: *We wish You, honoured Sir, that God, and his Christ, may grant you a long and happy life amidst your Clergie.* When Augustin read the inscription, he was filled with joy, thinking they had already embraced the Christian Religion: or at least that they were desirous to be brought to it by his means. But what followed in the letter damped all his hopes. However, he inquired of the bearer of the letter, if they were not already Christians, or desirous to be so. When he told me, that you were not at all changed, it gave me great concern to think, that when you see the whole world subject to Christ, you should

" not

(a) Num. 2. Quod enim scripsistis, Patri Augustino in Domino aeternam salutem, cum legerem, tanta spe subito erectus sum, ut crederem vos ad ipsum Dominum, et ad ipsam aeternam salutem, aut jam esse conversos, aut per nostrum ministerium desiderare converti. Sed ubi legi cetera, refriguit animus meus. Quaevisi tamen ab epistolae portatore, utrum jam vel essetis Christiani, vel esse cuperetis. Cujus responsione postea quam comperi, nequaquam vos esse mutatos, gra-

vius dolui, quod Christi nomen, cui jam totum orbem subjectum esse conspiciatis, non solum a vobis repellendum, sed etiam in nobis irridendum esse credidistis. Et si esset hinc aliqua de interpretatione vestrae sententiae dubitatio, subscriptione epistolae tolleretur, ubi aperte posuistis, optamus te Domine in Deo et Christo ejus. per multos annos semper in clero tuo gaudere. Quibus omnibus perlectis atque discussis, quid mihi aliud occurrere potuit, aut cui libet homini potest, nisi aut veridico aut

falsi

Time un-  
certain.

“ not only reject him, but also deride his name in me. For when I read those things in your letter, what could I, or any other man think, but that you had writ sincerely, or deceitfully. If sincerely, what should hinder you from being Christians? If deceitfully, how could you expect, that I should undertake your business, when you insulted the name of Christ in me?

“ However, Augustin fails not to lay hold of this opportunity to recommend the Christian Religion to them. At the same time awakening their consideration, by telling them, that their condemnation would be aggravated, if his arguments and exhortations should be without effect. He then goes on in his argument. Which, perhaps, my readers will observe to have a resemblance with that in his letter to *Volusian* before transcribed.

“ Be persuaded then, my friends, to attend. In the sacred Scriptures may be found recorded all those things concerning true religion, which our ancestors have delivered down to us, as transacted in former times, relating to the human race: and likewise all those things, which we now see, and which we deliver down to posterity. And all things are now done, as they were foretold to be done. Certainly you see the people of the Jews removed from their own countrey, and scattered, and dwelling in almost every part of the earth. And the rise and increase of that people, and then the loss of their kingdom, and their dispersion, as they were foretold, they have been exactly

“ 10

fallaci scribentium animo haec esse conscripta? Sed si veridico animo ista scribitis, quis vobis ad hanc veritatem intercluserit viam? . . . si autem fallaciter atque irridenter haec scribitis, itane tandem mihi negotia vestra curanda imponitis, ut nomen ejus, per quem aliquid possum, audeatis non veneratione debita ad tollere, sed insultatione adulatoria ventilare?

3. Sciatis me, carissimi, cum ineffabili pro vobis tremore cordis haec dicere. Novi enim quanto graviorem et perniciosiorem causam, sitis habituri apud Deum, si frustra vobis haec dixerō. Omnia quae

praeteritis temporibus erga humanum genus majores nostri gesta esse meminerunt, nobisque tradiderunt: omnia etiam quae nos videmus, et posteris tradimus, quae tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quaerendam et tenendam, divina scriptura non tacuit: sed ita omnino cuncta transeunt, ut transitura esse praedicta sunt. Videtis certe populum Judaeorum avulsam a sedibus suis, per omnes fere terras disseminatum, atque diffusum. Et origo ejus populi, et incrementa, et regni amissio, et per cuncta dispersio, sicut praedicta sunt, ita facta sunt. Videtis certe ex

ipso



“ so done. You likewise see the word and law of God, which  
 “ was taught by Christ, who was wonderfully sprung from  
 “ them, this law, I say, you see to be received, and maintained  
 “ by all nations. All these things we read foretold, as we now see  
 “ them done. You likewise see others glorying indeed in the Chri-  
 “ stian name, but are really withered branches, who have departed  
 “ from the doctrine delivered by tradition from the Apostles, whom  
 “ we call hereticks and schismaticks. These also were foreseen,  
 “ foretold, and recorded before hand. You also plainly see the  
 “ temples of images in part fallen, and lying in ruins, partly de-  
 “ stroyed, partly shut up, partly converted to other uses: and the  
 “ images themselves, either broken to pieces, or burnt, or shut up  
 “ in the temples, or destroyed: and the powers of this world,  
 “ which formerly persecuted Christian people out of respect to ima-  
 “ ges, now conquered and subdued, not by rebellious, but by dy-  
 “ ing Christians: who now have turned their power, and the  
 “ edge of the laws against images, for which they had killed Chri-  
 “ stians: and the Emperours themselves bowing their crowned  
 “ heads, and humbly praying at the tomb of Peter, a fisherman.”

“ All these things the divine scriptures, which are now in the  
 “ hands of all men, foretold long agoe. And we the more firmly be-  
 “ lieve these things, and the more cordially rejoice in their fulfilment,  
 “ because we find them so recorded and foretold in the holy scrip-  
 “ tures,

M m m 2

tures,

ipso populo verbum Dei legemque prode-  
 untem per Christum, qui ex ipsis mirabi-  
 liter natus est, omnium gentium fidem  
 occupasse et tenuisse. Ita haec omnia  
 praenuntiata legimus, ut videmus. Vi-  
 detis certe multos praecisos a radice  
 Christianae societatis, quae per sedes A-  
 postolorum et successiones episcoporum  
 certa per orbem propagatione diffunditur,  
 de sola figura originis, sub Christiano no-  
 mine, quasi arescentia sarmenta gloriari,  
 quae haereses et schismata nominamus:  
 praevisa, praedicta, scripta sunt omnia.  
 Videtis certe simulachrorum templa, par-  
 tim sine reparatione collapsa, partim di-  
 ruta, partim clausa, partim in usus alios  
 commutata: ipsaque simulachra vel con-

fringi, vel incendi, vel includi, vel de-  
 strui: atque ipsas hujus seculi potestates,  
 quae aliquando pro simulachris populum  
 Christianum persequuntur, victas et  
 domitas, non a repugnantibus, sed a mo-  
 rientibus Christianis, et contra eadem si-  
 mulachra, pro quibus Christianos occide-  
 runt, impetus suos legesque vertisse et im-  
 perii nobilissimi eminentissimum culmen  
 ad sepulchrum piscatoris Petri submissio  
 diademate supplicare.

4. Haec omnia scripturae divinae, quae  
 in manus omnium jam venerunt, ante  
 longissima tempora futura esse testatae  
 sunt. Haec omnia tanto robustiore fide  
 laetamur fieri, quanto majore auctoritate  
 praedicata esse in sanctis literis invenimus.

Num

*Time un-* " tures, which are in great authority. And I pray, shall not the  
*certain.* " Divine judgement upon all men, good and bad, and that alone,  
" which is also foretold as future in the same scriptures, shall not  
" that come to pass? Yes it will come, as all the other things have  
" come."

Augustin goes on to say: " Christ (*b*) had no worldly kingdom,  
" nor worldly riches, nor other worldly splendour. It was Christ  
" crucified, who was preached all over the earth. A few believed  
" then, and now all people in general. For when Christ crucified  
" was preached, the lame were made to walk, the dumb to speak,  
" the deaf to hear, the blind to see, and the dead were raised. So  
" God was glorified, and the pride of man subdued."

" Awake (*c*) then at length, ye people of Madaura, my bre-  
" thren, and my parents. God has given me this opportunity of  
" writing to you, which I could not but cheerfully embrace. Ac-  
" cording to the best of my abilities, I have assisted my brother  
" *Florentin*, by whom you wrote to me, in the business, which he  
" had to transact here. Nor was there any great difficulty in it.  
" For *Florentin* has many friends at Hippo."

" And now, my honoured, and beloved brethren, may the one  
" true God convert you to himself, and deliver you from the vani-  
" ty of this world."

That

Num quidnam, obsecro vos, numquidnam solum judicium Dei, quod inter fideles atque infideles futurum esse in eisdem literis legimus, cum illa omnia, sicut praedicta sunt, venerunt, numquidnam solum judicium Dei venturum non esse putabimus? Immo veniet, sicut illa omnia venerunt.

(*b*) 6 Itaque non Christus regno terreno decoratus, nec Christus terrenis opibus dives, nec Christus ulla terrena felicitate praefulgens: sed Christus crucifixus, per totum terrarum orbem praedicatur. Quod viderunt prius populi superbiorum, et adhuc ridet reliquiae. Crediderunt autem prius pauci, nunc populi: quia tunc ad fidem paucorum, et contra irrisum populorum, cum Christus crucifixus praedicetur, claudi ambulabant, muti loquebantur, surdi audiebant, caeci

videbant, mortui resurgebant. Sic tandem animadvertit terrena superbia, nihil in ipsis terrenis esse potentius humilitate divina.

(*c*) 7 Expergiscimini aliquando, fratres mei, et parentes mei Madaurense. Hanc occasionem scribendi vobis Deus mihi obtulit. Quantum potui quidem in negotio fratris Florentini, per quem literas misistis, sicut Deus voluit, adfui et adjuvi. Sed tale negotium erat, quod etiani sine operâ meâ facile peragi posset. Prope omnes enim domus ipsius homines, qui apud Hipponem sunt, noverunt Florentinum, et multum ejus orbitatem dolent. . . . Deus unus et verus vos ab omni hujus seculi vanitate liberatos convertat ad se, Domini praedicabiles, et dilectissimi fratres. *Ep. 232. al. 42. Tom. 2.*

That is a large part of Augustin's letter to the people of Madaura. It shews the truly Christian zeal of this Bishop. And it is writ with good temper. He calls the people of Madaura, his *brethren and parents*, and Florentin *his brother*, though he was a Gentil.

It is supposed, that (d) Augustin, so calls the people of Madaura, because he had studied literature there in his youth.

#### SECT. XIV. *The Correspondence between Augustin. and Longinian.*

WHAT follows next is the correspondence between Augustin and Longinian. "Augustin (a) had before some conversation with him, by which he perceived Longinian to be a man of good understanding, and well-disposed. He therefore now invites him to write to him, and let him know his thoughts concerning God, and Christ, and the best way of attaining to happiness."

To that letter Longinian wrote an answer, treating Augustin in a very respectfull manner. He (b) calls him the best of the Romans. He declares, that (c) *he had never known or heard of more than one, who had so diligently applied himself to the knowledge of the true God,*

(d) So the *Benedictins* in a note upon the place, and Tillemont *S. Augustin. art.* 105. p. 271.

(a) Proinde quia videor inspexisse tamquam in speculo sermocinationis mecum tuæ nihil te esse malle quam virum bonum; Deum, quo nihil est melius, et unde humanus animus haurit ut bonus sit, quonam modo colendum credas, audeo percontari. Nam quod eum colendum credas jam teneo. Quaero etiam, quid de Christo sentias. Quod enim eum non parvi pendas, adverti. Sed utrum eam et solam viam, quae ab illo demonstrata est ad vitam beatam perveniri posse, existimes, et aliqua ex causa non eam negligas ire, sed differas: an et aliam vel alias ad

tam optimam et prae omnibus appetendam possessionem vias esse arbitreris, et aliquam earum jam te ingredi credas, nosse cupio, ut opinor, non impudenter. *Aug. Ep.* 233. *al.* 20.

(b) Romanorum vir vere optime. *Ep.* 234. *al.* 21. §. 1.

(c) Siquidem adhuc post hominum memoriam . . . adhuc audierim, legerim, viderim neminem, aut certe post unum, nullum, quod Deo teste, bono periculo certoque dixerim, nisi te, Deum conniti semper agnoscere, et posse puritate animi, corporisque projecta gravitudine sectari facillime, et spe perfectæ conscientiae non dubia credulitate tenere. *Ib. num.* 1.

Time un-  
certain. “ God, or was so likely to attain to Him, and to true happiness, by  
“ the purity of his heart, and a disengagement from all worldly impe-  
“ diments.”

“ By way of answer to the questions, which had been put to  
“ him, Longinian says, he (d) would speak his opinion, so far as he  
“ had been able learn from pious antiquity. The best way of going to  
“ God, is that, in which a good man goes to the one true God, the in-  
“ comprehensible, ineffable, unchangeable creator of the universe, even  
“ by good words, and good works, accompanied and assisted by the pow-  
“ ers of God, whom you call angels. In this way, and when purified  
“ by expiations according to the pious directions of the ancients, and  
“ practising abstemiousness and self-denial in body and mind, good men  
“ have easie access to God.”

“ As for Christ, in whom you believe, and the Spirit of God, through  
“ whom you, my honoured father, hope to go to the supreme, blessed, true  
“ God, and Father of all, I dare not, nor am I able, to express what  
“ I think. And indeed it is very difficult to define what a man does  
“ not understand. But I have the highest respect for your vir-  
“ tues.”

With that letter Augustin seems to be well pleased, and writes an  
answer to it, which is to this effect. “ I (e) cannot dislike your  
“ caution in not denying, or affirming any thing concerning Christ.  
“ It is a modest reserve, not unbecoming in a Pagan. I am  
“ very

(d) Verum quod traditum sancte atque antiquitus teneam atque custodiam, ut potuero, paucis edicam. Via est ad Deum melior, quàm vir bonus, pius, purus, justus, castus, veris dictis factisque sine ulla temporum mutatorum cantata jactatione probatus, et deorum comitatu vallatus, Dei utique potestatibus emeritus, id est, ejus unius et universi et incomprehensibilis et ineffabilis infatigabilisque Creatoris impletus virtutibus, quos, ut verum est, angelos dicitis, vel quid alterum post Deum vel cum Deo, aut in Deo, aut in Deum intentione animi mentisque ire festinat. Via est, inquam, qua purgati antiquorum facrorum piis praeceptis expiationibusque purissimis, et abstemiis ob-

servationibus decocti, animo et corpore constantes deproperant. *num. ii.*

3. De Christo autem tuæ jam credulitatis carnali, et Spiritu Dei, per quem in illum summum, beatum, verum, et patrem omnium ire securus es, Domine pater percolende, non audeo, nec valeo quid sentiam exprimere: quia quod nescio difficillimum credo definire. Ut autem me cultorem tuarum virtutum dignatus es. . . . *num. iii.*

(e) Unde jam video exortum et exorsum inter nos magnæ hac de re magna disputationis quasi sementem: Hoc est quod volebam prius, deinde quod adhuc volo, Deus adjuvabit. . . Proinde quod de Christo nihil tibi negandum vel affirmandum putasti, hoc



“ very willing to afford you the assistance, which you desire. But <sup>Time un-</sup>  
 “ I must entreat the solution of some questions. You say, <sup>certain.</sup> *that*  
 “ *when good men are purified by expiations according to the pious di-*  
 “ *rections of the ancients, they have easie access to God.* In which  
 “ words, as seems to me, you say, that in order to go to God, it is  
 “ not sufficient, that by pious, just, pure, chaste, true words and  
 “ works, a good man approve himself to the gods, in whose com-  
 “ panie he may go to God the supreme creator of all, unless he  
 “ be purified according to the pious directions of the ancients.  
 “ Wherefore I desire to know of you, what there is, which needs  
 “ to be purified by sacred rites, in him, who by piety, justice, pu-  
 “ rity, and sincerity, has approved himself to the gods, and by  
 “ them to him who is the one God of gods. For if he is still to  
 “ be purified by sacred rites and expiations, he is not clean. And  
 “ if he is not clean, he does not live piously, justly, purely, chastly.  
 “ For what need can he have to be purified by sacred expiations,  
 “ who is already clean? This is wanting to be cleared up, before  
 “ we proceed.”

By all which Augustin seems to intimate, that sincerely good and virtuous men are pure, and clean, and acceptable to God, and need no other purifications or expiations whatever.

That is the sum of this correspondence. There are no other letters between Augustin and Longinian. Who Longinian was, we do not know exactly. I do not see that he was priest or pontif, as  
 some

hoc in Pagani animo temperamentum non invitus acceperim. . . . Sed prius opus est eliquare quodammodo, perspicuam summere sententiam tuam de antiquis sacris. . . . Quae verba ex epistola tua recognoscere, cum addidisti, et aisti: *Via est, inquam, quâ purgati antiquorum sacrorum piis praeceptis, expiationibusque purissimis, et abstemiis observationibus decocti, anima et corpore constantes deproperant.* Ep. 235. al. 22. num. 1.

2. In his verbis sentio, ni fallor, videri tibi non sufficere ad viam quâ itur ad Deum, uti vir bonus piis, iustis, puris, castis, veris dictis factisque promereatur

deos, quorum comitatu vallatus in illum summum Deum omnium Creatorem ire festinet, nisi etiam sacrorum antiquorum piis praeceptis expiationibus purgetur. Quamobrem velim scire, quid arbitreris esse per sacra purgandum, in eo, qui pie, iuste, pure, veraciter vivendo promeretur Deos, et per eos unum illum deorum Deum. Si enim adhuc sacris purgandus est, utique mundus non est. Et si mundus non est, pie, iuste, pure, casteque non vivit. Si enim ita vivit, jam mundus est. Porro jam mundum atque purum, quid opus est, sacris expiando purgari? &c. *Ibid.* num. 2.

some have (*f*) imagined. But he was a learned man. In the contents of the Epistle, as represented by the Benedictins, he is called a *Pagan Philosopher*. Says Tillemont, “ We (*g*) know not what was the issue of this conference. Possidius mentions no more than two letters to *Longinian*, against paganism. There was one of this name in the time of Honorius, who was Prefect of Italie, and was killed in the year 408. as a friend of Stilicho. I see no difficulty in allowing, that this is the same person.”

SECT. XV. *Observations of Orosius and Augustin upon the treatment given to the Gentils by Christian Magistrates.*

**O**ROSIOUS, who finished his Historie in the year (*a*) of Christ 417. or thereabout, speaks to this purpose, near the conclusion of it. “ Constantin (*b*) says he, was the first Christian Empe-  
 “ rour, excepting Philip, who was a Christian for a very few years  
 “ only, and, as seems to me, for this purpose, that the thousandth  
 “ year of Rome might be consecrated to Christ, rather than to idols.  
 “ From Constantin to this time, all the Emperours have been  
 “ Christians, excepting Julian, who lost his life, when he was  
 “ meditating, as it has been said, evil things. [*that is against the*  
 “ *Christians, and intending their extirpation.*] This has been their  
 “ slow, but sure ruin. For which reason they are continually com-  
 “ plaining,

(*f*) Le Saint ayant eu un entretien avec Longinien, qui étoit payen, et apparemment pontife du paganisme. *Tillem. Augustin. art. cv. T. 13. p. 271.*

(*g*) *Tillem. ib. p. 272*

(*a*) See Tillemont *St. Augustin. art. 266. Mem. Tom xiv.*

(*b*) Igitur mortuo, ut dixi, Constantio in Britanniiis, Constantinus Imperator est creatus, primus Imperatorum Christianus, excepto Philippo, qui Christianus annis admodum paucissimis, ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est, ut Millefimus Romae annus Christo potius quam idolis

dicaretur. A Constantino autem omnes Christiani Imperatores usque in hodiernum diem creati sunt, excepto Juliano, quem impia, ut aiunt, machinantem, exitiabilis vita deferuit. Haec est lenta illa paganorum poena, sed certa. Hinc sani insaniunt, hinc non vulnerati compunguntur, hinc ridentes gemunt, hinc viventes deficiunt, hinc secreto excruciantur, quos nemo persequitur: hinc jam paucissimi remanserunt, qui numquam aliquo persequente puniti sunt. *Oros. lib. 7. cap. 28. p. 537.*

“ plaining, and though not hurt, they smart, and though they live  
 “ much at ease, they gradually decline : so that now there remain  
 “ very few of them, though they have never been persecuted by  
 “ any.”

Orosius was not unacquainted with the Imperial laws concerning the Gentils, and their worship. And yet he speaks, as if they *had never been persecuted*. I think, it may be hence argued, that few Gentils had suffered in their persons, by those laws. So, as before quoted by us, he said, “ that (c) Constantin by edict ordered the  
 “ Temples of the Pagans to be shut up, but without putting any  
 “ of them to death.”

*Augustin* was contemporarie with Orosius, but survived him. Let us now observe some things, which we meet with in his writings.

In his first book against *Parmenian*, a Donatist Bishop, he puts him in mind, “ that (d) there were Imperial laws, not only against  
 “ hereticks, but also against Pagans, and that their images had been  
 “ ordered by late laws to be thrown down, and broken to pieces,  
 “ and that their sacrifices had been forbid upon pain of death.” So writes Augustin, and with too evident tokens of approbation. That book is supposed to have been writ in the year of Christ 400.

In his letter to *Vincentius* he says, that many had been induced to forsake Gentilism by the terrour of the Imperial laws. His words are these : “ The (e) Pagans may reflect upon us for the laws, which  
 “ Christian Emperours have enacted against the worshipers of Idols.  
 “ Nevertheless many of them have been converted, and still are  
 “ daily converted to the one living and true God.” That letter is supposed to have been writ about the year 408.

In a sermon to the people, he descants upon the words of Psalm. cxli. 6. which he reads thus, agreeably to the version of the seventy :

(c) See before. p. 337.

(d) . . . Nec solum haereticis quoquo modo, Christiano nomine dealbatis, sed etiam ipsis Paganis. Nam utique et ipsi falsa religione sunt impii: quorum simulachra everti atque contrungi iussa sunt recentioribus legibus, inhiberi etiam sacrificia terrore capitali. *Contr. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. ix. Tom. 9.*

(e) Pagani vero magis nos blasphemare possunt de legibus, quas contra idolorum cultores Christiani Imperatores tulerunt: et tamen ex eis multi correcti, et ad Deum vivum verumque conversi sunt, et quotidie convertuntur. *Ad Vincent. Rogatist. Ep. 93. al. 48. num. 26. Tom. ii.*

ty: *They shall bear my words, because they have prevailed.* He there compares the timidity and unsteadiness of Gentil people with the resolution and fortitude of the Martyrs, who were exalted above the fear of death. “How (*f*) then *did they prevail?* who of the Pagans has been found sacrificing, since sacrifices have been prohibited by the laws, and did not deny it? Who of them has been found worshiping an idol, and did not cry out: *I have done no such thing*, dreading to be convicted! On the other hand, the disciples of Christ by his words, and by his example in dying and rising again, have been raised above the fear of death. The words of the Lord therefore have prevailed, because they were preached by those who were void of fear. They were not afraid of exile, losse of goods, death itself, nor even the death of the crosse, than which nothing is more terrible.”

All this may be true. For I do not suppose, that Gentil people, by their principles, were so well qualified to be Martyrs, as the Christians were. Nevertheless I cannot but think it pity, that they were brought to this trial by Christians. And it must seem ungenerous to triumph over them for their weaknesse. However, I now alledge this passage, only to shew what was the state of things at that time. And with it I put an end to the collections of this kind.

(*f*) *Audiunt verba mea, quoniam praevaluerunt.* Unde praevaluerunt? Quis eorum comprehensus est in sacrificio, cum his legibus ista prohiberentur, et non negavit? Quis eorum comprehensus est adorare idolum, et non clamavit, Non feci, et timuit ne convinceretur. Unde autem praevaluerunt verba Domini? . . . Et quid est factum de tot mortibus Martyrum, nisi ut ipsa verba praevalerent, et tanquam

irrigata terra sanguine testium Christi, pullularet ubique seges Ecclesiae? . . . Unde praevaluerunt? Jam diximus, cum praedicantur a non timentibus. Quid non timentibus? Nec exilia, nec damna, nec mortem, nec crucem. Non enim nec mortem solam, sed nec crucem, qua morte nihil videbatur execrabilius. *Enarr. in Ps. cxl. al. cxli. n. 20. Tom. 4.*



## SECT. XVI. *Concluding Observations upon the State of Gentilism under Christian Emperours.*

WE are now to make remarks upon the accounts, which we have seen of the state of Gentilism in the times of Christian Emperours.

I *Constantin, and divers other Christian Emperours, acted contrary to the edict, which was published by Him and Licinius in the year 313.*

I suppose, my readers to be well acquainted with that edict, which was transcribed by us *(a)* formerly at length, in it's proper place and time. Moreover the substance of it was rehearsed by us again, not long agoe, in this *(b)* volume.

Several of the Imperial laws, above recited, concerning the Gentil people, and their worship, plainly break in upon the liberty there granted. All people were not now allowed to choose and observe that way of worship, which they approved of. The way of worship, chosen by the Gentils, was *forbidden and restrained*. The shutting up, or demolishing their temples, and the removing, and breaking to pieces their images, were also inconsistent with that edict of general toleration.

Le Clerc, in his account of Pagi's Critique upon Baronius, which was published compleat in four volumes, at Geneva, in 1705. speaking of affairs in the reign of Honorius, near the end of the fourth, and the beginning of the fifth centurie, expresseth himself after this manner. " Thus *(c)* it was, that the Christians continued to re-

" turn to the Pagans what they had suffered from them during the

" first three centuries, instead of gaining them by patience and

" mildnesse: which they had so much recommended, when they

" were the weakest. This conduct was proper to make the Pagans

" more obstinate, by teaching them, that the Christians affected to

" speak of humanity and moderation from interest only, and not

" from a principle of religion, as they pretended. At lest it is cer-

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" tain,

*(a)* Vol. 3. p. 313. &c.

*(b)* See here, p. 333.

*(c)* Bib. choisie. Tom. viii. p. 276. &c.

“tain, that thereby they lost the right to complain of the man-  
 “ner, in which the Pagans had treated them in times past, or to  
 “boast of the mildness of their religion, which they effectually  
 “disparaged by those persecutions. The laws against the Pagans  
 “may be seen in the Theodosian Code, at the title, *De Paganis,*  
 “*sacrificiis, et templis.*”

“We ought not to imagine, that the penalties laid by Christians  
 “upon the Pagans were light. If (*d*) a sacrifice was offered in a  
 “private place, with the knowledge of the proprietor, the place  
 “was confiscated: if not, they were to pay a fine of twenty pounds  
 “of gold, and as much, if it had been done in a temple. . . . And  
 “in some cases, the penalty of death was appointed. . . . We may  
 “look into the Oration of Libanius for the Temples. Where that  
 “Orator sustains the same character before Theodosius, as the Chri-  
 “stians had formerly done before the Pagan Emperours. I must  
 “acknowledge, that this phenomenon, if I may so call it, gives  
 “me pain. For I could wish, that they who defended the truth,  
 “had preserved to themselves the honour of being the only persons,  
 “that were persecuted for religion.”

So writes Le Clerc. Some other like things were said by us formerly, in the chapter of Constantin: where (*e*) also we took the liberty to consider the treatment given in that reign to men of different denominations: Catholics, Hereticks, and Gentils.

2. *There were as yet no laws of Christian Emperours, restraining freedom of speech in Gentil people, or the freedom of writing and conference in things of religion.*

Such laws have been made since. But I see nothing of that kind in any of the Imperial laws or edicts above recited. Porphyrie's books against the Christian Religion, as we are (*f*) informed, were ordered to be destroyed. But I do not recollect any laws of Christian Princes, in those early times, restraining freedom of speech in Gentil people, or freedom of writing and conference concerning things of religion. Augustin (*g*) has informed us of a pretended oracle about the year 398. foretelling the period of the Christian Religion. But  
 he

(*d*) Le Clerc there refers to the law of Theodosius in 392. which was recited by us some while agoe, at p. 348.

(*e*) *Credib.* vol. viii. p. 423.

(*f*) See vol. 2. p. 263. and vol. 3. p. 129.

(*g*) See here, p. 419.

he does not say, that the publishers of it were called to an account, or punished for it. And we are assured from his letters to Gentils, and from their letters to him, that all did then freely debate the merits, and the evidences of the Christian doctrine. And he encouraged, and invited men to propose to him their difficulties and objections. We also know, that *(b)* Proclus, in the fifth centurie, wrote against the Christians. But we do not know, that he was punished for so doing.

3. *There were then no laws or edicts of Christian Princes, requiring men to frequent the religious assemblies of Christians, or to embrace and profess the Christian Religion, upon the pain of any inconvenience, or suffering, either in their persons, or their properties.*

We have not yet met with any such laws. And, very probably, there were none. Libanius is a good witnesse, that there was no such law in his time. For in his Oration to Theodosius he says: "*You (i) might have enacted such a law as this: Let all present themselves at the places where I worship, and joyn in the rites there performed. And whoever transgresseth this law, let him be put to death. It was easie, says he, for you to publish such a law. But you have not done it. Nor have you in this matter laid a yoke upon the souls of men.*

4. *I think, it must be supposed, and allowed, that the laws against Gentilism, above recited by me, were not rigorously executed.*

There must have been many instances of connivance and forbearance in Christian people, and in Christian Magistrates of every rank, supreme and subordinate. For, as we have evidently seen, many, who were zealous for Gentilism, lived very quietly, and comfortably.

The writers alleged by me, in the former part of this volume, were all zealous Gentils, who lived in the times of Christian Emperours, excepting Julian, who was himself an Emperour. And I have occasionally writ the historie of divers other learned men, some of them authors of voluminous works: *Anatolius, Oribasius, Olympius, Helladius, Ammonius*. And one view, which I have had in enlarging so much as I have done in their historie, and in an account of their works, has been, that I might the more convincingly shew the lenity of the Christian government, under which they lived. And there are some others, hitherto omitted, which for the same reason, I am much disposed to bring in here.

*Aelius*

*(b)* See p. 286.

*(i)* See before, p. 156.

*Aelius Donatus* (*k*) flourished in the time of Constantius, and taught Rhetorick, and polite literature at Rome, with applause (*l*) in the year 356. and afterwards. About which time Jerome, who (*m*) has several times mentioned him, as his master, studied Grammar under him. Jerome (*n*) speaks of his commentaries upon Terence and Virgil. And in his own commentarie upon the first chapter of the book of Ecclesiastes ver. 9. he (*o*) quotes a verse out of Terence's Comedies, and then an observation of his master Donatus upon it. Which observation, however, does not now appear in the notes of Donatus upon Terence. Perhaps it never was there, but Jerome (*p*) heard it from Donatus at his lectures.

*Servius* (*q*) is one of the learned men, who have a part in the conversations of Macrobius's Saturnalia, about the year 400. He (*r*) is supposed to have then but newly begun to teach polite literature at Rome. He is called a Grammarian, and is described to be a man of great learning, and amiable modestie. He daily read lectures upon Virgil to the Roman youth. And is the person, who is introduced in those conversations to make critical observations upon that Poet.

His commentarie upon Virgil is still extant. But it is not complete. And perhaps may be only extracts out of his commentarie, rather than the entire work.

In

(*k*) *Aelius Donatus temporibus Constantii Imperatoris in pretio fuit. G. J. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. 3. cap. ii.*

(*l*) *Victorinus Rhetor, et Donatus Grammaticus meus, Romae insignes habentur. Chron. p. 184.*

(*m*) *Dum adhuc essem puer, et in Grammaticae ludo exercerer, &c. In Abac. cap. iii. T. 3. p. 1636. Vide et in Ezech. cap. xi. T. 3. p. 979.*

(*n*) *Puto, quod puer legeris Asperi in Virgilium et Sallustium commentarios, Vulcati in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos ejus, et in Terentii Comedias Praeceptoris mei Donati, aequè in Virgilium, et aliorum in alios. Adv. Rufin. l. i. Tom. 4. p. 367.*

(*o*) *Huic quid simile sententiae Comicus ait: Nihil est dictum, quod non sit*

*dictum prius. Unde Praeceptor meus Donatus, quum istum versiculum exponeret, Percant, inquit, qui ante nos nostra dixerunt. Hieron. in Eccl. Tom. 2. p. 720.*

(*p*) *Vide Martianay in loc.*

(*q*) *Hos Servius inter Grammaticos doctorem recens professus, juxta doctrinam mirabilis, et amabilis verecundiae, terram intuens, ac velut latenti similis, sequebatur. Macrob. Sat. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 194.*

(*r*) *Sed nunc dicat volo Servius, quae in Virgilio notaverit ab ipso figurata . . . Quotidie enim Romanae indoli enarrando eundem vatem necesse est habeat hujus annotationis scientiam promptiorem. Sat. l. 6. c. 6. p. 556. Vid. et cap. 7. p. 560.*



In his comment upon the 80. verse of the third both of Virgil's Eneid is a remarkable observation. " In (s) the time of our ancestors, Kings were always reckoned Priests and Pontifs. Hence " it has come to pass, that to this very day, we call the Emperours " Pontiffs."

For this observation I am indebted to Pagi. He is arguing, that (t) the Christian Emperours did not take to themselves the title of *Pontifex Maximus*. Nevertheless, as he says, it was often given them by the Gentils, in their Inscriptions, and otherwise. And he instanceth in *Servius*, who, as he observes, was a Gentil, and flourished in the times of Arcadius and Honorius. And agreeably to him others also say, that (u) *Servius* flourished about the year 412.

Here, then, is another Gentil, who lived near the end of the fourth, and in the beginning of the fifth centurie: who taught Grammar at Rome, and was applauded, and encouraged, after the times of most of the Imperial laws against the Gentils, which have been above recited by me.

And from the extracts, formerly made in the chapters of *Proclus*, *Marinus*, *Damascius*, *Simplicius*, it appears, that in the fifth and sixth centuries the chairs of Rhetorick and Philosophie at *Athens* were generally filled by Professors, who were zealous for Gentilism. *Jonſius* (x) has a list of them.

There were likewise schools of philosophie at *Alexandria*, and other

(s) Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phaebique Sacerdos.

Sane majorum haec erat consuetudo, ut Rex esset etiam Sacerdos et Pontifex. Unde hodieque Imperatores dicimus Pontifices.

*Serv. ad Aeneid. l. 3. ver. 80.*

(t) Magna quidem, quae ex vetustis Inscriptionibus desumitur fides et auctoritas. Sed, ut recte notat Gothofredus citatus, duo hic notanda sunt. Primo quidem non Imperatores ipsos hunc sibi titulum in illis vindicare, verum a Gentilibus tributum ibi exhiberi: quo sensu *Servius*, qui Gentilis erat, quique *Arcadii* et *Honorii* temporibus floruit, in tertio *Aenei-*

*dos*, p. 268. scripsit: Unde hodieque Imperatores dicimus Pontifices. *Pagi. ann. 312. num. xxii.*

(u) A. 412. *Servius* Honoratus claruit, qui in *virgilium* commentatus est. *B. Fabr. Indic. Histor. Chronol.*

(x) Ecce Philosophorum Atheniensium successionem. *Jonſ. de Scriptoribus Hist. Philosophicae p. 301. 302.*

other places, where the Professors were Gentils. *Hierocles* (a) taught philosophie at Alexandria as low as the middle of the fifth centurie. The philosopher *Hypatia* (b) lost her life at Alexandria, near the begining of that centurie: but it was not by order of the magistrates, nor by virtue of any Imperial laws: but was owing to a mob, stirred up by an ecclesiastic of the lower order: though, perhaps, not without some encouragement from the Bishop. *Ammonius*, and *Helladius*, learned Grammarians, who taught the polite arts at Alexandria, till the year 391. when the temple of Serapis was demolished, afterwards taught the same publicly at Constantinople.

Says Mr. Mosheim (c) speaking of the state of things in the sixth centurie: " Though it had been enacted by the Imperial laws, " that none who did not abjure the worship of the Gods, should " be admitted into any public office: yet there were many men of " learning and gravity, who still adhered to the ancient religion. " *Tribonian* himself, the illustrious compiler of the civil law, is " thought by some to have been averse to the Christian Religion. " The same is supposed by many to have been the case of the celebrated historian *Procopius*. It is still more evident, that *Agathias*, a Pleader of causes at Smyrna, and also a writer of history, was a worshiper of the Gods. So it often happens in life. " The rigour of the laws falls upon such only, as have no rank, " nor riches, nor favour with great men, to secure them."

" And (d) which is still more wonderfull, the Platonic Philosophers, whom all men know to be enemies to the Christian doctrine, were allowed publicly to teach the youth in Greece and Egypt the tenets of their sect, though altogether opposite to our principles. These men indeed affected a great deal of modestie, " that their notions of the gods might not appear too different from " the Christian doctrine: as we see in *Chalcidius*, and *Alexander of Lycopolis*. Nevertheless there were some of them, who had the " assurance to asperse the Christian Religion. *Damascius*, in the Life " of his master Isidorus, casts many ignominious aspersions upon the " Chri-

(a) See here, in this volume, p. 282.

(b) See here, p. 307. &c.

(c) *Institut. H. E. sec. vi. P. i. cap. ii.*

p. 235. 236.

(d) Illud magis mirandum est. . .

*Ibid.*

“ Christians. *Simplicius*, in his Illustrations of the Aristotelian Philosophie, may be perceived sometimes to reflect upon our doctrines. The eighteen Epicheiremata of Proclus against the Christians were in every body’s hands, and therefore were confuted by John Philoponus. Those (e) men would not have enjoyed all this liberty, if there had not been many among the magistrates, who were Christians rather in appearance, than in reality.”

Upon all which I must make some remarks. 1. It is very true, as Mr. Mosheim says, that the Platonic Philosophers were allowed to teach the tenets of their sect in Greece and Egypt. 2. Mr. Mosheim seems to think that a reproach upon the Christian magistrates: whereas I cannot but think it honourable to them, and to the Christian Religion. 3. *Procopius* and *Agathias* were not Gentils, but Christians, as has been shewn by me in the chapter of *Simplicius*. 4. Moreover, though *Agathias* was a Pleader of causes, it is not known, that he pleaded at Smyrna. 5. All the rest, here mentioned, *Chalcidius*, *Alexander of Lycopolis*, *Damascius*, *Simplicius*, *Proclus*, as I suppose, were Gentils, and as such have been alleged among my witnesses, except *Tribonian*, of whom I have as yet said nothing.

He had a main hand in composing Justinian’s Code (f) published in the year of Christ 529. His (g) character is doubtfull. He is in Suidas, who says, “ that (b) he was a Gentil, and impious, altogether averse to the Christian Religion. However, he was a man of great abilities: but covetous.” This I let pass. For I have nothing to say, to clear up the character of *Tribonian*. Nor is it material.

Beside the learned men and Philosophers, who enjoyed a great deal of liberty in the times of Christian Emperours, there were many Gentils admitted into civil offices of great trust and profit. Libanius,

(e) Tantum his hominibus licentiae haud concessum fuisset, nisi inter magistratus multi specie potius, quam re, Christiani fuissent. *Ibid.*

(f) Vide *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. 12 p. 353. 356 Bib. Lat. T. i. p. 835.*

(g) De Triboniano ambigua fama est. *Baſnag ann. 529. n. ii. Vid. et Scanzhem. H. Christian. p. 1155.*

(b) Οὗτος ὁ Τριβωνιανὸς Ἕλληνα ἑπὶ ἔργε, καὶ ἀθέτος, ἀλλοτρίος κατὰ πάντα τοῖς τοῦ Χριστιανῶν πίστεως καὶ λατρείᾳ. *Suid.*

banius, (i) in his Oration for the Temples, owns, that Theodosius had conferred the highest offices upon some who were Gentils. Prudentius (k) in his first book against Symmachus, celebrates the moderation of Theodosius, and intimates, that he preferred indifferently Gentils and Christians to places of trust and honour. Young Symmachus was Proconsul of Africa in 415. and Prefect of the City in 419. Orestes was Prefect of Alexandria in the beginning of the fifth centurie. And indeed, as (m) Spanheim observes, many Gentils still enjoyed some of the highest offices, both civil and militarie. In the year 408. a law was enacted by Honorius, excluding all but catholick Christians from militarie posts. But, as we are assured by (n) Zosimus, he repealed that law, or dispensed with it, for the sake of *Generidus*, an honourable and worthie man, though a Pagan, and a Barbarian.

I mention these things, as proofs of the moderation of Christian magistrates, which cannot be gainsayed.

5. *Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ gave not any directions to his disciples to propagate his religion by external force and violence.*

The Gospel, or the Religion of Jesus Christ, is the doctrine of universal virtue and piety toward God and men, in heart and life, with the assurance of rewards and punishments to all, according to their conduct here : of which he is himself appointed the arbiter and dis-

(i) See before, p. 157.

(k) Denique pro meritis terrestribus aequa rependens  
Munera sacricolis summos impertit honores  
Dux bonus, et certare finit cum laude suorum.  
Nec pago implicitos per debita culmina mundi  
Ire viros prohibet : quoniam coelestia numquam  
Terrenis solitum per iter gradientibus obstant.  
Ipse magistratum tibi Consulis, ipse tribunal  
Contulit, auratumque togae donavit amictum,  
Cujus Religio tibi displicet, ô pereuntum  
Assertor Divûm.

*Prudent. contr. Symm. lib. i. ver. 617. . . . 626.*

(m) Orestes, Alexandriae Praefectus, tempore Cyrilli Alexandrini . . . Alii innumeri vel militari, vel Palatina potestate instructi, quales adhuc Praef. Praet. Vi-

carii, Proconsules, Magistri militum, officiorum, &c. *Spanhem. p. 1050.*

(n) See before, p. 276.



dispenser : with the promise of the forgivenesse of all sins upon sincere repentance : without annexing any temporal rewards (beside inward peace and comfort) to those who should embrace his doctrine, or worldly pains and penalties to such as reject it.

Indeed, it is altogether incredible, and even impossible, that the founder of a religion, who was himself crucified, and then raised from the dead, and exalted to heaven, in confirmation of the truth of his doctrine, and as an example of fidelity to God, patience, resignation, and fortitude, and to raise the thoughts of his disciples and followers to things heavenly and divine : I say, it is impossible, that such a teacher of religion should give any directions to his Apostles and Ministers, to propagate his religion by force and violence.

Julian (o) chargeth the Christians *with having killed some, who persisted in the ancient religion, and not only them, but also others, equally deceived with themselves, who were in some respects in different sentiments*, meaning hereticks. But then he adds : *These are your own inventions. For Jesus has nowhere directed you to do such things : nor yet Paul.* We may therefore take this for a clear point. Nor need I to say any thing more to prove it.

Nevertheless I beg leave to insert here some observations of the excellent Prelate, who now adorns the See of Canterbury, which are upon both natural, and revealed religion. “ Moved (p) by this recital of the dreadful evils, which religious intolerance hath committed, and attempted ; some perhaps may accuse religion itself, as hurtfull to society. And undoubtedly false notions of it may be detrimental, and sometimes even pernicious. But so may false notions of parental affection, conjugal tenderness, gratitude, and every motive to action. Yet this was never thought an argument against the principles themselves. And if any thing be fitted to do good, and no harm on earth, true religion certainly is. Natural Religion is universally acknowledged to be mild and humane. Christianity indeed some have done their utmost to pervert. But let either the bitterest zealot, or the most bigoted infidel, shew, if they can, one instance, in which the gospel gives the least pretense for pious cruelty. Every where it breaths mildness, pi-

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“ tience,

(o) See before, p. 83.  
1758. p 354. 355.

(p) A Sermon preached on the fifth of November.

“ tience, forbearance : enjoins Christians, of ever so different opi-  
 “ nions, to receive one another in mutual charity : and even those  
 “ who are no Christians, it permits us not to judge hardly, much  
 “ less to use them unmercifully. If then some, who profess this  
 “ faith, will act in defiance to it, let them bear their condemnation.  
 “ But to charge their guilt upon Christianity, would be like cen-  
 “ suring the legal constitution of any government, because they  
 “ who rebel against it, behave unjustifiably. For indeed the spirit  
 “ of persecution is rebellion against Christ, under a pretense of a  
 2 *Theff.* “ commission from him. It is *the man of sin, sitting as God in the*  
 ii. 3. 4. “ *temple of God.* And where it is not designed impiety, it is the  
 “ grossest ignorance, both of the attributes of our Maker, and the  
 “ precepts of our Redeemer, as the words of the text declare :  
*John xvi.* “ *These things will they do unto you, because they have not known the*  
 3. “ *Father, nor me.*”

6. *All wise and understanding men, of every sect and religion, re-  
 commend moderation, and condemn force and compulsion in things of re-  
 ligion.* This is true both of Christians and Gentils.

Says Tertullian, in his book to Scapula : “ It (*q*) is not the part of  
 “ religion to force religion, which must be taken up freely, not  
 “ upon compulsion.”

And Lactantius : “ Such (*r*) is the nature of religion, that it can  
 “ be upheld by reason and persuasion only, not by power and au-  
 “ thority, that it may be free and voluntarie.” “ Truth (*s*) and  
 “ compulsion, religion and cruelty, are incompatible, and can have  
 “ no fellowship with each other.” And (*t*) a great deal more to the  
 like purpose. And says Athanasius : “ Truth (*u*) is not to be pro-  
 “ pagated by swords, and darts, nor a militarie power, but by rea-  
 “ son and argument. But where is reason, when there is the dread  
 of

(*q*) Nec religionis est cogere religio-  
 nem, quae sponte suscipi debet, non vi.  
*Ad Scap. cap. 2.*

(*r*) Non est opus vi, et injuria, quia  
 religio cogi non potest. Verbis, potius  
 quam verberibus, res agenda est, ut sit  
 voluntaria. *Infl. l. 5. cap. 19. p. 518.*  
*Éc.*

(*s*) Longe diversa sunt carnificina et  
 pietas. Nec potest aut veritas cum vi,

aut justitia cum crudelitate conjungi.  
*Ibid. p. 519.*

(*t*) See the *Credib. vol. vii. p. 125. . . .*  
*132. and here, p. 162.*

(*u*) Ου γὰρ ξίσιον, ἢ βέλεσιν, ὡς ἐὰν  
 στρατιῶται ἢ ἀληθεῖα καταγγέλλεται, ἀλλὰ  
 πειθῶν καὶ συμβουλίας. Πῶτα ἐν πειθῶ, ἐνθα βα-  
 σιλεὺς ἔσβας ; ἢ ποῖα συμβουλία, ἐν ᾗ ἐντιλέ-  
 γον το τέλος ἐξορισμὸν ἔχει καὶ θάνατον. *Ηἰβ.*  
*Arian. ad Monach. cap. 33. p. 363.*

“ of an Emperour ?” “ And what room is there for argument and  
 “ choice, when he who refuseth to assent, is threatened with ba-  
 “ nishment, or death ?” Again : “ It (t) is the property of religion,  
 “ not to compell, but to persuade, as I said just now. Our Lord  
 “ himself does not use violence, but leaveth men to the freedom of  
 “ their own choice. Speaking to all, he says : *If any will come af-* *Matt. xvi*  
 “ *ter me.* And to the Disciples : *Will ye also go away ?*” *24.*  
*John vi.*

And we can proceed still farther. For to Christian writers we  
 can add Christian Emperours, who were of the same sentiment :  
 particularly, *Constantin*, whose edict (u) in 313. gives full liberty to  
 all men to act according to the best of their judgement in things of  
 religion. And if his future conduct cannot be reconciled with his  
 edict, we must say, that some circumstances of affairs induced him  
 to act contrarie to his better sentiments, and juster determination.  
*Jovian*, upon his accession after the death of *Julian*, published an  
 edict (x) of universal toleration, for which he was applauded by  
*Themistius*. His successor, *Valentinian*, was of the same senti-  
 ment, and was a great example of moderation to all men : as we  
 learn from (y) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and (z) otherwise.

The same has been the sentiment of many learned Gentils. A-  
 mong these must be mentioned in the first place the Emperour *Ju-*  
*lian*, whose avowed principle, and open declaration it was, that (a)  
 all men should worship God in their own way, without any mo-  
 lestation from him. And, if at any time he bore hard upon the  
 Christians, as such, it must have been contrarie to his professed  
 judgement and opinion. *Themistius* argued strongly for allowing to  
 all men liberty to worship God according to their own sentiments :  
 first in (b) his Consular Oration to *Jovian*, and again, afterwards,  
 in (c) an Oration to *Valens*. *Libanius* (d) often pleads the cause of  
 religious liberty. *Ammianus Marcellinus* was in the same sentiment,  
 as is apparent from (e) his condemning the law of *Julian*, wherein  
 he

(t) Οἰοπεύειας μὲν γὰρ ἵσταν, μὴ ἀναγ-  
 γύζεν, ἀλλὰ πείθειν, ὥσπερ ἄπαυμεν. κ. λ.  
*Ibid.* n. 67. p. 384. C.

(u) See vol. 3. p. 313. . . . 316. and  
*here*, p. 33.

(x) See *here*, p. 118. 119.

(y) See *before*, p. 186.

(z) See p. 344.

(a) See p. 33 and 108.

(b) P. 117. C.

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(d) p. 133 134

(e) See *before*, p. 111.



he forbid the Christians to teach Grammar and Rhetorick, and from his commending (f) the Emperour Valentinian for not interposing his authority in things of religion.

7. *We cannot justify the laws and edicts of Christian Emperours, which prohibited the practise of the religious rites of Gentilism upon heavie pains and penalties, such as confiscation of goods, banishment, or death, or exclusion from civil and militarie offices.*

This must be a necessarie corollarie and inference from the two foregoing observations. For, if Jesus Christ gave no orders to propagate his religion by external force and violence: And if all wise and understanding men of every sect, condemn compulsion in things of religion: it must evidently follow, that they who practise such methods in things of religion are not to be justified.

Nevertheless, possibly, some pleas may be here offered, which may deserve consideration. For, *first*, it may be said, that Gentil people were not, and could not be good subjects to Christian Emperours. *Secondly*, their practise of divination was of dangerous consequence.

*First*, it may be pleaded, that Gentil people were not good subjects of Christian Emperours.

To which several things may be answered. For, if they were guilty of any actions contrarie to the peace of society, or inconsistent with allegiance to the supreme magistrate, or any other magistrates, they were justly liable to punishment by the laws of the Empire, and of every other civil government whatever. But farther, great allowances were due to their prejudices. For the superstitions of Gentilism had long been the religion of Rome, and of all mankind in general. And they should have been treated with great mildnesse and gentlenesse, patience and long-suffering. The best reasons and arguments were to be proposed to them. And they should have been repeated again and again. By which means error would have been gradually subdued, and overcome, and rooted out. There never was before, and never will be again, such subjects, as the primitive Christians, who prayed for their persecutors. The Christians themselves, after having enjoyed a short sunshine in the times of Constantin, and his sons, were not so meek and

(f) See p. 186.



and patient under Julian, as they had been before. Once more, and finally, the Gentils were good subjects to the Christian Emperours. Otherwise so many of them would not have been employed in the highest offices of trust and honour. I say, from principle, or interest, for love, or fear, they generally were good subjects. But if they had been protected, and indulged in the practise of their rites, they would have been more chearfull and hearty in their allegiance and subjection to Christian Emperours, and other Christian Magistrates.

*Secondly*, it may be pleaded, that all Gentil people in general were fond of divination, which must have been of dangerous consequences. For they thereby endeavored to pry into futurity: and aimed to know before-hand the succession of princes, and other events.

To which I answer, that Christian Ministers, and other understanding Christians, might by reasons and arguments shew the folly and absurdity of that practise. And Christian Magistrates might justly lay it under restraints, and might either abolish it, and absolutely forbid it by law, or reduce it into such order, and put it under such regulations, as were expedient for the public safety. We formerly alledged some such laws of Constantin, to which the reader is now referred, if he (*g*) pleaseth.

Upon the whole, then, we do not justify all the laws and edicts of Christian Emperours before recited. And we are of opinion, that Gentil people might, and ought to have been protected in the exercise of the rites and ceremonies of their religion: provided nothing was done contrarie to good manners, or inconsistent with the peace of society, and allegiance to magistrates. But we do not say, that Christian Magistrates were obliged to encourage Gentilism. Far from it. Upon this point we have already said what is sufficient, in the third section of this article: where it was shewn, that (*b*) Christian Emperours were under no obligation to continue the allowances, which had been hitherto made out of the public treasure, for maintaining the Gentil Priesthood, or their sacrifices. When those allowances were withdrawn, Gentilism would sink of itself. And the reasons and arguments of understanding Christians, calmly

(*g*) See before, p. 244 245. and 334.

(*b*) See before, p. 244. . . . 247.

ly proposed, would compleat the downfall and overthrow of the ancient superstitions, and much better, than any methods of external force and compulsion. And if there had been still some remains of the ancient superstitions of Greece and Rome, it could have been of no bad consequence. For Christianity to this very day has it's adversaries. And, perhaps, always will have. And by them Christians are tried, and improved.

8. *The Christian Religion is able to uphold, and recommend itself, without worldly encouragements, and without the aid of external force and compulsion.*

It is manifest, that it is able so to do, because it spread, and was propagated in the world, for a good while, without such aids and supports, and under external discouragements of every kind. And it must be always able so to do. The ground and reason of this is, that it is in itself reasonable, and excellent, and approves itself to the unbiassed reason and judgement of mankind. And it's high original, as a divine revelation, has been attested by works of divine power, performed by Jesus Christ, and his Apostles after him, whom he entrusted with the preaching of his religion. The miracles performed by them, (not now to insist upon any other considerations,) are a good proof, that they had a divine commission.

9. Once more, and lastly, *having now seen in ancient Jewish and Heathen writers so many testimonies to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and to the books of the New Testament, and to the facts of the Evangelical Historie, and therein to the truth of the Christian Religion: must we not be hereby induced, not only cordially to embrace it, but likewise to recommend it to others, according to the best of our ability?*

The religion of Jesus was intended to be universal. It has in it no restrictive precepts, or ordinances, limiting it to any one place, or people. And as our Lord himself said in his conference with the woman of Samaria: *The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in*  
*John iv.*  
*21. . 23. this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . But the*  
*hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshipers shall worship the*  
*Father in spirit, and in truth.* And after his resurrection, renew-  
*Luke xxiv*  
*47. and*  
*see Matt.*  
*xxviii.*  
*19. 20. ing his commission to his Apostles, he tells them, that repentance*  
*and remission of sins should be preached in his name, among all nations,*  
*beginning at Jerusalem.* St. Peter, when delivered from Jewish pre-  
 judices, says: *Of a truth I perceive, that God is no respecter of per-*  
*sons,*

sons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him. And saith St. John: *We have seen, and do<sup>1</sup> testify, that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world.* <sup>John iv. 14.</sup>

The gospel, then, is designed for all. And it is a great blessing upon many accounts, which need not be here enumerated. St. Paul therefore says: *It is a faithfull saying, and worthie of all ac-<sup>1</sup> ceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.* <sup>Tim. i. 15.</sup>

If we are disposed to communicate this blessing, and recommend the Christian Religion to others, there are two or three observations, which may be mentioned here, as deserving our regard.

1.) *Let us take care to form right conceptions of it, and understand it, as it is in truth.*

For otherwise, possibly, we may lead men into errour, and pervert, instead of improving them. And if we misrepresent the Christian doctrine, we may expose it, and obstruct the progresse of it, and occasion invincible prejudices in the minds of some, who are well disposed. Would it not be a melancholie case, if ever we should meet with a *Malabarian Braman*, or other Indian Priest, hitherto unacquainted with revelation, speaking more justly of the powers of the human nature, and of the divine perfections, than a Christian Missionarie?

The Christian Religion can be learned with certainty from the books of the New Testament only: which are the authentic records of the doctrine taught by Christ, and his Apostles. And there are in it some texts especially, which, if attended to, will at once assure us of it's great design. Such as these, and divers others. *A Scribe<sup>Mark xii.</sup> came to our Lord, and asked him, which is the first commandment of<sup>28.</sup> all. And Jesus answered him: The first of all the commandments is: Hear, o Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy-self. There is no other commandment greater than these. The Scribe said unto him: Well, master, thou hast said the truth. For there is one God, and there is none other but he. And to love him with all the heart, and with all the soul. . . . and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices. And when Jesus saw, that he answered discreetly, he said unto him: Thou art not far from the kingdom of God. And says St. Paul: The grace<sup>Ti. ii. 11.</sup>*



of God, which bringeth salvation, has appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world: looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works. By all which we learn, that the Christian Religion is not a speculative science, but a plain, and strict, and comprehensive rule of life.

Agreeably hereto says Eusebius of Caesarea : *What (i) else does the name of Christian denote, but a man, who by the knowledge and doctrine of Jesus Christ is brought to the practise of sobriety, righteousness, patience, fortitude, and the religious worship of the one and only God over all? Nor can it be taken amiss, if I here refer to the Philosopher, Alexander of Lycopolis, my second witness in this volume, who also appears to have had just apprehensions concerning the Christian philosophy, as (k) intended by plain precepts, without nice disquisitions, and intricate reasonings, to promote virtue among all men, and even the lower ranks, and common people.*

2.) *We ought to live according to the rules of our holy religion, and endeavour to excell in mutual love, and every other virtue.*

This is incumbent upon both the teachers, and the professors of the Christian Religion. And it will be the most effectual recommendation of it to others. Says our Lord : *He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. . . . Again : A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another : as I have loved you, that ye love one another. By this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. And says the Apostle Paul : Let every one that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity.*

3.) *I cannot but think, it may be of use to promote learning, and knowledge.*

When Jesus Christ came, and when his Apostles preached the Gospel, it was an age of learning and politeness. Arts and sciences flourished greatly. And the Greek learning was spread all over the Roman

(i) Euseb. H. E. l. i. cap. 4. p. 15. et 16. And see the Credib. vol. viii. p. 71.

(k) See here. p. 18.



Roman Empire, of which Judea was a part. Men must be rational, and civilized, before they can be Christians. Knowledge has a happy tendency to enlarge the mind, and encourage generous sentiments. Hereby we may hope to deliver men from superstition, bigotry, and persecution, which have been some of the greatest blemishes in the human conduct. As arts and sciences are now in a flourishing condition, in a great part of the world, we may hope, it will have a kindly influence, and contribute to the advancement of Christianity in it's genuine purity and perfection. Not (1) many years since was published, by a pious and learned author, though he concealed his name, a small tract, entitled, *Five several Schemes of Christian Religion*: the last of which is summarily represented by him in these terms: "In the next period of time, we hope, " Christianity will be Piety and Virtue, with an improvement from " the Greek and Roman Moralists, corrected and perfected by the " Gospel."

And here I put an end to my long work, hoping, and praying, that it may be of some use to promote good learning, and true religion.

(1) In the year 1738. The Tract has been ascribed to Dr. Jeffery, Archdeacon of Norwich.



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